76.f.4

REMARKS

AND

DISSERTATIONS

ON

VIRGIL;

With ſome other Claſſical OBSERVATIONS:

By the late Mr. HOLDSWORTH.

Publiſhed, with ſeveral NOTES, and Additional REMARKS,
by Mr. SPENCE.

LONDON,
Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-mall.
MDCCLXVIII.

M

The EDITOR'S

ADVERTISEMENT.

MR. HOLDSWORTH'S excellent taſte for Poetry, and his ſuperior talents in claſſical learning, and particularly in poetical criticiſm, have been as well known, and allowed as univerſally, as any perſon's of the age we live in.

HE made more journies to Italy than perhaps any gentleman in this age; ſtudied Virgil's works, in particular, on the very ſpot where he wrote them (for he ſtaid much longer than uſual at Naples); and always carried ſome interleaved editions of Virgil with him, to take down his obſervations as they aroſe.

HIS principal aim was to acquire a more perfect inſight into the Georgics; of which he intended to have given the world a new edition, with his Notes adjoined: but he did not neglect obſervations on the other parts of Virgil's works, as they came in his way.

All his papers of this kind were, on his deceaſe, in 1746, left by Mr. Holdſworth, to his moſt intimate friend, Charles Jennens, Eſq; of Copthall, in Leiceſterſhire; who was ſo kind as to put them into my hands, at my earneſt requeſt; that ſo great a treaſure might not be loſt to the world.

To the great concern of his friends, and prejudice to this his deſign, of illuſtrating Virgil, Mr. Holdſworth's laſt years were attended with almoſt conſtant ill health; which prevented his ſetting his laſt hand to the work. Several of the obſervations would certainly have been much corrected, and enlarged; and, perhaps, ſeveral new ones added. But, as they are, they are highly worth the conſideration of the learned, as they are from the hand of a Holdſworth. It is well known, that ſeveral unfiniſhed ſketches of Raphael, and others of the moſt capital painters, are held in great eſteem by the moſt knowing connoiſſeurs; and Michael Angelo uſed to prefer the Torſo of the Belvedere to moſt of the beſt and entire ſtatues left us by the Greek Artiſts.

SEVERAL other obſervations of Mr. Holdſworth, in this kind, I had been acquainted with, many years before his death: I firſt having had the happineſs of meeting with him at Florence in 1732; and of being favoured with a great degree of his intimacy and friendſhip. He ſoon communicated his deſign, and particular thoughts on Virgil to me, with the greateſt freedom. I took notes down on paper, that I might not loſe his thoughts; which were ſo very valuable to me. I went further; I procured an interleaved Virgil, and endeavoured to follow him, as well as I was able: and this occaſioned my own obſervations, which I beg pardon for mixing in the ſame work with his. I have leſs reaſon to make any excuſe for thoſe of ſome friends, of particular worth and eminence, which are inſerted in this work.

As there is ſuch a mixture of hands, it is but a common piece of juſtice, that each ſhould be aſſigned to the proper Authors. This is done by affixing particular marks to each obſervation.

ALL

ALL, therefore, with a larger ſtar ⁕, are taken from Mr. Holdſworth's own hand-writing; either in his MS. Virgils, or looſe notes. Thoſe with a leſs ſtar *, are the Remarks which I could remember from his converſation: many of which have been already printed in the Virgil publiſhed by the ingenious and learned ſchool-maſter of Winchester College, my particular friend, Mr. Warton: and which I had communicated to him, before I had any hopes of getting the other Obſervations of Mr. Holdſworth into my hands. All with this mark +, are of other friends; as all with this †, are my own.

THE

THE

LIFE OF VIRGIL,

Commonly ſuppoſed to be written by DONATUS †,

Improved from a Manuſcript of SERVIUS; collated with it at Florence.

PUBLIUS VIRGILIUS MARO parentibus modicis fuit, et praecipue patre Marone, quem quidam opificem figulum, plures Magii cujuſdam viatoris initio mercenarium, mox ob induſtriam generum tradiderunt: quem cùm agricolationi reique ruſticae et gregibus praefeciſſet ſocer, ſylvis coëmundis et apibus curandis reculam auxit. Natus eſt, Cn. Pompeio Magno et M. Licinio Craſſo primùm Coſſ. Iduum Octobrium die, in pago, qui Andes dicitur, qui eſt à Mantuâ non procul. Praegnans mater ſomniavit Maia, enixam ſe laureum ramum, quem contactâ terrâ confeſtim cerneret coaluiſſe, et excreviſſe illico in ſpeciem maturae arboris, refertae variis pomis et floribus: ac ſequenti luce, cum marito rus propinquum petens, ex itinere divertit, atque in ſubjectâ foſsâ partu levata eſt. Ferunt infantem, ut fuit editus, nec vagîſſe, et adeò miti vultu fuiſſe, ut haud dubiam ſpem proſperioris geniturae jam tum indicaret. Et acceſſit aliud praeſa-

† Ruaeus has prefix'd the Life of Virgil, commonly ſuppos'd to have been written by Donatus, to his Edition of Virgil for the uſe of the Dauphin; but at the ſame time declares his opinion, that it was not written by Donatus. The firſt time I was at Florence (which was in the year 1732), I met with a very fair manuſcript of Servius's works; which then belong'd to Baron Stoſche, the Author of the Gemmae Literatae. In the beginning of it was the Life of Virgil. It had no Author's name prefix'd to it; but ſeem'd to be given there, as written by Servius himſelf. As moſt of the little fanciful ſtories, relating to Virgil, are omitted in this; I thought it might not be improper to prefix it to this Work: in hopes, that hereafter (if it ſhould be found to be of ſufficient authority) it may do leſs diſhonour to the memory of our Poet, than thoſe received for ſo many centuries have hitherto done.

gium. Siquidem Virga populea, more regionis in puerperiis, eodem ſtatim loco depacta, ita brevì coaluit, ut multò antè ſatas populos adaequârit. Quae arbor Virgilii ex eo dicta atque conſecrata eſt; ſummâ gravidarum et foetarum religione, ſuſcipientium ibi et ſolventium vota. Initio aetatis, id eſt, uſque ad ſeptimum annum, Cremonae egit: et xvii anno virilem togam cepit; illis Conſulibus iterum quibus natus erat. Evenitque, ut eo ipſo die Lucretius poëta decederet. Sed Virgilius Cremonâ Mediolanum, et inde paulò pòſt Neapolin tranſit. Ubi cum Literis et Graecis et Latinis vehementiſſimam operam dediſſet, tandem omni curâ omnique ſtudio indulſit medicinae et mathematicae. Corpore et ſtaturâ fuit grandi, aquilino colore, facie ruſticanâ, valetudine variâ. Nam plerumque ab ſtomacho et faucibus ac dolore capitis laborabat: Sanguinem ſaepius ejecit. Cibi vinique, nimiaeque libidinis in pueros pronioris. Sed boni ita eum pueros amâſſe putaverunt, ut Socrates Alcibiadem, et Plato ſuos pueros. Verùm inter omnes maxime dilexit Cebetem et Alexandrum: quem ſecundâ Bucolicorum eclogâ Alexin appellat; donatum ſibi ab Aſinio Pollione. Utrumque non ineruditum dimiſit: Alexandrum Grammaticum, Cebetem verò et poëtam. Vulgatum eſt conſueviſſe eum cum Plotiâ Hieriâ. Sed Aſconius Pedianus affirmat, ipſum poſtea minoribus natu narrare ſolitum, invitatum quidem ſe à Vario ad communionem mulieris, verum ſe pertinaciſſimè recuſâſſe. Caetera ſanè, vitâ et ore et animo, tam probum fuiſſe conſtat, ut Neapoli Parthenias vulgò appellaretur: ac, ſi quando Romae, quò rariſſimè commeabat, viſeretur in publico, ſectantes demonſtranteſque ſe ſubterfugere ſolitum in proximum tectum. Bona autem cujuſdam exulantis offerente Auguſto, non ſuſtinuit accipere. Poſſedit propè centies Seſtertiûm, ex liberalitatibus amicorum, habuitque domum Romae in Eſquiliis juxta hortos Mecaenatis: quanquam ſeceſſu Campaniae Siciliaeque plurimùm uteretur. Quaecumque ab Auguſto peteret, repulſam nunquam habuit. Parentibus quotannis aurum ad abundantem alitum mittebat; quos jam grandis amiſit: ex quibus patrem oculis captum; et duos fratres germanos, Silonem impuberem, Flaccum jam adultum, cujus exitum ſub nomine Daphnidis deflet. Inter caetera ſtudia, ut ſuprà diximus, medicinae quoque, ac maximè mathematicae, operam dedit. Egit et cauſam unam omnino, nec ampliùs quàm ſemel. Sermone tardiſſimum, ac penè indocto ſimilem fuiſſe, Meliſſus tradidit. Poëticam puer adhuc auſpicatus, in Baliſtam ludi gladiatorii magiſtrum, ob infamiam latrociniorum coopertum lapidibus, diſtichon fecit:

" Monte ſub hoc lapidum tegitur Baliſta ſepultus:
" Nocte dieque tuum carpe, viator, iter."

Deinde

Deinde Catalecton; et Moretum, et Priapea, et Epigrammata, et Diras, et Culicem, cùm eſſet annorum quindecim. Cujus materia talis eſt: Paſtor fatigatus aeſtu cùm ſub arbore obdormîſſet, et ſerpens ad illum proreperet è palude, culex provolavit, atque inter duo tempora aculeum fixit paſtori. At ille continuò culicem contrivit, et viſum ſerpentem interemit, ac ſepulchrum culici ſtatuit, et diſtichon fecit:

" Parve culex, pecudum cuſtos tibi tale merenti
" Funeris officium, vitae pro munere, reddit."

Scripſit etiam, de quâ ambigitur, Ætnam. Et mox, cum Res Romanas inchoâſſet, offenſus materiâ et nominum aſperitate, ad Bucolica tranſiit: maxime ut Aſinium Pollionem, Alfenum, Varium, et Cornelium Gallum celebraret: quia in diſtributione agrorum, qui poſt Philippenſem Victoriam veteranis, triumvirorum juſſu, trans Padum dividebantur, indemnem ſe praeſtitiſſent. Deinde Georgica in honorem Mecaenatis edidit, cùm ſibi vix dum noto opem tuliſſet adversùs Claudii veterani militis, vel, ut alii putant, Arii centurionis violentiam, à quo in altercatione litis agrariae parum abfuit quin occideretur. Noviſſimè autem Æneidem aggreſſus eſt; argumentum varium et multiplex, et quaſi amborum Homeri carminum inſtar; praeterea nominibus ac rebus Graecis Latiniſque commune, et in quo, quod maximè ſtudebat, Romanae ſimul urbis, et Auguſti origo contineretur. Cùm Georgica ſcriberet, traditur quotidie meditatos manè plurimos verſus dictare ſolitum, ac per totum diem retractando ad pauciſſimos redigere, non abſurdè carmen ſe urſae more parere dicentem, et lambendo demum effingere.

Aeneïda proſâ priùs oratione formatam, digeſtamque in XII libros, particulatim componere inſtituit, ut quidam tradunt. Alii ejus ſententiae ſunt, ut exiſtiment, eum, ſi diutius vixiſſet, quatuor et viginti libros uſque ad Auguſti tempora ſcripturum, atque alia quaedam percurſurum; Auguſti verò geſta diligentiſſimè executurum: quippe qui, dum ſcriberet, ne quid impetum moraretur, quaedam imperfecta reliquit; alia leviſſimis verſibus ſcripſit: quos per jocum pro tigillis vel tibicinibus interponi à ſe dicebat, ad ſuſtinendum opus, donec ſolidae columnae advenirent. Bucolica triennio Aſinii Pollionis ſuaſu perfecit. Hic Tranſpadanam provinciam regebat; cujus favore, cùm veteranis Auguſti militibus Cremonenſium et Mantuanorum agri diſtribuerentur, ſuos Virgilius non amiſit. Factâ enim diſtributione, ſuos, ſeu Claudio ſeu Ario datos, recuperavit. Hunc Pollionem maximè amavit Maro, et dilectus ab eo magna munera tulit, quippe qui invitatus ad coenam, captus pulchritudine et diligentiâ Alexandri Pol-

lionis pueri, eum dono accepit. Hujus Pollionis filium C. Asinium, et Cornelium Gallum, oratorem clarum, et poëtam non mediocrem, miro amore dilexit Virgilius. Is transtulit Euphorionem in Latinum, et libris quatuor amores suos de Cytheride scripsit. Georgica septennio Neapoli, Aeneïda partim in Siciliâ, partim in Campaniâ duodecim confecit annis. Bucolica eo successu edidit, ut in scena quoque per cantatores crebrâ pronuntiatione recitarentur. At cùm Cicero quosdam versus audîsset, et statim acri judicio intellexisset non communi venâ editos, jussit ab initio totam eclogam recitari: quam cùm accuratè pernotâsset, in fine ait: "Magnae "spes altera Romae." Quasi ipse linguae Latinae spes prima fuisset, et Maro futurus esset secunda. Quae verba postea Aeneïdi ipse inseruit. Georgica, reverso ab Actiacâ victoriâ Augusto, atque reficiendarum virium causâ Atellae commoranti, per continuum quatriduum legit, suscipiente Mecaenate legendi vicem, quoties interpellaretur ipse vocis offensione. Pronuntiabat autem maximâ cum suavitate, et lenociniis miris. Seneca tradidit, Julium Montanum poëtam solitum dicere, involaturum se quaedam Virgilio, si vocem posset, et os, et hypocrisin. Eosdem enim versus, eo pronuntiante, bene sonare: sine illo, inarescere, quasi mutos. Aeneïdos vix dum coeptae tanta extitit fama, ut Sext. Propertius non dubitârit sic praedicare:

"Cedite, Romani scriptores, cedite Graii;
"Nescio quid majus nascitur Iliade."

Augustus verò, cùm tum fortè expeditione Cantabricâ abesset, et supplicibus atque minacibus per jocum literis efflagitaret, ut sibi de Aeneïde, ut ipsius verba sunt, vel primas carminis hypographas, vel quodlibet colon mitteret, negavit se facturum Virgilius: cui tamen multo pòst, perfectâ demum materiâ, tres omnino libros recitavit: secundum videlicet, quartum, et sextum. Sed hunc praecipue ob Octaviam: quae, cùm recitationi interesset, ad illos de filio suo versus, "Tu Marcellus eris," defeciisse fertur: atque aegre refocillata, dena sestertia pro singulo versu Virgilio dari jussit. Recitavit et pluribus: neque frequenter, et ferme illa de quibus ambigebat, quò magìs judicium hominum experiretur. Erotem librarium et libertum ejus, exactae jam senectutis, tradunt referre solitum, quondam in recitando eum duos dimidiatos versus complêsse ex tempore. Nam cùm hactenus haberet, "Misenum Aeoliden," adjeciisse, "quo non praestantior "alter." Item huic, "Aere ciere viros," simili calore jactatum subjunxisse, "Martemque accendere cantu:" statimque sibi imperâsse, ut utrumque volumini adscriberet. Bucolica Georgicaque emendavit. Anno verò quin-

quagesimo

quageſimo ſecundo, ut ultimam manum Aeneidi imponeret, ſtatuit in Graeciam et Aſiam ſecedere, triennioque continuo omnem operam limationi dare, ut in reliquâ vitâ tantùm Philoſophiae vacaret. Sed cùm aggreſſus iter Athenis occurriſſet Auguſto ab oriente Romam revertenti, unà cum Caeſare redire ſtatuit. Ac cùm Megaram, vicinum oppidum, ferventiſſimo ſole cognoſcit, languorem nactus eſt; quem non intermiſſa navigatio auxit, ita ut gravior aliquanto Brunduſium appelleret: ubi diebus paucis obiit, decimo Kal. Octob. Cneo Sextio, Quinto Lucretio Coſſ. Qui cùm gravari morbo ſeſe ſentiret, ſcrinia ſaepe et magnâ inſtantiâ petivit, crematurus Aeneïda: quibus negatis, teſtamento comburi juſſit, ut rem inemendatam imperfectamque. Verùm Tucca et Varius monuerunt, id Auguſtum non permiſſurum. Tunc eidem Vario, ac ſimul Tuccae, ſcripta ſub eâ conditione legavit, ne quid adderent quod à ſe editum non eſſet, et verſus etiam imperfectos, ſi qui erant, relinquerent. Voluit etiam ſua oſſa Neapolim tranſferri, ubi diu et ſuaviſſimè vixerat, ac extremâ valetudine hoc ipſe ſibi epitaphium fecit diſtichon:

" Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
" Parthenope; cecini paſcua, rura, duces."

Oſſa ejus Neapolim tranſlata ſunt, tumuloque condita, qui eſt viâ Puteolanâ *, intra lapidem ſecundum; ſuoque ſepulchro id diſtichon, quod fecerat, inſcriptum eſt. Haeredes fecit ex dimidia parte Valerium Proculum, fratrem ex altera parte, ex quartâ Auguſtum, ex duodecimâ Mecaenatem, ex reliquâ L. Varium, et Plotium Tuccam, qui ejus Æneïdem poſt obitum, prout petiverat, juſſu Caeſaris, emendaverunt. Nam nullius omnino ſententiâ crematu Aeneïs digna viſa fuit: de quâ re Sulpicii Carthaginenſis extant hujuſmodi verſus:

" Juſſerat haec rapidis aboleri carmina flammis
" Virgilius, Phrygium quae cecinere ducem.
" Tucca vetat, Variuſque ſimul: tu, maxime Caeſar,
" Non ſinis, et Latiae conſulis hiſtoriae.
" Infelix gemino cecidit propè Pergamos igni,
" Et penè eſt alio Troja cremata rogo.

* Every body was of this opinion, till Cluver fancied it to be on the other ſide of the Bay of Naples; and all that he founded his new fancy upon, was a very unpoetical Criticiſm of his on two paſſages in Statius's Sylvae, Lib. iv. Ecl. 4. As I am apt to believe, that when our Mr. Addiſon ſays ſo poſitively that Virgil's Tomb was on that ſide, he had nothing to build upon but what was thus indiſcreetly conjectured by Cluver. † See *Diſſertation the Fifth*, for a fuller account of this, by Mr. Holdſworth.

Extant

Extant de ipſâ eâdem re verſus plures et clariſſimi:

" Ergone ſupremis potuit vox improba verbis
" Tam dirum mandare nefas? ergo ibit in ignes,
" Magnaque doctiloqui morietur Muſa Maronis?
" Ah ſcelus indignum! ſolvetur litera dives?
" Et poterunt ſpectare oculi? nec parcit honori
" Flamma ſuo? ductumque operi ſervabit amorem?
" Pulcher Apollo, veta. Muſae, prohibete, Latinae.
" Liber, et alma Ceres, ſuccurrite: veſter in armis
" Miles erat: veſter docilis per rura colonus.
" Nam docuit, quid Ver ageret, quid cogeret Æſtas:
" Quid Pater Autumnus, quid Bruma noviſſima ferret.
" Arbuta formavit: ſociavit vitibus ulmos:
" Curavit pecudes: apibus ſua caſtra dicavit.
" Haec dedit, ut perimant ipſum: ſi dicere fas eſt.
" Sed legum eſt ſervanda fides: ſuprema voluntas
" Quod mandat, fierique jubet, parere neceſſe eſt.
" Frangatur potiùs legum veneranda poteſtas,
" Quàm tot congeſtas noctesque dieſque laboris
" Hauſerit una dies, ſupremaque verba parentis.
" Amittat vigilâſſe ſuum: ſi fortè ſuperbus
" Erravit in morte piger: ſi lingua locuta eſt
" Neſcio quid titubante animo, non ſponte, ſed altis
" Expugnata malis, odio languoris iniqui:
" Si mens caeca fuit: iterum ſentire ruinas
" Troja ſuas, iterum cogetur reddere voces?
" Ardebit miſerae poſt vulnera vulnus Eliſae?
" Tam ſacrum ſolvetur opus? tot bella, tot enſes
" In cineres dabit hora nocens, et fervidus error?
" Huc huc, Pierides, date flumina cuncta: ſapores
" Expirent ignes. Vivat Maro ductus ubique;
" Ingratuſque fui: ſtudiorumque invidus orbi,
" Et factus poſt fata nitens: quod juſſerat ille,
" Sit vetuiſſe meum. Satis eſt poſt tempora vitae.
" Imò ſit aeternus, totâ reſonante Camenâ.
" Carmen et in populo Divi ſub numine nomen
" Laudetur, vigeat, placeat, relegatur, ametur."

Nihil

Nihil igitur, auctore Auguſto, Varius addidit, quod et Maro praeceperat; ſed ſummatim emendavit, ut qui verſus etiam imperfectos, ſi qui erant, reliquerit. Hos multi mox ſupplere conati, non perinde valuerunt ob difficultatem: quòd omnia ferè apud eum hemiſtichia, praeter illud, "Quem tibi jam Troja peperit," ſenſum videntur habere perfectum. Niſus grammaticus audîſſe ſe à ſenioribus dicebat, Varium duorum librorum ordinem commutâſſe, et qui tum ſecundus erat, in tertium locum tranſtuliſſe: etiam primi libri correxiſſe principium, his demptis verſibus:

"Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avenâ
"Carmen, et egreſſus ſylvis vicina coëgi,
"Ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono;
"Gratum opus agricolis: at nunc horrentia Martis
"Arma virumque cano."

Obtrectatores Virgilio nunquam defuerunt: nam nec Homero quidem. Prolatis Bucolicis innominatus quidam reſcripſit Antibucolica, duas modò Eclogas, ſed inſulſiſſimè παρῳδήσας. Quarum prioris initium eſt:

"Tityre, ſi toga calda tibi eſt, quo tegmine fagi?"

Sequentis:

"Dic mihi, Damaeta, cujum pecus, anne Latinum?
"Non, verùm Aegonis, noſtri ſic rure loquuntur."

Alius, recitante eo ex Georgicis, "Nudus ara, ſere nudus;" ſubjecit, "habebis frigora, febrem."

Eſt et adverſùs Aeneïda liber Carbilii Pictoris, titulo Aeneïdomaſtix. M. Vipranius eum à Mecaenate ſuppoſitum appellabat, novae κακοζηλίας repertorem, dicebatque neque tumidum eſſe, neque exilem, ſed communibus verbis opus illud confeciſſe. Herennius vitia ejus tantùm contraxit, Petilius Fauſtinus furta. Sunt et Q. Octavii Aviti volumina, quibus annotantur, quos et unde verſus tranſtulerit.

Aſconius Pedianus libro, quem contra obtrectatores Virgilii ſcripſit, pauca admodùm ei objecta ponit. Et potiſſimum, quòd non rectè hiſtoriam contexuit, et quod pleraque ab Homero ſumſit. Sed hoc crimen ſic defendere aſſuetum ait: "Cur non illi quoque eadem furta tentarent?"

Verùm

Verùm intellecturos, facilius eſſe Herculi clavam, quàm Homero verſum ſurripere: et tamen deſtinâſſe ſecedere, ut omnia ad ſatietatem malevolorum decideret†.

† The account of Virgil's Life in the Florentine Manuſcript concludes here; and all from "Refert etiam Pedianus," to "Platonis ſententias omnibus aliis praetulit," in the common Editions of Virgil's Life ſaid to be written by Donatus, is omitted in that.

NOTES

NOTES

ON THE

ECLOGUES, GEORGICS, and ÆNEID,

OF

VIRGIL.

ECLOGUE THE FIRST.

VER. 1, 2.

" TITYRE, tu †1 patulae recubans ſub tegmine †2 Fagi,
" Sylveſtrem tenui muſam meditaris avenâ."

†1. The country about Mantua runs all on a flat; and for ten or twelve miles round the city, the trees are remarkably low and ſmall. I did not ſee any ſuch thing as a great Beech, Pine, or Cypreſs, in all that compaſs. There is no Rock, or Hill, near it. So that either the face of the country muſt have been quite changed; or Virgil did not take the Landſkip-paintings, in his Eclogues, from his own country. They are therefore either imaginary; or copied from the Greek Writers he imitated; or taken from ſome other parts of Italy.

†2. Fagus was the ſame with Φηγος, or (in the Doric manner of pronouncing it) Φαγος, among the Greeks; who reckon'd it of the Oak-kind: as Tournefort, and Linnaeus, do our Beech. The moſt common ſort of Oaks with us the Romans call'd, Quercus; and the duſky evergreen Oak, Ilex.

VER. 6—8.

" O Meliboee, Deus nobis hac otia fecit;
" Namque erit ille mihi semper Deus †: illius aram
" Saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus."

† The former part of this passage is more easy to be accounted for, than the latter. *Deus* was far from signifying the same in Latin, that the word *God* does in English. The Romans used Deus for any Superior Being, or Genius; and metaphorically for any Emperor, Great Man, Patron, or Guide. Thus Cicero says, " Deus ille noster," of Plato (ad Att. lib. iv. Ep. 16.); and Lucretius (lib. v. ver. 8.) " Deus ille fuit, Deus, " inclyte Memmi," of Epicurus; and thus Silius Italicus (lib. xiii. 784.) calls Virgil himself a God:

—— " Quem, si Stygiâ non esset in umbrâ,
" Dixissem facilè esse Deum. Non falleris, inquit
" Docta comes Triviae: meruit Deus esse videri;
" Et fuit in tanto non parvum pectore numen."

It appears from these Examples, that Virgil might very well call Augustus a God; but when he adds farther, " That he will frequently " sacrifice to him at his Altar," one is more at a loss; for, according to Ruaeus, (in Virgil's Life, under the year 718, U. C.) they did not begin actually to worship Augustus, till, at least, five years after Virgil said this; as well as what follows, at ver. 43;

" Hic illum vidi juvenem, Meliboee, quotannis
" Bis senos cui nostra dies altaria fumant."

Is it not possible, that Virgil might have inserted both these passages, in some later publication of his Eclogues? Or did he forestall the Flattery of the Public? who (according to the same Ruaeus) did not generally receive Augustus among their Tutelar Gods, till the 719th year of Rome.

VER. 14.

" Hic inter densas ❋ corylos" ——

❋ The Hazle, as it is commonly render'd. Quaer. if properly? I don't find that Pliny ever mentions it in the class of nuts. Lib. xvi. c. 18, speaking " de Arborum naturâ per situs," having mention'd several trees which love the mountains, he then says; " Descendunt etiam in " plana, Cornus, Corylus, Quercus, Ornus, Acer, Fraxinus, Fagus, Car- " pinus." Where it seems, by the company he puts the Corylus in, that

that he eſteems it a mountain tree, but ſuch as will grow in the plain likewiſe. In the ſame Chapter Pliny ſays; " Spina nuptiarum facibus " auſpicatiſſima, quoniam inde fecerint Paſtores qui rapuerunt Sabinas; " ut autor eſt Maſſurius. Nunc facibus carpinus et corylus familiariſſimæ." The Carpinus is a ſort of Acer, as appears from Pliny, cap. 10. of the ſame book. Quær. if it is not on the account of uſing the Corylus for *Faces* at nuptials that Virgil ſays;

" Hic corylis mixtas inter conſedimus ulmos." Ecl. v. 3.

And again;

——— " Vos coryli teſtes et flumina nymphis." Ver. 21.

And;

" Phyllis amat corylos" ——— Ecl. vii. 63.

Virgil here gives the epithet Denſas to the Coryli.
Georg. ii. Virgil mentions the Corylus twice, viz. ver. 65.

" Plantis eduræ coryli naſcuntur" ———

where, obſerve, that he ranks it among mountain trees.
And ver. 299;

" Neve inter vites corylum ſere" ——

When Ovid reckons up the ſeveral trees which came to liſten to Orpheus, he diſtinguiſhes the Corylus by the epithet Fragilis.

" Et coryli fragiles" ——— Met. lib. x. 93.

VER. 16—18.

" Saepe malum hoc nobis, ſi mens non laeva fuiſſet,
" De coelo tactas memini praedicere quercus:
" Saepe † ſiniſtra cavâ praedixit ab ilice cornix."

† The late Duke of Argyle (when he was on his travels in his youth) had a diſpute with Pere Colonia, the then Librarian of the Jeſuits College at Lyons; in which he quoted this verſe, to prove that Siniſtra was uſed for unlucky. The good Father (and he was really a very good man) denied the authority of the verſe, and quoted Servius for its being ſpurious. It is certain alſo, that it is omitted in one of the moſt ancient manuſcripts of Virgil in the Vatican. What might very well make room for diſputes about the meaning of this word is, that in the times of the Roman Republick, it was generally uſed for Lucky; and in the Auguſtan age, for Unlucky. Many inſtances may be given of each. Thus as high as in the laws of the XII Tables:

 —— " Si

——" Si quando duellum gravius, diſcordiaeve civium eſcunt, unus ne " amplius ſex menſes, (niſi ſenatus creverit,) idem juris quod duo conſules " teneto: iſque, Ave Siniſtra, magiſter populi eſto." Cic. lib. de Leg. from the XII Tables. And as low as Plautus:

——" Omnes ordines ſub ſignis ducam, legiones meas, avi ſiniſtrâ, " auſpicio liquido, atque ex ſententiâ." Plaut. Pſeud. act. ii. ſub finem.

But in Auguſtus's time, it was uſed for Unlucky; and, in particular, frequently by Ovid. " Signa ſiniſtra:" Triſt. L. v. Ep. 8. and " Avibus " ſiniſtris." Phil. to Dem. and for Bad: as " Fama ſiniſtra:" El. L. iii. ver. 763. And, " Si quae eſt ſtudioſa ſiniſtrî:" Triſt. ii. And by Virgil himſelf, if not here, at leaſt in another part of the ſame work:

" Quod niſi me quacunque novas incidere lites
" Ante ſiniſtra cavâ monuiſſet ab ilice cornix;
" Nec tuus hic Moeris, nec viveret ipſe Menalcas."

Ecl. ix. 14—16.

VER. 27—30.

" MEL. Et quae tanta fuit Romam tibi cauſa videndi?
" TIT. Libertas: quae ſera, tamen † reſpexit inertem;
" Candidior poſtquam tondenti barba cadebat:
" Reſpexit tamen, et longo poſt tempore venit."

† They had a Statue of Fortuna Reſpiciens at Rome, and the Roman Poets often allude to her in that attitude. There is a Gold Medal of Vitellius in the Strozzi Collection at Rome, with the Goddeſs of Liberty on its Reverſe. The Inſcription is Libertas Reſtituta, and ſhe is in the ſame attitude as the Fortuna Reſpiciens muſt have been.

Reſpicere, eſpecially when uſed of a Deity, ſignified to regard or favour any one. See Polymetis, Dial. x. Note 89.

VER. 71—74.

† " Impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit,
" Barbarus has ſegetes? En quo diſcordia cives
" Perduxit miſeros! en queis conſevimus agros!
" Inſere nunc, Meliboee, pyros, pone ordine vites."

† Virgil often ſpeaks, as here, of their vines and corn together; in the ſame mixed manner, as they were cultivated, of old, among the Romans. It agrees too with the mixed kind of Agriculture, uſed to this day in Italy; and, particularly, in the Vale of Lombardy: where you ſee perpe-

perpetually Trees at ſmall diſtances between the furrows, Vines growing up them, and Corn-field in every middle ſpace.

So Virgil in his 4th Georgic:

" Quin age, et ipſa manu felices erue ſylvas:
" Fer ſtabulis inimicum ignem, atque interfice meſſes:
" Ure ſata, et validam in vites molire bipennem:
" Tanta meae ſi te ceperunt taedia laudis." Ver. 332.

And Catullus:

" Non humilis curvis purgatur vinea raſtris;
" Non glebam prono convellit vomere taurus:
" Non falx attenuat frondatorum arboris umbram."

Argonaut. ver. 41.

VER. 75—77.

" Ite meae, felix quondam pecus, ite capellae.
" Non ego vos poſthac, † viridi projectus in † antro,
" Dumoſa pendere procul de rupe videbo."

† I have ſeen in Italy (and on the Vatican Hill near Rome, in particular) a little arch'd Cave made by the Shepherds of Evergreens; not high enough to ſtand in; and where they lye at their eaſe, to obſerve their Flocks browzing. Qu. whether it be not ſuch a Cave, which is meant here? Viridi is not a proper Epithet for the Inſide of a natural Cave; eſpecially for ſuch rocky ones as we find in Italy.

ECLOGUE THE SECOND.

VER. 1.

" FOrmoſum paſtor Corydon ❋ ardebat Alexin."

❋ N. B. Virgil calls the Love between Niſus and Euryalus, Amorem Pium. Aen. v. 296. Such was this. — As Ovid in his 2d book De Triſtibus enumerates, and in other places, hints at the ſeveral Poets of his time, who had written love verſes, without having ſuffer'd for them; and mentions particularly Virgil's 4th Aeneid; one may reaſonably conclude, that he did not look upon the 2d Ecl. as a love poem, much

leſs

leſs a very lewd one, as is commonly imagined; otherwiſe he would probably have mention'd it.

The ſtory of Niſus and Euryalus was certainly from the very beginning much admired, and eſteemed as a noble pattern of true friendſhip and fidelity; and put in competition with the celebrated ſtories of Theſeus and Pirithous, Pylades and Oreſtes. Ovid, who lived in Virgil's time, having in 4 verſes (lib. i. de Triſt. El. iv.) mention'd the fidelity of Theſeus and Pirithous, Pylades and Oreſtes, tried in adverſity; adds as another inſtance,

" Si non Euryalus Rutulos cecidiſſet in hoſtes,
" Hyrtacidae Niſo gloria nulla foret."

VER. 8—13.

" Nunc etiam pecudes umbras et frigora captant;
" Nunc virides etiam occultant ſpineta lacertos:
" Theſtylis et rapido feſſis meſſoribus aeſtu
" Allia ſerpyllumque herbas contundit olentes.
" At mecum raucis, tua dum veſtigia luſtro,
" Sole ſub ardenti reſonant arbuſta * cicadis."

* I don't know how almoſt every body in England came to imagine, that the Cicada in the Roman Writers was the ſame with our Graſshopper; for their characters are different enough, to have prevented any ſuch miſtake. —— † The Cicada is what the Italians now call Cicala; and the French Cigale. They make one conſtant uniform noiſe, all day long, in ſummer time; which is extremely diſagreeable and tireſome; particularly, in the greateſt heats. Their note is ſharp and ſhrill, in the beginning of the ſummer; but harſh and hoarſe towards the latter part of it. They are ſuppoſed by the vulgar to feed on the morning dew; and then fix on ſome ſunny branch of a tree, and ſing all day long. It is hence that this Inſect is oppoſed to the Ant, in the old Aeſopian Fables; a creature as induſtrious and inoffenſive, as the other is idle and troubleſome. Virgil calls the Cicadae, Querulae (Georg. iii. 328.) and Raucae (Ecl. ii. 12.); Martial, Argutae (lib. xi. Ep. 19.) and Inhumanae (lib. x. Ep. 58.) Their Note is the more tireſome, becauſe in the greateſt heats they ſing alone:

——— " Solus cano; me ſonat omnis
" Sylva: nec aeſtivis cantu concedo cicadis."

Nemeſianus, Ecl. iv. 42.

Any

Any one, who has paſt a ſummer in Italy, or in the South of France, will not think the epithet of Inhumanae, too ſevere for them; and thoſe, who have not, may learn how extremely fatiguing they are, from what one of the beſt Poets in each of thoſe countries has ſaid of them:

" Percote il Sole ardente il vicin colle;
" E del calor, che ſi reflette à dietro,
" In modo l'aria e l'arena ne bolle,
" Che faria troppo à far liquido il vetro.
" Staſſi cheto ogni augello à l'ombra molle:
" Sol la cicala col noioſo metro,
" Fra i denſi rami del fronzuto ſtelo,
" Le valli, e i monti afforda, e'l mare, e'l cielo."

Arioſto, Cant. viii. St. 20.

" Je ne pourrois être un moment dehors ſans mourir; l'air eſt auſſi " chaud que dans un four allumé. Pour m'achever, je ſuis tout le jour " étourdi d'une infinité de cigales; qui ne font que chanter de toutes " côtés: mais d'un chant, le plus perçant, et le plus importun, du " monde." Racine, (in one of his Letters; from Uſez, in Languedoc, p. 69.)

The Cicada is much more like our Chafer, than a Graſshopper: See the figure of one in the Muſeum Florentinum, Vol. II. Pl. 92. N° 8.

VER. 45—55.

——— † " Tibi lilia plenis
" Ecce ferunt Nymphae calathis: tibi candida Naïs
" Pallentes violas et ſumma papavera carpens,
" Narciſſum et florem jungit bene olentis anethi.
" Tum caſiâ atque aliis intexens ſuavibus herbis,
" Mollia luteolâ pingit vaccinia calthâ.
" Ipſe ego cana legam tenerâ lanugine mala,
" Caſtaneaſque nuces, mea quas Amaryllis amabat.
" Addam cerea pruna: et honos erit huic quoque pomo:
" Et vos, ô lauri, carpam; et te, proxima myrte;
" Sic poſitae quoniam ſuaves miſcetis odores."

† I have ſeen Garlands carried about Florence (the Sunday before Chriſtmas-day), which were built up in a Pyramid of Bays; and faced with Apples, Grapes, and other Fruits. This gives one ſome idea of Virgil's Garland, which we can't learn from our own, that conſiſt wholly of Flowers and Greens.

ECLOGUE THE THIRD.

VER. 1, 2.

" MEN. * DIC mihi, Damaeta, cujum pecus? an Meliboei?
" DA. Non, verum Aegonis: nuper mihi tradidit Aegon."

* Paſtoral Dialogues in verſe are ſtill much practiſed by the Peaſants in Tuſcany, and other parts of Italy; eſpecially among the mountains; and are call'd by them Improviſo's. I heard a poetical conteſt of this nature at Val-Ombroſa, which, being very ſatyrical, put me in mind of the old Bucolics.

VER. 21, 22.

" An mihi cantando victus non redderet ille,
" Quem mea carminibus meruiſſet fiſtula, * caprum?"

* " Hircus caſtratus." Vid. Martial. Lib. iii. Ep. 24.

VER. 44, 45.

" Et nobis idem Alcimedon duo pocula fecit,
" Et molli cirum eſt anſas amplexus * acantho."

* See the Note upon it in Burman's Ovid. Met. xiii. ver. 701. This plant was in great eſteem among the Romans, as appears by their engraving it on their cups, etc. Quaer. if not the plant which we ſee ſometimes carved on the Torus of Pillars and on Vaſes. Much uſed likewiſe in gardens. Pliny, ſpeaking of the garden of his Tuſcan houſe, mentions " Acanthus in plano mollis, et, pene dixerim, liquidus." And again afterwards, " Acanthus hinc inde lubricus et flexuoſus." Columella, in his Poem on Gardening, ſpeaking of the Cinara or Artichoke, ſays:

" Haec modo purpureo ſurgit glomerata corymbo,
" Myrtiolo modo crine viret, deflexaque collo
" Nunc adoperta manet, nunc pinea vertice pungit;
" Nunc ſimilis calatho, ſpiniſque minantibus horret;
" Pallida nonnunquam tortos imitatur acanthos."

VER.

VER. 82, 83.

" Dulce ſatis humor, depulſis * arbutus hoedis,
" Lenta ſalix foeto pecori: mihi ſolus Amyntas."

* Mr. Holdſworth doubts whether Arbutus ſignifies the Strawberry tree in particular; and ſeems rather to have thought it was uſed among the Romans as a general name for ſmall trees, or Shrubs of the Woods, bearing wild fruit.

" Muſcoſi fontes, et ſomno mollior herba,
" Et quae vos rarâ viridis tegit arbutus umbrâ,
" Solſtitium pecori defendite!" ——— Ecl. vii. 46.
" Inferitur verò ex foetu nucis arbutus horrida." G. ii. 69.
——— " Cum jam glandes atque arbuta ſacrae
" Deficerent Sylvae." —— G. i. 148.
" Venit hyems; teritur Sicyonia bacca trapetis:
" Glande ſues laeti redeunt; dant arbuta ſylvae." G. ii. 520.

ECLOGUE THE FOURTH.

VER. 1—5.

" SICELIDES muſae, paullo majora canamus;
" Non omnes arbuſta juvant, humileſque myricae:
" Si canimus ſylvas, ſylvae ſint conſule dignae.
" Ultima Cumaei venit jam carminis aetas:
" Magnus † ab integro ſaeclorum naſcitur ordo."

† The notion of a renovation of the world, was common among the antient philoſophers. They had a tradition of what the Scripture calls, The New Heavens, and the New Earth; and what Dr. Burnet calls, The Paradiſiacal State reſtored to Man. This notion they had from tradition, and not by reaſoning: for all of them (and the Stoics, and Platoniſts, in particular) aſſerted it roundly; without giving any arguments for it. See Burnet's Theory, b. iv. ch. 3.

This fourth Eclogue of Virgil was probably meant as a deſcription of the happineſs of mankind in this renewed world, under the form of a com-

pliment to Auguſtus and Pollio. As if he had ſaid; "under your go-
" vernment, (ver. 10.) and ſuch a Conſul as Pollio, (ver. 11.) we begin to
" enjoy the happineſs ſo long foretold 14.; and the world, under ſuch
" heads, will ſoon be reſtored to its paradiſiacal ſtate," (ver. 18—47.)

VER. 11, 12.

" † Teque adeo decus hoc aevi, te conſule, inibit,
" Pollio: et incipient magni procedere menſes."

† Virgil ſays the reſtoration of the world, or the new Golden Age, ſhall begin with Pollio's conſulate. Did not the Conſuls enter on their office uſually on new year's day; and might not this poem poſſibly have been ſent to him on that day, as a Strena, or New-year's Gift?

It was not unuſual to make ſuch compliments, on the beginning of the new year, to great men; or on the day in which they had entered into any great office. Maffei gives us ſeveral old inſcriptions, to this purpoſe, in a little treatiſe of his to Cardinal Albani, on new-years gifts, (Gems vol. I. p. 111.) among which are the following:

" SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS, ANNVM NOVVM FAVSTVM, FE-
" LICEM, OPTIMO PRINCIPI.

—" QVA DIE PRIMVM IMPERIVM ORBIS TERRARVM AVSPICATVS EST
" THVRE, VINO, SVPPLICENT; ET HOSTIAS SINGVLI IMMOLENT; ET
" COLONIS INCOLISQVE THVS, VINVM, EA DIE PRAESTENT."

He quotes Seneca too; who, where he is ſpeaking of the year of Nero's acceſſion to the throne, ſays: "Quid actum ſit in caelo ante diem
" tertium idus Octobris, Aſinio Marcello, Aſinio Aviolâ Coſſ. anno
" Novo; initio Saeculi Feliciſſimi." Maff. p. 118.

The ſame compliment is very common in medals, from the time of Auguſtus, to that of Conſtantine.

VER. 45.

" Sponte ſua † ſandyx paſcentes veſtiet agnos."

† Why does Pliny ſay (Nat. Hiſt. l. xxxv. c. 6. p. 424. Edit. Elz.) that Virgil in this place miſtakes Sandyx for an Herb? as ſome of the writers of Dictionaries alſo call it, on the authority of this verſe only.

VER.

VER. 46, 47.

" Talia ſaecla ſuis dixerunt, Currite †, fuſis
" Concordes ſtabili fatorum numine Parcae."

† This ſeems to allude to the Song of the three Deſtinies in Catullus; the Chorus of which is;

" Currite, ducentes ſubtemina, currite, fuſi." See Pol. x. 75.

VER. 58, 59.

" Pan etiam Arcadiâ mecum ſi judice certet,
" Pan † etiam Arcadiâ dicat ſe judice victum."

† " If even Arcadia, where he was moſt worſhiped, was to be judge." Thus Ovid:

" Pana Deum pecoris veteres coluiſſe feruntur
" Arcades: Arcadiis plurimus ille jugis." Ov. Faſt. lib. ii.

VER. 60.

" Incipe, parve puer, † riſu cognoſcere matrem."

† The ſame thought is very prettily expreſſed, by a poet that preceded Virgil.

" Torquatus volo parvulus,
" Matris e gremio ſuae
" Porrigens teneras manus,
" Dulce rideat ad patrem;
" Semihiante labello." Catul. Epithal.

VER. 62, 63.

" Qui non riſere parentes,
" Nec Deus hunc menſa, Dea nec dignata cubili eſt +."

+ " Eſt figura et in numero: vel cum ſingulari pluralis ſubjungitur,
" *Gladio pugnaciſſima gens Romani*; gens enim ex multis. Vel e diverſo,

" Qui non riſere parentes,
" Nec Deus hunc menſa, Dea nec dignata cubili eſt:

" ex illis enim qui non riſere, hunc non dignatus Deus, nec Dea dignata." Quintil. ix. 3.

It is manifeſt from this paſſage, that Quintilian read *qui*, not *cui:* as indeed the ſenſe of the place requires; for the good omen aroſe from the ſmiling of the child upon the parents, not the ſmiling of the parents upon the child: this latter is an uſual and natural expreſſion of affection; has nothing extraordinary in it, nor is it to be looked upon as an omen; though the ſmiling of an infant newly born, and thus acknowledging its parents, might be eſteemed ſuch. But the uncommonneſs of conſtruction in the phraſe "riſere parentes" puzzled the grammarians; and this difficulty introduced the reading *cui* in Virgil, contrary to the poet's meaning; and in Quintilian's quotation alſo, contrary to the Rhetorician's own teſtimony and explication. "Riſere parentes" is the ſame with "adriſere paren-" tibus;" as "volabat littus arenoſum Libyae" is the ſame with "advo-" labat littori," in another place of Virgil (Aen. iv. 259.), where the ſame difficulty had long eſtabliſhed a pointing altogether inconſiſtent with any ſenſe.

ECLOGUE THE FIFTH.

VER. 1—3.

"CUR non, Mopſe, boni quoniam convenimus ambo,
" Tu calamos inflare leves, ego † dicere verſus,
" Hic corylis mixtas inter conſedimus ulmos?

† It was a cuſtom among the old Roman ſhepherds to vye in extempore-verſe. See note to Ecl. vii. 5. Virgil probably copied both that and this Eclogue from that practice.

When Horace invites Virgil to come and ſee him in the country, he tells him that he may there hear the ſhepherds ſinging verſes together.

" Dicunt in tenero gramine pinguium
" Cuſtodes ovium carmine fiſtulâ;
" Delectantique Deum, cui pecus et nigri
" Colles Arcadiae placent." Od. IV. XII. 12.

The Tuſcan Improviſatori now uſe the guitar in thoſe exerciſes of wit.

I queſtion

I queſtion whether Horace may not ſpeak of this Improviſo ſort of poetry, in his journey to Brunduſium.

——————— " Abſentem *cantat amicam*
" Multâ prolutus vappâ nauta, atque viator,
" *Certatim*."——— L. I. Sat. v. 17.

If ſo, it ſhews that it was not unuſual among others of the vulgar, as well as ſhepherds, to Improviſo. One of the beſt Improviſatori's at Florence, when I lived there, was a Stone-cutter.

VER. 38, 39.

" Pro molli viola, pro purpureo narciſſo,
" Carduus ❋ et ſpinis ſurgit paliurus acutis."

❋ " Carduorum ſilveſtrium genera ſunt duo: unum fructicoſius à terrâ " ſtatim; alterum unicaule craſſius. Utrique folia pauca, ſpinoſa, muricatis " cacuminibus. Sed alter florem purpureum mittit inter medios aculeos, " celeriter caneſcentem, et abeuntem cum aurâ. Scolymon Graeci vocant." Plin. lib. xx. c. 23.

VER. 67—73.

" Pocula bina novo ſpumantia lacte quotannis,
" Crateraſque duos ſtatuam tibi pinguis olivi:
" Et multo imprimis hilarans convivia Baccho,
" (Ante focum, ſi frigus erit; ſi meſſis, in umbrâ,)
" Vina novum fundam calathis Arviſia nectar.
" Cantabunt mihi Damoetas, et Lyctius Aegon:
" Saltantes ſatyros † imitabitur Alpheſiboeus."

† —" Cum caeruleatus, et nudus, caputque redimitus arundine, et " caudam trahens, genibus innixus Glaucum ſaltaſſet." Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. § 85.

In the little quarrel between two low people, in Horace's journey to Brunduſium, one of them begs the other (who was of a large aukward make) " To dance the Cyclops." Lib. i. Sat. 5. ver. 63.

This ſort of dances I had no notion of, till I ſaw ſomething of the ſame kind in Italy. It is the repreſenting of ſome character, and ſometimes a whole ſtory in a dance, not unlike our dumb ſhews; only that all the particular actions muſt keep time with the muſic.

But

But the thing that gives one the moſt perfect idea of theſe ancient dances, is a paſſage in Longus's Paſtoral Romance; where (at a feaſt, after a ſacrifice to Pan) Lamon, one of the old ſhepherds, tells the reſt the ſtory of Pan and the Syrinx; and Philetas gives the younger ſhepherds a leſſon on his pipe, how to conduct their flocks by the different notes and tunes of it. "All the company," ſays Longus, "ſat in ſilence, "and took a great deal of pleaſure in hearing him; till one of them, "called Dryas, got up, and begged him to play one of their briſker airs "in honour of Bacchus; and he, in the mean time, danced the character "of a Vindemiator, or Vintager. In this dance, he flung himſelf into "different poſtures, as if he was gathering the bunches of grapes; carry-"ing them in baſkets; flinging them into the wine-vat; putting the li-"quor into veſſels; and drinking the muſt. All which he did ſo natu-"rally, and ſo expreſſively, that they almoſt thought they ſaw before "their eyes the vineyard, the veſſels, the liquor, and Dryas taking a "hearty draught of it. The good old man having ſo well performed "his part; at the cloſe of his dance, went and ſaluted Daphnis and "Chloe: on which they immediately roſe from their ſeats, and danced "the ſtory which Lamon had been juſt telling them. Daphnis repre-"ſented the God Pan; and Chloe was the fair Syrinx. He made his "addreſſes to her; and ſhe only laughed at it. She runs from him; "and he purſues her: huddling on upon the tips of his toes, the better "to imitate Pan's cloven feet. She then made all the appearance of being "quite tired with running: and (inſtead of getting between the reeds) "crept into the grove juſt by, to hide herſelf. On which, Daphnis "taking up Philetas's pipe (which was one of the largeſt and beſt ſort) "drew a languiſhing ſound from it, as of one in love; a pathetic ſound, "as of one eager to enjoy; and a recalling ſound, as of one that is fondly "ſeeking after what he has loſt. All which he did ſo well, and in ſo "knowing a manner, that the good Philetas, quite aſtoniſhed at it, ran to "him and kiſſed him; and then made him a preſent of his pipe; praying "the gods, that, after him, it might ſtill fall into as good hands. Daph-"nis on this hung up the little pipe he had always uſed before, as a pre-"ſent to Pan; and then ſaluting Chloe, as if he had found her again "after a real flight, led his flock toward their fold for the night: and "playing all the way, on the pipe that Philetas had juſt given him." Amours of Daphnis and Chloe, B. ii. ſub fin.

Virgil

Virgil here ſpeaks of a feaſt juſt like this; and of the Pan or Satyr-dance; where the ſhepherd Menalcas promiſes to keep an annual feſtival, in memory of one of his departed friends.

ECLOGUE THE SIXTH.

VER. 1, 2.

" PRIMA †¹ Syracoſio dignata eſt ludere verſu,
" Noſtra, nec erubuit ſylvas habitare, Thalia †²."

†¹ I have heard a great genius obſerve that Virgil is very ſparing in his commendations of other poets; and ſcarce ever does it, unleſs he is forced.

He hints at Theocritus here, becauſe he had taken ſo much from him, and his ſubject led to it; and does the ſame by Heſiod, for the ſame reaſons:

" Aſcraeumque cano Romano per oppida carmen." Georg. ii. 176.

He never ſpeaks a ſingle word of Homer: and indeed could not do it, where ſome would have had him, becauſe of the Anachroniſm. See note on ver. 64. poſth.

†² It appears hence, and from her dreſs, that Thalia was the muſe of Paſtorals as well as of Comedies. See Pol. viii. 33.

VER. 3—5.

" Cum canerem reges et praelia, Cynthius aurem
" Vellit, † et admonuit: Paſtorem, Tityre, pingues
" Paſcere oportet oves, deductum dicere carmen."

† Among the Great Duke's gems (Muſ. Flor. vol. ii. pl. 22. fig. 2.) is one with a hand holding an ear, by the tip of it; with this inſcription, MNHMONEYE. Thus Seneca:

" Ad huncce bellè acceſſit Hercules, et auriculam ei tetigit." Apoth. Claudii, p. 801. ed. Schotti.

VER.

VER. 43, 44.

" His adjungit, Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum
" Clamaſſent: ut littus, Hyla †, Hyla, omne ſonaret."

† This ſtory, as it is told at large in Flaccus's Argonautics, ſhews how juſt Virgil is in what he ſays here.

VER. 48.

" Proetides implerunt falſis mugitibus agros †."

† At this verſe begins the famous MS. of Virgil, in the Lorenzo Library at Florence; authorized by one of the Conſuls, and dated by him in the fifth century.

Whenever I may have occaſion to quote it for the future, I ſhall call it, The Florentine Manuſcript.

VER. 55—60.

———————— " Claudite nymphae,
" Dictaeae nymphae, nemorum jam claudite ſaltus:
" Si qua forte ferant oculis ſeſe obvia noſtris
" Errabunda bovis veſtigia. Forſitan illum,
" Aut herbâ captum viridi, aut armenta ſecutum,
" Perducant aliquae ſtabula ad † Gortynia vaccae."

† The medals of the people of that town are marked with a cow or bull; Lord Pembroke's Medals, II. 34, 8, inſcribed ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ. Gortyna was a city of Crete; the country of Paſiphaë, who is here ſpoken of.

VER. 64—71.

" Tum canit errantem Permeſſi ad flumina Gallum
" Aonas in montes ut duxerit una ſororum;
" Utque viro Phoebi chorus aſſurrexerit omnis:
" Ut † Linus haec illi divino carmine paſtor,
" Floribus atque apio crines ornatus amaro,
" Dixerit: Hos tibi dant calamos, en accipe, Muſae,
" Aſcraeo quos ante ſeni: quibus ille ſolebat
" Cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos."

† Virgil has been blamed, very ridiculouſly, for not ſaying any thing of Homer in his ſixth Aeneid (637—677.) where, if he had ſaid any thing of him, he muſt have put him in Elyſium before he was born.

It

It ſeems more juſt to complain, that he has not once mentioned him in all his works. He ſeemed to have had a fair opportunity here, and another in the fourth Ecl. (ver. 55.) But he *then* had no obligations at all to him.

And have not the poets he mentions in both theſe places ſome relation to Paſtoral Poetry? and might not the mentioning of an Epic Poet, be improper in both? Here he names only Heſiod, and Linus; and before, the ſame Linus, Orpheus, and Pan.

VER. 74—78.

" Quid loquar? aut Scyllam Niſi †, quam fama ſecuta eſt,
" Candida ſuccinctam latrantibus inguina monſtris,
" Dulichias vexaſſe rates, et gurgite in alto
" Ah timidos nautas canibus laceraſſe marinis?
" Aut ut mutatos Terei narraverit artus?"

† So Propertius:

" Quid mirum in patrios Scyllam ſaeviſſe capillos?
" Candidaque in ſaevos inguina verſa canes?"

Lib. IV. El. iv. ver. 40.

And Ovid:

——— " Scylla, patri cano furata capillos,
" Pube premit rabidos inguinibuſque canes."

Am. lib. III. El. xii. ver. 22.

This is one of the very few ſtories, in which the poets of the Auguſtan age diſagree with themſelves: for Ovid in his Metamorphoſis, lib. viii. ver. 150; and Virgil, in his Georgics, lib. i. ver. 404; ſpeak of this very Scylla's being turned into a bird.

ECLOGUE THE SEVENTH.

VER. 1—5.

" FORTE ſub argutâ conſederat ilice Daphnis,
" Compulerantque greges Corydon et Thyrſis in unum:
" Thyrſis oves, Corydon diſtentas lacte capellas.
" Ambo florentes aetatibus, Arcades ambo:
" † Et cantare pares, et reſpondere parati."

† This Eclogue, as the third before, ſeems to be an imitation of a cuſtom among the ſhepherds of old, of vying together in extempore verſe. At leaſt it is very like the Improviſatori at preſent in Italy; who flouriſh now, perhaps, more than any other poets among them; particularly in Tuſcany. They are ſurprizingly ready in their anſwers (" reſpondere " parati,") and go on octave for octave, or ſpeech for ſpeech alternately (" alternis dicetis; amant alterna Camaenae," Ecl. iii. 59.) In both theſe Eclogues the ſecond ſpeaker ſeems obliged to follow the turn of thought uſed by the firſt; as at preſent the ſecond Improviſatore is obliged to follow the rhime of the firſt.

At Florence I have heard of their having Improviſo Comedies. There were Improviſatori of this kind too, in the earlieſt ages of Rome; for before Livius Andronicus endeavoured to make any thing of a regular play, " Compoſitum temere ac rudem alternis jaciebant," ſays Livy (2. U. C. 391.) It is very remarkable that they were Tuſcans too, who brought this method to Rome. Ibid.

VER. 25, 26.

† " Paſtores hederâ creſcentem ornata poëtam
" Arcades, invidiâ rumpantur ut ilia Codro."

† The Ivy-crown is mentioned frequently by the ancients, as worn by the poets in thoſe days.

——————— " Accipe juſſis
" Carmina coepta tuis; atque hanc ſine tempora circum
" Inter victrices hederam tibi ſerpere lauros." Ecl. viii. 13.

—— " Seu

——————— " Seu condis amabile carmen,
" Prima feres hederae victricis praemia."
Hor. (to Julius Florus) lib. I. ep. iii. ver. 25.

" Ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macrâ."
Juvenal, Sat. vii. ver. 29.

——————— " Pallidum Pyrenen
" Illis relinquo, quorum imagines lambunt
" Hederae ſequaces." ——— Perſius in Prol.

——————— " Enthea vittis
" Atque hederâ redimita cohors." ———
Statius, lib. I. Sylv. ii. ver. 249.

" Ennius emeruit, Calabris in montibus ortus,
" Contiguus poni, Scipio magne, tibi:
" Nunc hederae ſine honore jacent." ———
Ovid. de Art. Am. iii. ver. 411.

It is as plain from them that the poets wore theſe ivy-crowns as ſigns of their being inſpired by Bacchus.

" Quid poſſunt hederae Bacchi dare?" ———
Martial, lib. i. ep. 44.

" Si quis habes noſtris ſimiles in imagine vultus,
" Deme meis hederas, Bacchica ſerta, comis:
" Iſta decent laetos felicia ſigna poetas."
Ovid. Triſt. lib. I. El. vi. ver. 3.

Pliny, ſpeaking of the white Hedera, and afterwards of the black, ſays, " Simili modo in nigrâ, alicui et ſemen nigrum, alii crocatum; cujus co-
" ronis poetae utuntur: foliis minus nigris; quam quidam Nyſiam, alii
" Bacchicam vocant." Nat. Hiſt. lib. vi. c. 34.

The Laurel-crown was, properly, the ornament of great warriors: (as Apollo ſays in Ovid, when he makes the Laurel his tree:)

" Tu ducibus Latiis aderis, cum laeta triumphum
" Vox canet, et longae viſent Capitolia pompae."
Met. i. ver. 561.

And was given, perhaps, ſometimes to Epic Poets, and thoſe of the higher claſs; becauſe they celebrated great warriors and heroes. Thus Statius (who had written epic poems, as well as odes) ſpeaks of his having both the Laurel, and Ivy-crowns.

——— " Fugêre meos Parnaſia crines
" Vellera: funeſtamque hederis irrepere taxum
" Extimui, trepidamque (nefas) areſcere laurum."
Statius (ſpeaking of the death of his father) Lib. V. Sylv. iii. ver. 9.

And ſays of his father (who had carried the prize, in theſe different kinds of poetry too) that he had both theſe crowns.

—— " Specieque comam ſubnexus utrâque." Ibid. ver. 115.

VER. 29—32.

" Setoſi caput hoc apri tibi, Delia, parvus
" Et ramoſa Mycon vivacis cornua cervi:
" Si proprium hoc fuerit, levi de marmore tota
" Puniceo † ſtabis ſuras evincta cothurno."

† It is certain that ſome of the huntreſſes of old wore Cothurni Purpurei, from Aen. i. 337.

It was a cuſtom among the Heathens, as it is at preſent among the Roman Catholics, to dreſs up their ſtatues on feſtivals, or out of a particular devotion. This is meant probably of that cuſtom.

VER. 37, 38.

" Nerine Galatea, thymo mihi dulcior Hyblae,
" Candidior cycnis, hederâ †¹ formoſior †² albâ."

†¹ " More beautiful than Ivy," to us may ſeem but an odd ſimile. It might ſound otherwiſe to an Italian, whoſe country abounds with evergreens; moſt of them of a ruſty and diſagreeable colour: whereas Ivy is of a clear, lively green. They uſed it in the moſt beautified parts of their gardens: Pliny, ſpeaking of his garden, and of the Hippodrome (which ſeems to have been one of the prettieſt things in it) ſays; " Platanis cir-
" cuitur; illae hederâ veſtiuntur: utque ſummae ſuis, ita imae alienis
" frondibus virent." (L. v. ep. 6.) Horace compares young beauties to Ivy, and old women to dead withered leaves. (Lib. i. Od. 25. Stanz. ult.)

†² As Virgil calls Hedera Alba here, he calls it, Nigra in his ſecond Georgic (258) and Pallentes Hederas elſewhere. (G. iv. 124.)

Pliny ſpeaks of three ſorts of Ivy: " Eſt candida, et nigra Hedera,
" tertiaque quae vocatur Helix. Eſt aliqua fructu tantum candido, alia
" et folio." (Nat. Hiſt. lib. xvi. c. 34.)

VER.

VER. 45—48.

" Muſcoſi fontes, et ſomno mollior herba,
" Et quae vos rarâ viridis tegit ❋[1] arbutus umbrâ,
" ❋[2] Solſtitium pecori defendite : jam venit aeſtas
" Torrida ; jam laeto turgent in palmite gemmae."

❋[1] " Arbutus ſive Unedo fructum fert difficilem concoctioni, et ſtomacho " inutilem." Plin. l. xxiii. c. 8.

" Aliud corpus eſt terreſtribus fragis, aliud congeneri eorum Unedoni, " quod ſolum pomum ſimile fructui terrae gignitur. Arbor ipſa fruti- " coſa ; fructus anno matureſcit ; pariterque floret ſubnaſcens, et prior " coquitur. Mas ſit an foemina ſterilis, inter autores non conſtat. Po- " mum inhonorum, ut cui nomen ex argumento ſit, unum tantum edendi. " Duobus tamen hoc nominibus appellant Graeci, Comaron et Meme- " cylon. Ex quo apparet totidem eſſe genera et apud nos. Alio nomine " Arbutus vocatur. Juba autor eſt quinquagenûm cubitorum altitudine " in Arabia eſſe eas." Plin. lib. xv. c. 24. This Unedo is what we call the Winter-Strawberry. At Naples it is called Sorvo Piloſo. — Quaer. If the other ſort, called by Pliny Arbutus, is not what the Italians call Legno Santo. Virgil gives the Arbutus the epithet Horrida, and makes hurdles of it. — Arbuteae Crates. And again ;

——— " Crates et molle feretrum
" Arbuteis texunt virgis." ——— Aen. xi. ver. 64.

Georg. ii. he engraffs the Nut upon it. Eclog. iii.

" Dulce ſatis humor, depulſis arbutus hoedis."

This paſſage the commentators explain to be meant, of its ſhade : but I think it ought rather to be underſtood of its brouze : and if ſo, the Arbutus cannot here mean the Winter-Strawberry.

Again, Virgil ſpeaks here of the " rara umbra Arbuti," which cannot be underſtood of the Winter-Strawberry. Again, Georg. iii. Virgil ſpeaks of the Arbuta as brouze for goats.

——— ——— " Jubeo frondentia capris
" Arbuta ſufficere." ——— ———

N. B. Notwithſtanding the Arbutus and Arbutum are ſo frequently mentioned by the Roman writers, that it ſeems to be as common as any plant in the country, it muſt be obſerved that Pliny, who gives a de-

ſcription

ſcription of every tree and ſhrub, not only in Italy, but in all other known parts of the world, makes no mention of this, except accidentally as another name for the Unedo; and, therefore, it is reaſonable to believe that this was not the name of any particular ſpecies of trees (unleſs as it was ſometimes uſed ſynonymouſly for the Unedo) but a general name for Winter ſhrubs; and Arbutum for berries. Quaer. If Arbuta, therefore, may not rather ſignify in general Silveſtria Poma, or any ſort of wild Winter fruits, except Acorns. Virgil in ſeveral places ſeems to uſe it in that ſenſe; as,

——— " Cum jam glandes atque arbuta ſacrae
" Deficerent ſilvae." ——— Georg. i. ver. 148.

Again;

" Glande ſues laeti redeunt: dant arbuta ſilvae." ii. 520.

Again, ſpeaking of the bees;

——— " Paſcuntur et arbuta paſſim." iv. 181.

Ovid ſpeaks of the Goddeſs Carne touching the doors of a houſe " Arbuteâ fronde:"

" Protinus arbuteâ poſtes ter in ordine tangit
" Fronde, ter arbuteâ limina fronde notat."
Faſt. lib. vi. ver. 155.

as an inchantment.

" Arbuta Poeniceo fieri matura colore." Lucret. lib. v. ver. 939.

——— " Pomoque onerata rubenti
" Arbutus." ——— Ovid. Met. lib. x. ver. 101.

" Arbuteos foetus montanaque fraga legebant." Lib. i. ver. 104. ſpeaking of the Golden Age.

Again, ſpeaking of Io, he ſays;

" Frondibus arbuteis et amarâ paſcitur herbâ." Lib. i. ver. 632.

" Nec tibi caſtaneae, me conjuge, nec tibi deerunt
" Arbutei foetus, omnis tibi ſerviet arbos." Lib. xiii. ver. 820.

——— " Tegit arbutus herbam,
" Ros maris, et lauri, nigraque myrtus olent."
Art. Amat. lib. iii. ver. 689.

where he plainly ſpeaks of it as a ſhrub.

" Impune

" Impune tutum per nemus arbutos
" Quaerunt latentes." —— Hor. lib. i. Od. 17.

* 2 It is manifeſt from Pliny that Solſtitium was uſed for the Summer Solſtice only, and Bruma for the Winter Solſtice. " Democritus talem " futuram hyemem arbitratur qualis fuerit Brumae dies, et circa eum " terni; item Solſtitio, aeſtatem." Plin. l. xviii. c. 26.

ECLOGUE THE EIGHTH.

VER. 26—28.

" MOPSO Niſa datur: quid non ſperemus amantes?
" Jungentur jam gryphes equis, aevoque ſequenti
" Cum canibus † timidi venient ad pocula damae."

† I have heard a very nice critic as to verſification, the late Mr. Auditor Benſon, obſerve " that Virgil in this paſſage chuſes rather to infringe " grammar than to make a rhime." Virgil uſes the ſame expreſſion again,

" Timidi damae, cervique fugaces." Georg. iii. 539.

The ear even of Horace was not ſo nice as that of Virgil; for he does not ſcruple to ſay,

" Timidae natarunt aequore damae." Lib. I. Od. ii. 11.

VER. 47—50.

" Saevus † Amor docuit natorum ſanguine matrem
" Commaculare manus; crudelis tu quoque, mater:
" Crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille?
" Improbus ille puer, crudelis tu quoque, mater."

† There were two Cupids, eminent among all the multitude of them of old; one of which was called, The Good Cupid; and the other, The Bad Cupid. Virgil here, evidently, ſpeaks of the latter of theſe.

ECLOGUE THE NINTH.

VER. 2.—6.

" O Lycida, vivi pervenimus, advena noſtri
" (Quod nunquam veriti ſumus) ut poſſeſſor agelli
" Diceret: haec mea ſunt; veteres migrate coloni.
" Nunc victi, + triſtes, quoniam fors omnia verſat,
" Hos illi (quod nec bene vertat) mittimus hoedos."

+ Theſe two epithets Burman declares he can hardly digeſt, and would therefore read it thus,

" Nunc victi, triſtis quoniam fors omnia verſat;

But there is no need of making any alteration. For that rule "de Epi-" thetis non multiplicandis," is a mere dream of grammarians; nor ſhall we find that the beſt poets took any notice of it.

For what ſhall we ſay to theſe verſes of Lucretius?

" Hinc feſſae pecudes pingues per pabula laeta
" Corpora deponunt, et candens lacteus humor
" Uberibus manat diſtentis." Lib. i. 258—260.

And to this of Virgil? Georg. iv. 425.

" Jam rapidus torrens ſitientes Sirius Indos"
" Ardebat."

Burman himſelf will furniſh us with more examples of the like nature from Virgil in his note to Georg. i. 40. See alſo Miſcell. Obſervat. Critic. tom. i. p. 10. et G. J. Voſſius de Conſ.

VER. 33—36.

——————— " Me quoque dicunt
" Vatem paſtores, ſed non ego credulus illis.
" Nam neque adhuc Varo videor nec dicere † Cinna
" Digna, ſed argutos inter ſtrepere anſer olores."

† This is, probably, meant of that unfortunate poet, who was murdered by miſtake, in the tumult, after Julius Caeſar's death.

Ainſworth ſpeaks of no leſs than three Roman poets of this name, who may all, very fairly, be reduced to this one. The Cinna, who was ſo fatally

fatally miſtaken by the mob; another Cinna, a contemporary of Hortenſius; and who, according to Catullus, was nine years writing his poem, called Smyrna: and a third excellent poet contemporary with Virgil. Now all theſe characters are as applicable to the Cinna that was murdered in 710 U. C. as to any other. He was certainly a contemporary with Virgil, who was then, at leaſt twenty-ſix years old; and who, probably, had written moſt of his paſtorals before that age; for Ovid ſays, that Virgil wrote his paſtorals when young;

" Phyllidis hic idem tenerosque Amaryllidis ignes
" Bucolicis juvenis luſerat antè modis." Triſt. lib. ii. ver. 538.

And Virgil himſelf ſays the ſame more ſtrongly:

" Carmina qui luſi paſtorum; audaxque juventâ,
" Tityre, te patulae cecini ſub tegmine fagi." Georg. iv. 565.

" Cinna muſt alſo have been a contemporary of Hortenſius, who was born in 641, and died in 704 U. C. and conſequently of Catullus, who died a year only after Hortenſius.

VER. 60, 61.

——————————— " Hic ubi denſas
" Agricolae * ſtringunt frondes: hic, Moeri, canamus."

* A grove, I ſuppoſe, in which the peaſants ſtrip off the leaves: Father Catrou has miſtaken the meaning; and ſo has Ruaeus, where he ſays, in his note on this place: " Vel quae colligantur in faſciculum: ut hic, et Georg. i. 317.

" Fragili jam ſtringeret hordea culmo."

where Virgil ſpeaks of reaping, not binding up in ſheaves.

The word, Stringo, is often uſed by Virgil; but never, I believe, in that ſenſe.

ECLOGUE THE TENTH.

VER. 1—3.

" EXTREMUM hunc, Arethuſa, mihi concede laborem.
" Pauca meo Gallo *, ſed quae legat ipſa Lycoris,
" Carmina ſunt dicenda: neget quis carmina Gallo?"

* Gallus excelled in love-ſongs, and wrote a poem to his miſtreſs under the name of Lycoris, as we learn from Ovid:

" Nec fuit opprobrio celebraſſe Lycorida Gallo;
" Sed linguam nimio non tenuiſſe mero." Triſt. lib. ii.

He mentions him again in other places; and particularly, Lib. iv. Eleg. ult. where, having ſpoken of Tibullus, he adds:

" Succeſſor fuit hic tibi, Galle; Propertius, illi:
" Quartus ab his ſerie temporis ipſe fui."

VER. 16.

——————————— " Noſtrî nec poenitet illas +."

+ Martyn thinks theſe words can be explained by an Hypallage, and have the ſame force, as, " Nec illarum nos poenitet:" but I believe we ſhall not find any approved writer, who uſes ſuch an Hypallage. And, indeed, I think, ſuch Hypallages are nothing elſe than the dreams of grammarians, and veils to cover their ignorance. See the very learned Dr. Clarke on Hom. Il. ά. 566. The ſenſe, then, of this paſſage I take to be this: " Neither have we been a diſgrace to Paſtoral " Poetry; but have ſufficiently adorned it by our Poems." For, it is evident, Gallus exerciſed himſelf in Paſtoral Poetry as well as Virgil, from what follows, ver. 50, 51.

VER. 62, 63.

" Jam neque † Hamadryades rurſum, nec carmina nobis
" Ipſa placent: ipſae rurſum concedite ſylvae."

† Does Hamadryades, in general, ſignify any thing more than companions of the Dryads? See Pol. D. 15. N. 59.

VER.

VER. 73, 74.

" Gallo, cujus amor tantum mihi creſcit in horas,
" Quantum vere novo viridis ſe ſubjicit † alnus."

† This ſort of ſimile is alſo uſed by Horace:

" Creſcit occulto velut arbor aevo
" Fama Marcelli." ——— Lib. I. Od. xii. ver. 46.

The tree, which Virgil chuſes to mention in particular, is very well choſen. Scarce any tree growing faſter than a young Alder, " viridis " alnus;" eſpecially in the ſpring-ſhoot, " vere novo."

NOTES

ON THE

GEORGICS*.

MR. Holdſworth had deſigned for many years, to publiſh an edition of Virgil's Georgics, with his notes to them. His death, and the frequent ill ſtate of his health in the interval, prevented his carrying this deſign into execution. There is part of the preface which he intended to prefix to it; and ſeveral little ſtrictures (probably toward a Diſſertation on the Georgics) among his papers; which, though only ſtrictures, as they are his, may deſerve a place here.

* VIRGIL'S GEORGICS are generally allowed to be the moſt correct of all his works; and yet, I believe, there is no part of them ſo much neglected, or ſo little read. And the reaſon is plain, becauſe there is none ſo difficult to be underſtood. This difficulty does not, as I apprehend, ariſe from the poet's manner of expreſſing himſelf more obſcurely in this poem than in his others; for if that were true, it would not then deſerve the character it bears. But it ſeems rather owing, partly to the nature of the ſubject, and partly to the commentators, who have undertaken to explain it. The ſubject in itſelf may, perhaps, appear eaſy, as it chiefly relates to different parts of huſbandry, and common affairs of life. But then we muſt conſider that the lower and more humble the ſubject, the more neceſſary were metaphors to raiſe and ennoble it; which ſome of the commentators have not ſufficiently obſerved, but have explained their Author in a too dry grammatical way. Again, we muſt conſider that many of thoſe things which Virgil treats about are liable to little changes in the ſame age, and much more in ſuch different ages; and that every country has its own manner of

of culture, and makes uſe of different inſtruments. This renders the ſubject much more difficult than it appears at firſt ſight. And the commentators having been of different countries may probably have been biaſſed too much by their own faſhions, and conſequently muſt have miſtaken Virgil in many places, for want of being better informed in the huſbandry and particular uſage of the country for which his ſyſtem is calculated.

In ſhort, I look upon this piece as a fine old paſſage which had grown dark and a little obſcure by length of time; but has ſuffered much more by thoſe who have attempted to clean it, and wipe off that little duſt which it muſt unavoidably have contracted by age. Yet notwithſtanding all this it ſtill continues a fine piece; and by what remains well preſerved, we may eaſily judge, what the whole muſt have been in its original beauty; and when every part of it was well underſtood.

Beſide the delicacy of expreſſion in the Georgics, we ought particularly to remark the tranſitions from one precept to another, which are managed with ſuch exquiſite art, notwithſtanding the number of them, as not to break the thread of the poem. And to prevent the Reader's being tired with precepts, interludes and decorations at proper diſtances are judiciouſly interſperſed, and thoſe ſo well aſſorted, that though many of them are very foreign to the ſubject, they ſeem to belong to it, and flow from it; and produce an agreeable variety, at the ſame time that they ſerve to compoſe one entire regular piece.

Leſt the inculcating precept upon precept might prove tireſome to the Reader, the poet takes care not to encumber his poem with too much buſineſs, but relieves the ſubject with ſome variety or tranſition.

Mr. Addiſon admires Virgil's great art in his manner of treating his precepts; that they fall in after each other by a natural unforced method; and ſhew themſelves in the beſt and moſt advantageous light. They are ſo finely wrought together in the ſame piece, that no coarſe ſeam diſcovers where they join. As in a curious brede of needle-work one colour falls away by ſuch juſt degrees, and another riſes ſo inſenſibly, that we ſee the variety without being able to diſtinguiſh the total vaniſhing of the one from the firſt appearance of the other.

Democritus had given this title to a treatiſe on agriculture, as appears from Columella, lib. XI. c. iii.

" Democritus in eo libro, quem Georgicon appellavit."

The Georgics are the leaſt read, and the leaſt underſtood of all Virgil's works. — How falſely has it been imagined, that the commentators have diſcovered more beauties than Virgil intended!

The Georgic (to uſe the words of Terence) is, "Corpus ſolidum et "ſucci plenum."

Mr. Addiſon concludes this poem to be the moſt complete, elaborate, and finiſhed piece of all antiquity.

After this particular account of the beauties of the Georgics, I ſhould, in the next place, endeavour to point out its imperfections, if it has any. But though I think there are ſome few parts in it not ſo beautiful as the reſt, I ſhall not preſume to name them, as rather ſuſpecting my own judgment than I can believe a fault to be in that poem which lay ſo long under Virgil's correction, and had his laſt hand put to it.

Mr. Pope, in the firſt note on the nineteenth book of the Odyſſey, makes the following obſervation on the general characters of Homer and Virgil. Homer, ſays he, is like thoſe painters of whom Apelles uſed to complain, that they left nothing to be imagined by the ſpectator, and made too accurate repreſentations; but Virgil is like Timantes in Pliny. "Timanti plurimum adfuit ingenii, in omnibus operibus ejus intelligitur "plus ſemper quam pingitur." — And again, "Oſtendit etiam quae oc-"cultat." — This character is particularly verified in his Georgics.

I have heard Mr. Holdſworth mention, in converſation, the following ſtrictures, in relation to the Georgics.

The ſtile of each book of the Georgics is different from all the others. That of the Firſt is plain; of the Second, various; of the Third, grand; and of the Fourth, pleaſing.

Columella's work is much the beſt comment on the Georgics.

I wonder whence Seneca came to ſpeak ſo ſlightly of Virgil's exactneſs in his Georgics; but this I am ſure of, that the more I have looked into the manner of agriculture uſed at preſent in Italy, the more occaſion I have had to admire the juſtice and force of his expreſſions; and his exactneſs even in the minuteſt particulars.

Mr. Holdſworth here probably had an eye to the following paſſage in Seneca. "Virgilius noſter, qui non quid veriſſimè, ſed quid decentiſſimè "diceretur, aſpexit; nec agricolas docere voluit, ſed legentes delectare." Lib. XIII. Ep. lxxxvii.

Pliny alſo ſpeaks but ſlightingly of Virgil. "Nos obliterata quoque "ſcrutabimur; nec deterrebit quarundam rerum *humilitas*. Quanquam videmus

" videmus Virgilium, praecellentiſſimum vatem, eâ de cauſâ hortorum dotes " fugiſſe: e tantiſque quae retulit, flores modò rerum decerpiſſe," etc. Lib. XIV. prooem. p. 67.

The particular for which Pliny blames Virgil is the time for ſowing millet: how unjuſtly, ſee Columell. II. ix. and Pliny himſelf, Nat. Hiſt. XVIII. vii.

Columella talks of Virgil in a ſtile very different from theſe paſſages in Pliny and Seneca. " Haec autem conſequemur, ſi veriſſimo vati velut " oraculo crediderimus." L. I. c. iv.

" Vir eruditiſſimus,ut mea fert opinio." Columell. lib. I. c. iii. (of Virgil.)

" Ideoque Virgilius cum et alia, tum et hoc de ſeminibus praeclarè ſic " differuit:

" Vidi ego lecta diu," etc. Id. II. ix. 12.

" Sequeris autem novalia non ſolùm herbida, ſed quae plerumque vidua " ſunt ſpinis; utamur enim ſaepius auctoritate divini carminis:

" Si tibi lanitium curae eſt," &c.

(From Virgil's Georg. iii. 384.) Id. VII. iii. 9.

" Sed Georgicum carmen affirmat nullam eſſe praeſtantiorem medi- " cinam,

" Quam ſi quis ferro potuit reſcindere ſummum
" Ulceris os; alitur vitium, creſcitque tegendo."

" Itaque reſerandum eſt, etc. Id. VII. v. 10. Et ne decedamus ab " optimo vate,

" Vere novo terram," etc. Georg. I. 43. Id. II. 2.

He never differs from Virgil, but in one ſingle point, in which he ſays he and the old writers in agriculture in general were miſtaken: " Virgi- " lius, et Saſerna, Stoloneſque, et Catones." Id. IV. 11.

Speaking of bees, in particular, he ſays; " Hyginus, veterum aucto- " rum placita ſecretis diſperſa monimentis induſtriè collegit; Virgilius, " poeticis floribus illuminavit; Celſus utriuſque memorati adhibuit mo- " dum." Id. IX. ii. 1. — (Yet how reſerved in his poetical excurſions even on that ſubject! See ibid. III.)

GEORGIC

GEORGIC THE FIRST.

VER. 1—5.

" QUID faciat laetas ſegetes: quo † ſidere terram
" Vertere, Maecenas, ulmiſque adjungere vites,
" Conveniat: quae cura boum, qui cultus habendo
" Sit pecori: apibus quanta experientia parcis:
" Hinc canere incipiam."———

† Virgil propoſes the Stars as part of his ſubject here; and ſays elſewhere:

——— " Tam ſunt Arcturi ſidera nobis
" Hoedorumque dies ſervandi, et lucidus Anguis;
" Quàm quibus in patriam ventoſa per aequora vectis,
" Pontus et oſtriferi fauces tentantur Abydi." Ver. 207.

Ovid, who wrote his Faſti chiefly for the uſe of the countrymen and farmers, mentions them alſo in his propoſition to that poem:

" Lapſaque ſub terras, ortaque ſigna canam."

VER. 5—9.

——— " Vos, ô * clariſſima mundi
" Lumina, labentem coelo quae ducitis annum:
" Liber et alma Ceres, veſtro ſi munere tellus
" Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit ariſtâ,
" Poculaque inventis Acheloïa miſcuit uvis."

* It cannot, I think, be doubted, notwithſtanding what Commentators ſay, but that Virgil means the Sun and Moon by — " Vos, ô clariſſima," etc. Varro, in the beginning of his Agriculture, invokes twelve Gods, whom he calls " duodecim Deos Conſentes;" 'tis probable that Virgil invokes the ſame remarkable number, which cannot be made out without reckoning the Sun and Moon. And though all Virgil's twelve Gods are not the ſame as Varro's, yet they both agree in invoking principally the Sun and Moon, Ceres and Bacchus; and both give the ſame reaſons for their invocations. It cannot indeed well be imagined, when the Poet employs ſo much of his firſt book on the influences of the Sun and Moon, that he ſhould omit to invoke them. The objection, from the want of a copulative, is of little force, the conjunction being frequently omitted by the

the beſt Authors, particularly by Virgil himſelf within ten verſes——
" Ipſe nemus linquens," etc.

VER. 18—20.

" Adſis, ô Tegeaee favens: oleaeque Minerva
" Inventrix, uncique * puer monſtrator aratri:
" Et teneram ab radice ferens, Sylvane, cupreſſum."

* In a medal of Caracalla; the reverſe repreſents Triptolemus drawn by dragons; and ſowing, as Buonarroti ſuppoſes. See his Medaglioni, p. 423.

Ovid, lib. III. de Triſt. El. viii. deſcribes Triptolemus in this attitude:

" Nunc ego Triptolemi cuperem conſcendere currus,
" Miſit in ignotam qui rude ſemen humum."

VER. 21—23.

" Diique Deaeque omnes, ſtudium quibus arva tueri;
" Quique novas alitis * nonnullo ſemine fruges,
" Quique ſatis largum caelo demittitis imbrem."

* " Non ullo" muſt certainly be the true reading; — for hereby are only meant Plants which grow of themſelves without our trouble of ſowing them, " nullis hominum cogentibus," as he expreſſes it at the beginning of the 2d book. Theſe he diſtinguiſhes from the Satis, in the following verſe.

VER. 24—31.

" Tuque adeo †, quem mox quae ſint habitura Deorum
" Conſilia, incertum eſt; urbiſne inviſere, *1 Caeſar,
" Terrarumque velis curam; et te maximus orbis
" Auctorem frugum, tempeſtatumque potentem
" Accipiat, cingens maternâ tempora myrto:
" An Deus immenſi venias maris, ac tua nautae
" Numina ſola colant: tibi ſerviat ultima *2 Thule,
" Teque ſibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis."

† This was not ſo ſtrain'd a compliment in thoſe times, as it may appear now. It might not be much more than what we ſay of every good man at his death, " That he is gone to Heaven." May not this be the meaning of what Columella ſays of Virgil himſelf?

" Siderei vatis referens praecepta Maronis." De Cult. 434.

Siderei, now in Heaven; i. e. among the Conſtellations.

At leaſt it grew to be a common compliment to the Emperors afterwards. —— See Lucan's Bombaſt on Nero, in the beginning of his Pharſalia; where he begs him to get into the chariot of the Sun. —Val. Flaccus talks of Veſpaſian's getting up among the Conſtellations too, in the entrance of his Argonautics. — Statius ſays as much of Domitian, whilſt living; and would fain place him in the chariot of the Sun too, in another part of his works. (Sylv. iv. 1. 3. — ib. iii. 138.)

Heroes (ſuch as Hercules, Perſeus, etc.) were ſuppoſed by the Heathens to be actually become Conſtellations. They might therefore as well ſay of an Emperor, that he would be a Star, as that he was a great Hero.

Horace ridicules this compliment, when given to bad or mean perſons:

—— " Sive mendaci lyrâ
" Voles ſonari: Tu pudica, Tu proba,
" Perambulabis aſtra ſidus aureum."

Epod. xvii. 41. of the infamous Canidia.

*1 After invoking twelve ſorts of Deities, Virgil annexes Auguſtus to them. — Freinſhemius, in his Supplement to Q. Curt. tells us, that, in the Theatre where Philip celebrated public ſhews juſt before he was murthered, there were the effigies of twelve Deities exquiſitely wrought; and that there was a thirteenth, which repreſented Philip in nothing inferior to the reſt. And then adds, that this contempt of his mortal condition was quickly revenged. See book Iſt, juſt preceding Philip's Death. —— † Was not this call'd the Τρισκαιδεκαΐος Θεος? — Ὁταν και τον Ελεα εςησαΐο βωμον, ὡς Τρισκαιδεκαΐα Θεα. Philoſtratus, Epiſt. lxx. Ed. Lipſ. 1709.

*2 As Virgil is here complimenting Auguſtus with dominions as God of the Sea, we muſt ſuppoſe that he means by his Thule, " ultima pars " orbis mari adeunda." — Where this was, according to the opinion of the Antients, is not agreed upon by Geographers. But it is moſt probable that it meant Iceland. Strabo tells us of an author who mentions a country in that part of the world, though the knowledge of it was again loſt in his time. His account is as follows; lib. i. ſpeaking of the Deſcription of the Earth by Eratoſthenes, he ſays: " Latitu- " dinem terrae definiens à Meroes μεσημβριναι uſque ad Alexandrinum, " pronunciat eſſe μυριας, ενθεν δε εις τον Ἑλλεσποντον περι οκΐακισχιλιας ἑκαΐον ςαδιας, " ειτ' εις Βορυσθενη πενΐακισχιλιας, ειτ' εις τον κυκλον τον δια Θυλης (ἡν φησι Πυθεας απο " μεν της Βρεταννικης ἐξ ἡμερων πλων απεχειν προς Αρκΐον, εγγυς δ' ειναι της πεπηγυιας " θαλαττης) αλλας ὡς μυριας χιλιας πενΐακοσιας."

'Tis true that Strabo ridicules this account given of Thule by Pytheas, and denies that there was any ſuch place as Thule, becauſe they had no knowledge

knowledge of it in his time. His words are theſe, as in the tranſlation: " Quis autem mentis compos intervallum quod a Boryſthene ad Thulen " ponit pro vero judicabit? Cum et Pytheas, qui Thules hiſtoriam retulit, " homo mendaciſſimus ſit inventus: Et qui Iberniam Britannicam viderunt " nihil de Thule dicant, ſed alias quaſdam parvas circa Britanniam inſulas " commemorent."—— Immediately afterwards, he ſays: " Qui è Britanniâ " mediâ non amplius IV ſtadiorum progreſſus millia terram inveniat cujus " diverſa ſit habitationis ratio, nempe ad Hiberniam; ut ulteriora iſta in " quae ille (Pytheas) Thulen rejecit, non jam habitari poſſint."

Again, lib. ii. Strabo repeats the account of Thule given by Pytheas.— " Pytheas Maſſilienſis circa Thulen Britannicarum Inſularum Septentrion- " aliſſimam ultima ait eſſe, ubi Tropicus aeſtivus Arctici Circuli vicem " gerit. De reliquis nihil narrat, neque quod inſula ſit Thule, neque " utrum eò uſque habitationes pertingant, ubi Tropicus pro Arctico eſt. " Ego autem illum ſeptentrionalem finem multo propius meridiem verſus " exiſtimo. Qui enim hodie terras perluſtrant ultra Hiberniam nihil " poſſunt referre, quae non longe verſus Septentrionem ante Britanniam " jacet, planè ferorum hominum domicilium, et propter frigus malè in- " colentium, ibi ergo finem conſtituendum cenſeo."

Again Strabo, lib. iv. at the latter end of his account of Britain, ſays: " Circa Britanniam ſunt cum aliae parvae inſulae; tum magna, Hibernia; " verſus Septentrionem juxta Britanniam porrecta, latior quam longior. " De hac nihil certi habeo quod dicam, niſi quod incolae ejus Britannis " ſunt magis agreſtes," etc. Then he adds: " Magis etiam obſcura eſt " Thules hiſtoria ob tam longinquum ſitum, omnium enim quarum fe- " rantur nomina maximè verſus Septentrionem eſſe hanc diſſitam aiunt."

From theſe ſeveral paſſages it appears, that neither the North part of Scotland (as Sir Robert Sibbald would have it), nor Ireland, nor any of the ſmaller Iſlands round Britain, could be the Thulè of the Antients: but that they reckon'd it much farther North. 'Tis not ſurprizing that Strabo ſhould have no knowledge of it, when he had ſo little information even of Ireland, as appears from his ſituation and deſcription of it.—— And when he tells us that, " ulteriora iſta, in quae Pytheas Thulen rejicit, " non habitari poſſint." But he confeſſes, lib. ii. that he never travelled that way, not even ſo far as into Gaul; and what he relates was only upon hearſay; and upon ſo bad authority, that he declares in his account of Ireland: Ταυτα δ' ὑτω λεγομεν ὡς ουκ εχοντες αξιοπιστους μαρτυρας. lib. iv. Pytheas, being a Marſilian, might have opportunities of being better inform'd: and that he was rightly inform'd is now manifeſt.—— Strabo

himſelf, when he is condemning Pytheas, owns at the ſame time that his account was very judicious; and that, ſuppoſing there was ſuch a country as Thulè, they muſt probably live in the manner as Pytheas deſcribes. "Quod ad caeli rationem et mathematicam attinet contemplationem vide-"tur non ineptè eorum locorum deſcripſiſſe proprietatem; quae frigidae "appropinquant plagae," etc. lib. iv.

All the Poets and other Authors, who mention Thule, ſpeak of it as the uttermoſt part of the world towards the North; and as Britain in Virgil's time was eſteemed part of the Roman dominions, and as Auguſtus received tribute from thence, Virgil in this compliment muſt extend his view further. And as he ſubjects Maximum Orbem to him, as God of the Earth; ſo he gives him the utmoſt bounds of the Sea, as a God of that Element.

VER. 32—35.

"Anne novum tardis ſidus te menſibus addas,
"Quâ locus Erigonen inter †, Chelaſque ſequentes
"Panditur: ipſe tibi jam brachia contrahit ardens
"Scorpius, et coeli juſtâ plus parte reliquit."

† With how great propriety Virgil has choſen this place for Auguſtus among the Conſtellations; ſee Pol. D. ii. N. 51. and that part of the Text, which the Note relates to.

VER. 36—40.

† "Quicquid eris; (nam te nec ſperent Tartara regem,
"Nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido:
"Quamvis Elyſios miretur Graecia campos,
"Nec repetita ſequi curet Proſerpina matrem)
"Da facilem curſum, atque audacibus annue caeptis."

† The connexion of the ſenſe ſeems to be thus — "Whether you will "be a God on Earth, on the Seas, or of Heaven, (for any part of Hades "is too ſevere a Poſt of Honour for ſo mild a Prince, tho', if we believe "the Greek Poets, the place has its charms too,) grant me your Pa-"tronage," etc.

VER. 43—46.

"Vere novo, gelidus canis cum montibus humor
"Liquitur, et Zephyro putris ſe gleba reſolvit;
"Depreſſo incipiat jam tum mihi taurus aratro
"Ingemere, et ſulco attritus ſplendeſcere vomer."

* The

* The beginning of Spring, according to the Roman Kalendar, was VII id. Feb. but, not to confine the beginning of ploughing preciſely to a day, Virgil proceeds to explain his "Ver novum" to mean, as ſoon as the ſeverity of Winter begins to abate. ———

——— "Gelidus canis cum montibus humor
"Liquitur," etc. ———————————

Columella underſtands this paſſage in this manner, Lib. XI. c. ii. where, alluding to this verſe "Vere novo," — he ſays, "Novi autem veris prin-
"cipium non ſic obſervare ruſticus debet quemadmodum aſtrologus, ut
"expectet certum diem illum qui veris initium facere dicitur: ſed aliquid
"etiam ſumat de parte hyemis, quoniam conſumptâ brumâ jam intepeſcit
"annus, permittitque clementior dies opera moliri." — Virgil likewiſe more fully declares this to be his meaning in a few verſes after, where he ſpecifies the time for ploughing different ſorts of land.

——— "Ergo age, terrae
"Pingue ſolum primis extemplo à menſibus anni." Ver. 64. etc.

The "primus menſis" was January. So Columella in the ſame place, "Poſcit igitur ruſticus ab idibus Januariis (ut principem menſem Romani
"anni obſervet) auſpicari culturarum officia." — And again a little after, — "Ab Idibus Januariis ſiccos et pingues agros tempeſtivum eſt proſcin-
"dere; nam et uliginoſi et mediocris habitûs ſub aeſtate vereve agendi
"ſunt."

VER. 47—49.

"Illa ſeges demum votis reſpondit avari
"Agricolae, bis quae ſolem, bis frigora * ſenſit:
"Illius immenſae ruperunt horrea meſſes."

* Of this paſſage Pliny thus ſays. "Quarto ſeri ſulco Virgilius exiſti-
"matur voluiſſe, cum dixit optimam eſſe ſegetem, quae bis ſolem, bis fri-
"gora ſenſiſſet." L. XVIII. c. XX.

Columella frequently uſes "ſecundo, tertio, quarto ſulco," for ſo many times ploughing, or turning up the ground; particularly lib. II. c. xiii. he ſays, "Semina, quae quarto ſulco ſeruntur, in jugeribus viginti quin-
"que deſiderant bubulcorum operas CXV. nam proſcinditur is agri modus
"quamvis duriſſimi quinquaginta operis, iteratur quinque et viginti, ter-
"tiatur et conſeritur XL." where manifeſtly the ſowing is the fourth Sulcus.

In

In Virgil's rule, "Bis quae ſolem," etc. not only direction is given for plowing four times, but the reaſon included for ſo doing; that both heat and cold mellow the ground. Virgil in other places hints at the ſame effects of heat and cold.

In the ſecond Georgic, ſpeaking of planting young vines, he ſays,

——— "Terram multo ante memento
"Excoquere." ——— Ver. 260.

And,

"Ante ſupinatas aquiloni oſtendere glebas." — Ib. 261.

And,

——— "Optima putri
"Arva ſolo, id venti curant gelidaeque pruinae." Ib. 263.

Columella expreſsly aſcribes this virtue to the ſun and froſt. L. V. c. ix. where, giving inſtruction about planting olives, he ſays, "Ipſis "ſcrobes praeparantur anno ante; vel, ſi tempus non largitur, priuſquam "deponantur arbores, ſtramentis incendantur ſcrobes, ut eos ignes putres "faciat, quos ſol et pruina facere debuerat."

Varro having given directions, lib. I. c. xxx. for the early plowings in the Spring, that is, in cold weather, tells us, c. xxxv. "Quid inter ſol-"ſtitium et caniculum faciendum ſit." And expreſsly orders at that time; "Arationes abſolvere; quae eò fructuoſiores fiunt, quo calidiore terrâ "aratur." — And then adds, "Cum proſcideris offringi oportet, id eſt, "iterare ut frangantur glebae." As he had before directed in the very ſame words for the early plowing; ſo that he muſt mean two ſummer plowings, as well as two winter or ſpring.

Pliny ſpeaks of deep ſtiff land at his Tuſculanum, which required nine times plowing. Lib. V. epiſt. vi.

VER. 50—53.

"At prius *[1] ignotum ferro quàm *[2] ſcindimus aequor,
"Ventos *[3] et varium coeli praediſcere morem
"Cura ſit, ac patrios cultuſque habituſque locorum:
"Et quid quaeque ferat regio, et quid quaeque recuſet."

*[1] Varro, lib. I. c. v. treating of the parts of agriculture, ſays, "Agri-"culturae quatuor ſunt partes ſummae: è queis prima cognitio fundi, "ſolum, parteſque ejus quales ſint. Secunda, quae in eo fundo opus "ſunt ac debeant eſſe culturae cauſâ. Tertia, quae in eo praedio co-

"lendi

" lendi cauſâ ſint facienda. Quarta, quo quicquam tempore in eo fundo " fieri conveniat." Theſe four heads he ſubdivides into more. Virgil obſerves the ſame method very artfully.

*[2] This was the proper term for breaking up ground, as appears from Varro. " Terram cum primùm arant, proſcindere appellant." Lib. I. c. xxix.

*[3] Columella, citing this paſſage of Virgil, ſays, " Veriſſimo vati velut " oraculo crediderimus." Lib. I. c. iv.

VER. 56—59.

——— " Nonne vides, croceos ut Tmolus odores,
" India mittit ebur, molles ſua *[1] thura Sabaei?
" At Chalybes *[2] nudi ferrum, viroſaque Pontus
" Caſtorea *[3]." ———

*[1] " Sabaei propter maximam fructuum copiam otioſi ſocordeſque vi- " vunt." Strabo, l. XVI. p. 778.

Pliny gives a long and very particular account of the tree which produces Thus, lib. XII. c. xiv.

*[2] " Chalybes nudi," in oppoſition to the " molles Sabaei." The Vulcans are repreſented naked by the painters and ſtatuaries, as well as by the poets.

*[3] A ſtrong medicine; and, in particular, a ſtrong ſoporific: ſo Lucretius;

" Caſtoreoque gravi mulier ſopita recumbit." Lib. vi. ver. 794.

It is ſtill much uſed in medicines; and eſpecially in nervous caſes: and as the Romans had it from Pontus, we now have our beſt from Muſcovy, and the moſt northern countries.

VER. 63—70.

——— " Terrae
" Pingue *[1] ſolum primis extemplo a menſibus anni
" Fortes invertant tauri: glebaſque jacentes
" Pulverulenta coquat maturis *[2] ſolibus aeſtas.
" At ſi non fuerit tellus *[3] foecunda, ſub ipſum
" Arcturum tenui ſat erit ſuſpendere ſulco:
" Illic officiant laetis ne frugibus herbae;
" Hic ſterilem exiguus ne deſerat humor arenam."

Columella

*1 Columella giving directions "quo tempore campi arandi ſunt," lays down this rule: — "Colles pinguis ſoli, peractâ ſatione trimeſtri, menſae "Martio, ſi vero tepor coeli, ſiccitaſque regionis ſuadebit, Februario "ſtatim proſcindendi ſunt. Deinde de Aprili medio uſque in ſolſtitium "iterandi tertiandique." Lib. II. c. iv. — And afterwards at the end of the chapter, gives the ſame inſtruction about ploughing poor land, and that for the ſame reaſon as Virgil. "Graciles clivi non ſunt aeſtate "arandi, ſed circa Septembris calendas, quoniam ſi ante hoc tempus pro- "ſcinditur effoeta & ſine ſucco humus, aeſtivo ſole peruritur, nullaſque "virium reliquias habet. Itaque optimè inter Calendas et Idus Septembris "aratur, ac ſubinde iteratur, ut primis pluviis aequinoctialibus conſeri "poſſit."

*2 The word Maturus denotes ripeneſs and perfection, as a man is ſaid to be Maturus when he is come to his full vigour; and ſo the ſun may be very properly ſaid to be, in the midſt of Summer, when he goeth forth in his ſtrength. Petronius, who frequently imitates Virgil in his poem on the Civil War, expreſſes the ſame thought by a ſynonymous term, when ſpeaking of the ſnow on the Alpes not being melted by the greateſt heats, he ſays;

——— "Non ſolis adulti
"Manſueſcit radiis." ———

The rendering Maturus by Maturantibus (as Ruaeus does) quite loſes the beauty of this thought.

*3 Columella ſays, "Macerrimi et aridi agri poſt aeſtatem, primo Au- "tumno, arandi et ſubinde conſerendi." Lib. XI. c. 2.

VER. 71—78.

"Alternis idem tonſas ceſſare novales,
"Et ſegnem patiere ſitu dureſcere campum.
"Aut ibi flava ſeres mutato *1 ſidere *2 farra;
"Unde prius *3 laetum ſiliquâ quaſſante legumen,
"Aut tenues foetus viciae, triſtiſque *4 lupini
"Suſtuleris *5 fragiles calamos, ſylvamque ſonantem.
"*6 Urit enim lini campum ſeges, urit avenae:
"Urunt Lethaeo perfuſa papavera ſomno."

*1 This may poſſibly mean, "poſt alterum menſem," according to the manner of cultivating in the Campania of Naples, where they give their "land

land very little reſt. — Columella obſerves; "Viciam fabam, et lupinum, "noviſſimis temporibus, poſt coactos alios fructus tolli poſſe." Lib. XI. c. ii. — If we underſtand "mutato ſidere," as Ruaeus does; — "converſo "anno," then the land muſt lie fallow for a year, and this rule differs little from the former, "alternis ceſſare." — Whereas Virgil ſeems to mean that, in caſe the farmer cannot afford to let his ground lie fallow, then he muſt ſow it with ſuch ſeed as manures the land; or if he is tempted, or has occaſion to ſow flax, &c. he muſt well dung his land; and then concludes, that ſuch change of ſeed is in ſome meaſure equivalent to letting the land reſt:

——— "Sic quoque requieſcunt."

The word Sidus cannot properly be applied to the ſun, and, therefore, cannot be uſed to ſignify a year. But it means either a ſign in the zodiac or ſome other conſtellation, and in that ſenſe Virgil often uſes it to ſignify a month or part of the year. As Aen. IV. 309. "Hyberno "ſidere." — And in the firſt verſe of the Georgics,

"Quo ſidere terram vertere."

If it be objected, that a month is too little time from reaping Lupins, etc. to the ſowing of corn; we may be juſtified by the expreſſion, "mutato "ſidere," to allow near two months (viz.) from the ſun's entring one ſign to his near leaving the next. And this time may be ſufficient, and, I believe, is agreeable to the preſent practice in Italy, eſpecially near Naples.

*[2] The white wheat is called Caroſella. — "Granum rutilum ſi, cum "diffiſſum eſt, eundem colorem interiorem habet, integrum eſſe non du-"bitamus. Quod extrinſecus albidum, intus etiam conſpicitur candidum, "leve ac vanum intelligi debet. Nec nos tanquam optabilis agricolis fallat "ſiligo (the whiteneſs of the bran); nam hoc tritici vitium eſt; et quam-"vis candore praeſtet, pondere tamen vincitur." Col. Lib. II. c. ix.

*[3] Columella ſays, "Lupinus maximè ex iis quae ſeruntur, juvat ar-"vum." — And again; "Sunt etiam qui putent fabam vice ſtercoris "fungi; quod ſic ego interpretor, ut exiſtimem non ſationibus ejus pin-"gueſcere humum, ſed minus hanc quàm caetera ſemina vim terrae con-"ſumere. Nam certum habeo frumentis utiliorem agrum eſſe, qui nihil, "quam qui iſtam ſiliquam proximo anno tulerit." Lib. II. c. x.

Legumen is a general word, but in this place, as is evident from what follows, one kind only is meant, that is, the Faba, as chief of the Legumes. So Pliny:

" Sequitur natura leguminum inter quae maximus honos fabae." Lib. XVIII. c. xii. — " Laetum," becauſe (as Pliny ſays in the ſame place) " faba ſolum, in quo ſata eſt, laetificat ſtercoris vice." —— And that we are to underſtand the Faba here by Legumen, is clear from another paſſage in Pliny :

" Virgilius alternis ceſſare arva ſuadet, et hoc, ſi patiantur ruris ſpatia, " utiliſſimum proculdubio eſt. Quod ſi neget conditio, far ſerendum, " unde et lupinum, et aut vicia, aut faba ſublata ſint, et quae terram " faciant laetiorem." Lib. XVIII. c. xxi. — Alſo in another place : " Se- " getem ſtercorant fruges lupinum, faba, vicia." Lib. XVII. c. ix.

*[4] " Lupinum ab omnibus animalibus amaritudine ſuâ tutum." Plin. Lib. XVIII. c. xiv.

* The Triſtis Lupinus is not our Lupin ; but that ſeed, which they lay a-ſoak ſo long in water (to get rid of its bitterneſs,) and even ſell it ſo in the ſtreets in Italy. It is but a very inſipid thing, at beſt. The Faſelus of the Romans is our Lupin.

*[5] Lupins were uſed to be ſown (as they are ſtill) for three different purpoſes, either to ripen for ſeed ; or to feed cattle when green ; or to manure land by ploughing them in before they were ripe. Virgil muſt neceſſarily in this place, according to the thread of his diſcourſe, mean the firſt ſort, i. e. Lupins, which grew to be ripe. And therefore the word " ſuſtuleris" is here very expreſſive ; " fragiles calami," and " ſyl- " va ſonans" denote likewiſe and enforce this meaning. Varro, Lib. I. c. xxiii. ſpeaks of Lupins ſown purpoſely to manure poor ground. " Quae- " dam etiam ſerenda, non tam propter praeſentem fructum, quam in an- " num proſpicientem, quod ibi ſubſecta atque relicta terram faciunt me- " liorem. Itaque lupinum, cum necdum ſiliculam cepit, et nonnunquam " fabam, ſi ad ſiliquas non ita pervenit, ut fabam legere expediat, ſi ager macrior eſt, pro ſtercore inarare ſolent.

*[6] Our farmers, in many places, uſe a like term. When any thing is blighted, they ſay, It is ſcorched.

The Poet does not hereby prohibit the ſowing of flax and oats and poppies, as is manifeſt, ver. 212, where he preſcribes the time for ſowing them ; but he bids the countrymen obſerve, that theſe ſorts of ſeed do not manure and enrich the land as Legumes do, but on the contrary burn it up ; and, therefore, when he ſows corn after them, which he allows may be done, the land ought firſt to be well dunged, being to be looked upon as, " arida et effoeta." — Theſe two words make this paſſage more intelligible than is commonly imagined.

" Lini

" Lini ſemen, niſi magnus eſt ejus in ea regione quam colis proventus, " et pretium proritat, ſerendum non eſt, agris enim praecipue noxium " eſt." Col. lib. II. c. x. — It is plain, notwithſtanding what ſome commentators ſay, that Columella underſtands this paſſage of Virgil in the ſenſe as I have explained it above: for, having quoted theſe two verſes, he adds, " neque enim dubium quin et iis ſeminibus infeſtetur ager, ſicut " etiam milio et panico. Sed omni ſolo, quod praedictorum leguminum " ſegetibus fatiſcit, una praeſens medicina eſt, ut ſtercore adjuves, et ab- " ſumptas vires hoc velut pabulo refoveas." Lib. II. c. xiv.

VER. 79—83.

" Sed tamen *[1] alternis facilis labor arida tantum
" Ne ſaturare fimo pingui pudeat ſolo; neve
" Effoetos *[2] cinerem immundum jactare per agros.
" Sic quoque mutatis requieſcunt foetibus arva,
" Nec nulla interea eſt inaratae gratia terrae."

*[1] Virgil ſpeaking above, ver. 71, of ground lying fallow, uſes this word *alternis*. And therefore, I ſuppoſe, the commentators explain the word in the ſame ſenſe here. But it may be obſerved that it is there joined with *ceſſare et novale*, and therefore there can be no diſpute in that place about the meaning of it. I cannot think that it is to be taken in the ſame ſenſe here, or that it has any relation to lying fallow, but to the alternate ſowing of the ſeed juſt before mentioned. For the Poet is now ſpeaking of thoſe, who could not afford, or were unwilling, to let their ground lie fallow:

" Aut ibi flava ſeres," etc.

He adviſes ſuch to ſow Far immediately after beans, vetches, or lupines, becauſe ſuch pulſe enrich the ground, and ſerve inſtead of manure. Then he bids them beware of ſowing flax, oats, or poppies, becauſe ſuch ſeeds burn and dry the land. However, he allows even thoſe to be ſowed alternately, provided proper care be firſt taken to dung the land well, which it muſt require, being thus dried and exhauſted:

——— " Arida tantum
" Ne ſaturare fimo pingui pudeat ſola, neve
" Effoetos cinerem immundum jactare per agros."

The following verſe ſhews, I think, plainly, that the Poet ſubſtitutes this change of ſeed inſtead of lying fallow, ſaying it ſerves in ſome meaſure to the ſame purpoſe as the reſt:

" Sic quoque mutatis requieſcunt foetibus arva."

And then, for the encouragement of thoſe who can let their land lie fallow, he concludes, that the farmer ought to conſider that ſome benefit accrues to him, even whilſt his land is untilled:

" Nec nulla interea eſt inaratae gratia terrae."

This, I think, makes the whole connexion clear.

*[2] " Tranſpadanis cineris uſus adeo placet, ut anteponant ſimo jumen-
" torum." Plin. lib. XVII. c. ix.

VER. 84—93.

" Saepe etiam ſteriles *[1] incendere profuit agros,
" Atque levem *[2] ſtipulam crepitantibus urere flammis.
" Sive inde occultas vires et pabula terrae
" Pinguia concipiunt: ſive illis omne per ignem
" Excoquitur vitium, atque exſudat inutilis humor:
" Seu plures calor ille vias, et caeca relaxat
" Spiramenta, novas veniat quâ ſuccus in herbas:
" Seu durat magis, et venas aſtringit hiantes:
" Ne tenues pluviae, rapidive potentia ſolis
" Acrior, aut Boreae penetrabile frigus adurat."

*[1] Virgil is ſo conciſe in his rules, that he ſeldom uſes two different phraſes to expreſs the ſame thing: and, therefore, probably, two ſorts of burnings are meant here; but it does not follow that Bakeburning (as Dr. Martyn imagines) is one of them. I rather think that he means, by " ſteriles agros," burning buſhes, weeds, and brambles on ground which had long lain unmanured, and then ſtubble, as in the ſecond verſe.

*[2] The burning the ſtubble, etc. upon the land, is ſtill practiſed in Italy, and begins in the month of Auguſt, the day after St. Laurence; and various reaſons are ſtill given for doing it. Fontanini, in his Antiquities of Orta, ſpeaking of the life of Cardinal Ferdinand Nuptio, gives us a remarkable inſtance of the regard ſtill paid to the foregoing verſes, and what an influence they had in continuing the cuſtom of burning the Campagna

Campagna of Rome. —— " Jo. Maria Lanciſius, qui apud Clementem " Undecimum Pont. Max. non parum gratiae et auctoritatis ſibi compa- " raverat, ad avertendum ardentiſſimum aeſtum ex incendio ſtipularum " urbi imminentem, Pontifici ſuaſit, imò etiam perſuaſit, ut publico edicto " ſtipulas agri Romani amplius incendi vetaret. Interim accidit fortè " fortuna (Card.) Nuptium de rebus ſuum munus ſpectantibus ad Ponti- " ficem adire, ex cujus ore, quum decreti mox vulgandi conſilium acce- " piſſet, illud pro candore animi ſui probare non potuit. Morem com- " burendi agri Romani ſtipulas longè antiquiſſimum ; optimoſque effectus, " qui inde conſequerentur, oſtendit ; recitatis extemplo (decem hiſce) " Virgilii carminibus ; quibus Pontificem à ſententiâ facilè revocavit." Antiquitat. Hortae, lib. III. c. ii.

† It might be from this cuſtom that the Poets take their frequent ſimilies from corn-burning. Virg. Aen. II. ver. 304. — Ov. Ep. XV. ver. 9. and in ſeveral other places.

They never do this, but when there is a briſk wind ; they ſtand to the windward and ſet fire to the ſtubble ; and it is ſurpriſing to ſee, in how little a time it runs over a whole field of corn. You plainly ſee the fire gain and run on continually, though at a conſiderable diſtance. We ſaw it in Auguſt, 1741, in the ſouth of France, to perfection : as it was the hotteſt ſeaſon of the year, and as they had no rains there for three or four months, every thing was ſo dry that the fire ran with its greateſt rapidity.

VER. 94—99.

" Multum adeo, ✱[1] raſtris glebas qui frangit inertes,
" Vimineaſque ✱[2] trahit crates, juvat arva ; neque illum
" Flava ✱[3] Ceres alto nequicquam ſpectat Olympo :
" Et qui, proſciſſo quae ſuſcitat aequore terga,
" Rurſus in obliquum verſo ✱[4] perrumpit aratro :
" Exercetque ✱[5] frequens tellurem, atque imperat arvis."

✱[1] Quaer. If *raſtra* is any where joined with *trahere?* I believe not. It was, as I imagine, a hand inſtrument, as a rake.

✱[2] Our countrymen would ſcarce underſtand what is meant by Viminеae Crates ; but ſuch are ſtill uſed in Italy, more than harrows, for ſmoothing land. — They firſt break the clods with bats, and then lay it ſmooth by drawing hurdles over it, which Columella expreſſes thus : —

" Glebas

" Glebas ſarculis reſolvere, et inductâ crate coaequare." Lib. II. c. xviii. The breaking clods with bats is practiſed in ſome parts of England in ſtiff ground, and is termed Balling.

✻[3] This thought, perhaps, is taken from ſome celebrated painting or bas-relief. —— † Much in the manner, I ſuppoſe, that ſhe is repreſented in the picture, anſwering this place, in the famous Vatican Virgil. See Pol. VIII. 111.

—— Φιλέῃ δὲ εὐσέφανος Δημήτηρ. Heſiod. Op. et Dies, ver. 300.

✻[4] I obſerved before, verſe 50, on the word Scindimus, that Virgil uſed the proper term of art. Perrumpit, if not the proper term, is at leaſt of the ſame importance, as we learn from Varro: " Quod primâ ara-" tione glebae grandes ſolent excitari; cum iteratur, offringere vocant." Lib. I. c. xxix. — Columella expreſſes this plowing by, " Tranſverſis " adverſiſque ſulcis." Lib. III. c. xiii.

✻[2] " Compluribus iterationibus ſic reſolvatur vervactum in pulverem, " ut vel nullam vel exiguam deſideret occationem cum ſeminaverimus." Col. Lib. II. c. iv.

Exercet and Imperat are metaphors taken from military diſcipline.

VER. 100—103.

" Humida ✻[1] ſolſtitia atque hiemes orate ſerenas,
" Agricolae: hiberno laetiſſima pulvere farra,
" Laetus ager: nullo tantum ſe ✻[2] Myſia cultu
" Jactat, et ipſa ſuas mirantur ✻[3] Gargara meſſes.

✻[1] Ovid makes Solſtitium to ſignify expreſsly the ſummer ſolſtice only, and Bruma the winter: for, complaining that all time during his baniſh-ment ſeemed long, " et lentis paſſibus ire;" he thus expreſſes himſelf,

" Nec mihi ſolſtitium quicquam de noctibus aufert,
" Efficit anguſtos nec mihi bruma dies."
De Triſt. Lib. V. El. xi.

† Fluvius Novanus *omnibus ſolſtitiis* torrens, *Brumâ* ſiccatur." Plin. Lib. II. c. ciii.

✻[2] Columella mentions Myſia and Libya, " uti largis abundantes fru-" mentis." Lib. III. c. viii.

As

✻[3] As there was little good huſbandry in Myſia, and their good crops were owing to their climate, the Poet very prettily adds,

——— " Ipſa ſuas mirantur Gargara meſſes."

VER. 104—110.

" Quid dicam, jacto qui ſemine cominus ✻[1] arva
" Inſequitur, cumuloſque ruit male pinguis ✻[2] arenae?
" Deinde ✻[3] ſatis fluvium inducit, rivosque ſequentes?
" Et cum exuſtus ager morientibus aeſtuat herbis,
" † Ecce, ſupercilio clivoſi tramitis undam
" Elicit: illa cadens raucum per levia murmur
" Saxa ciet, ſcatebriſque arentia temperat arva."

✻[1] It appears by this that balling was repeated after ſowing. They turned the earth over the ſeed with the plough, and then broke the clods which remained. — Varro obſerves that this breaking of clods after ſowing was practiſed only upon little farms, not upon ſuch extenſive lands as were in Apulia. " Segetes non tam latas habent ut in Apuliâ, id genus " praedii per ſarritores occare ſolent, ſi quae in porcis grandiores relictae " ſunt glebae." Lib. I. c. xxx.

✻[2] I cannot think, with Ruaeus, that Virgil ever uſes Arena for any ſort of land indifferently. —— The inſtances produced by Ruaeus himſelf ſhew the contrary. The lands of Aegypt and Arabia, though fat and rich, were looſe; and Columella compares the land of Aegypt to " Cinis ſoluta." Lib. II. c. ii. ver. 25.

Virgil is here ſpeaking of dry land, which wanted water, and therefore might properly be called Arena: and, " male pinguis," as not being looſe like the land in Aegypt, but having ſome parts ſo clotted together, as required to be broken to pieces.

✻[3] See obſervations on Iliad XXI. ver. 289, Mr. Pope's tranſlation.

† This is particularly well practiſed in Italy at preſent; at leaſt in gardens. I have ſeen of them there, which (from a great channel, cut directly from the place, where the water wells, and veined into a vaſt number of little ones) are ſupplied with water round every the minuteſt bed in it, from only taking up the hatch at the reſervoir.

This was uſed in their gardens too of old:

" Eſt mihi foecundus dotalibus hortus in agris:
" Aura fovet; liquidae *fonte* rigatur aquae." Ov. Faſt. V.

Et

" Et dare quas *ſitiens* jam bibat hortus aquas." Id. de Pont. I.

" Irriguae dabitur non mihi *ſulcus* aquae." Id. Fragm. ver. 166.

——— " Puteusque brevis, *nec reſte movendus*,
" In tenues plantas facili diffunditur hauſtu." Juv. Sat. III.

" Jam reſonant frondes; jam cantibus obſtrepat arbos;
" I procul, O Dorida, primumque reclude canalem;
" Et ſine jamdudum ſitientes irriget hortos."
Calphurnius, Ecl. II. ver. 97.

VER. 113, 114.

——————————— " * Quique paludis
" Collectum humorem bibulâ deducit arenâ?"

* Who drains the collected moiſture of the marſh from the ſoaking ſand. Dr. Martyn. —— Quaer. If " bibulâ arenâ" may not rather mean, ſand thrown on moiſt ground and mixed with it; in order to correct it, and ſuck up the ſuperfluous moiſture?

VER. 118—124.

" Nec tamen (haec cum ſint hominumque boumque labores
" Verſando terram experti) nihil improbus * anſer,
" Strymoniaeque *[1] grues, et amaris *[2] intuba fibris
" Officiunt, aut umbra nocet. Pater ipſe colendi
" Haud *[3] facilem eſſe viam voluit, primuſque per artem
" Movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda:
" Nec torpere gravi paſſus ſua regna veterno."

* Virgil ſpeaks of the geeſe, as a troubleſome bird; and very pernicious to the corn. They are ſtill ſo, in flocks, in the Campania Felice; the country which Virgil had chiefly in his eye, when he was writing his Georgics:

*[1] " Strymona ſic gelidum, brumâ pellente, relinquunt
" Poturae te, Nile, grues." Lucan V. 711.

See other places of the ſame Author.

*[2] " Eſt et erraticum intubum, quod in Aegypto Cichorium vocant." Plin. lib. XIX. c. viii. This is ſtill called Cichorio at Rome, and is very much eaten by the common people, and is eſteemed a very wholeſome ſalad.

ſalad. But the outſide being remarkably bitter, they are obliged to ſtrip off the ſkin and therewith the fibres (which are the bittereſt part) in order to make it eatable. In the ſeaſon of the year one ſees people ſtripping this cichory at every herbſtall in Rome: and, it is probable, that this is hinted at by Virgil in his "amaris fibris." — Pliny celebrates it as a wholeſome herb, lib. XX. c. viii.

✻[3] See Heſiod Op. et Dies, from verſe 42 to 52.

"Surely there was ſome tradition even among the Heathens of God's "curſe, that man ſhould eat his bread in the ſweat of his face." Sharrock's Hiſt. of Vegetables, c. i.

VER. 127, 128.

——— "✻ Ipſaque tellus
"Omnia liberius, nullo poſcente, ferebat."

——— ✻ Καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
Αὐτομάτη πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον. Heſiod. Op. et D. ver. 118.

VER. 133, 134.

"Ut varias ✻ uſus meditando extunderet artes
"Paulatim." ———

✻ This is uſually rendered here Experientia, but I ſhould rather take the word in its vulgar ſenſe, for uſe and conveniency: for Virgil certainly means that man being left to himſelf, the neceſſaries of life forced him to rack his thoughts and induſtry to diſcover, by little and little, that variety of arts we have in the world.

It may likewiſe ſignify — frequent trial, or experiments — for in that ſenſe Virgil uſes the ſame word, Georg. II. ver. 22.

——— "Quos ipſe viâ ſibi repperit uſus."

"Meditando, extunderet, paulatim:" Every word requires an emphaſis.

VER. 143.

"Tum ✻ ferri rigor, atque argutae lamina ſerrae."

✻ How much more beautiful are theſe expreſſions than if he had ſaid, "ferrum rigidum et arguta ſerra?"

VER. 145.

——— " Labor omnia vicit
" Improbus." ———

✻ Continuus.

" Ingenti fruor, improboque ſomno,
" Quem nec tertia ſaepe rumpit hora;
" Et totum mihi nunc repono, quicquid
" Ter denos vigilaveram per annos." Mart. Lib. XII. Ep. xviii.

VER. 147—149.

" Prima Ceres ferro mortales vertere terram
" Inſtituit: cum jam glandes atque arbuta ſacrae
" Deficerent ſylvae, et victum ✻ Dodona negaret."

✻ " Primis frugibus altrix Dodona." Lucan. Lib. VI. ver. 426.

VER. 150—154.

" Mox et frumentis labor additus: ut mala culmos
" Eſſet robigo, ſegnisque ✻[1] horreret in arvis
" Carduus: intereunt ſegetes, ſubit aſpera ſylva,
" Lappaeque ✻[2] tribulique: interque nitentia culta
" Infelix ✻[3] lolium et ſteriles dominantur ✻[4] avenae."

✻[1] Dr. Martyn well obſerves, that Horreret is very properly applied to the Thiſtle, which is horribly armed all over with prickles. His interpretation of *ſegnis* is not ſo eaſy. He ventures, he ſays, with Mr. Benſon, to tranſlate it *lazy*, believing Virgil called the Thiſtle lazy, becauſe none but a lazy huſbandman would ſuffer ſo pernicious a weed to infeſt his corn. This is a new ſort of metaphor I am not acquainted with. — May not *ſegnis* be put by way of appoſition to *horreret*? a worthleſs good-for-nothing weed, looking fierce and making a terrible figure, is a good contraſt.

✻[2] Tribulus is a ſort of thiſtle, ſo called probably ἀπὸ τριῶν βολῶν: not that it has only three points, but which ever way it points, it ſhews three ſpears. In like manner as the Tribulus uſed in war, and deſcribed by Vegetius, lib. IV. c. xxiv.

It

✻[3] It is a common opinion in Italy that the Loglio, (or Gioglio, as the country people uſually call it,) if mixed with the corn in making bread, eſpecially that ſort which grows upon the mountains, will make people mad. — Quaer. If the like opinion might not have prevailed formerly, and occaſion this epithet, *infelix*. — * et † They are both like corn; which is the worſe, becauſe the Lolium, in particular, is of a malignant nature. The antients thought it bad for the eyes.

" Et careant loliis oculos vitiantibus agri;
" Nec ſterilis culto ſurgat avena ſolo:

is part of Ovid's prayer, Faſt. I. ver. 691.

" Mirum eſt lolio victitare tritam vili tritico.
" P. Quid jam? S. Quia luſcitioſus. P. Aedepol tu quidem
" Caecus, non luſcitioſus." Plaut. Mil. Glor.

The modern Italians have yet a worſe notion of it. They ſay of a Melancolico, " A mangiato di pane con loglio" — " Da queſti mali effetti " del loglio, abbiamo un proverbio che dice, Io non dormo nel loglio: che " ſignifica, Io non ſon malordo." Note on Malmantile Racquiſtato, Cant. VI. Stan. 25.

✻[4] Pliny in his chapter, " De vitiis frugum," ſays, " Primum omnium " frumenti vitium avena eſt, ſicut ipſa frumenti ſit inſtar. Soli maximè " coelique humore hoc evenit vitium." Hiſt. lib. XVIII. c. 17.

VER. 160—166.

" Dicendum et quae ſint duris agreſtibus arma:
" Queis ſine, nec potuere ſeri, nec ſurgere meſſes.
" Vomis et inflexi primum grave robur aratri,
" ✻[1] Tardaque Eleuſinae matris volventia plauſtra,
" ✻[2] Tribulaque, traheaeque, et iniquo pondere ✻[3] raſtri:
" Virgea praeterea ✻[4] Celei viliſque ſupellex,
" Arbuteae crates, et myſtica * vannus Iacchi."

✻[1] The common waggons in Italy, eſpecially in Virgil's own country, are ſtill very heavy and move ſlow. Virgil gives dignity to them, and makes them worthy a place in his poem, by making them ſacred to Ceres, alluding to the waggons uſed at her ſolemn feaſts at Eleuſis. The verſe is ſuitable to the pompous proceſſion; and, as Mr. Pope finely obſerves, on a like occaſion —

" The line too labours, and the words move ſlow."

With ſuch majeſty Virgil ſpeaks, when he only orders the huſbandmen to provide harveſt-carts!

*[2] Pliny, reckoning up the different ſorts of inſtruments made uſe of to rub out corn, mentions the Tribulum among others. "Meſſis alibi "tribulis in areâ, alibi equarum greſſibus exteritur, alibi perticis flagel-"latur." Lib. XVIII. c. xxx.

See Monſ. Thevenot's account of the ſledge, now made uſe of in Perſia, for rubbing corn out of the ear, in his Voyages.

See likewiſe a deſcription and draught of the ſame in Paul Lucas's Journey from Conſtantinople to Adrianople, Tom. I. chap. xxiv. of his Second Voyage.

*[3] That the antients commonly made uſe of rakes with iron teeth appears by a paſſage in Col. lib. II. c. xi.; where, giving inſtructions about the ſowing Medica, he ſays: "Quod ubi feceris, *ligneis raſtris*, id enim "multum confert, ſtatim jacta ſemina obruantur: nam celerrimè ſole "aduruntur. Poſt ſationem ferro tangi locus non debet. Atque, ut dixi, "*ligneis raſtris* ſarriendus, et identidem runcandus eſt."— This repetition of a particular inſtruction about covering Medica with wooden rakes ſhews that iron ones were commonly uſed for covering other ſeed.

*[4] See the account of Celeus the father of Triptolemus, Ovid. Faſt. iv. 507.

* The perſons, who were initiated into any of the antient myſteries, were to be particularly good: they looked upon themſelves as ſeparated from the vulgar of mankind; and as dedicated to a life of ſingular virtue and piety. This may be the reaſon that the Fan or Van (the Myſtica Vannus Iacchi) was uſed in initiations: The inſtrument that ſeparates the wheat from the chaff, being as proper an emblem as can well be, of ſetting apart the good and virtuous, from the wicked or uſeleſs part of mankind.——† In the drawings of the antient paintings by Bellori, there are two that ſeem to relate to initiations; and each of them has the Vannus in it. In one of them, the perſon that is initiating ſtands in a devout poſture, and with a veil on, the old mark of devotion; while two, that were formerly initiated, hold the Van over his head. In the other, there is a perſon holding a Van, with a young infant in it. The latter may ſignify much the ſame with the Scripture-expreſſion of entering into a ſtate of virtue "as "a little child," (Mark x. 15.) as the Van itſelf puts one in mind of another text, relating to a particular purity of life; and the ſeparation of the Good from the Bad. "Whoſe Fan is in his hand, and he ſhall tho-

"roughly

" roughly purge his floor; and will gather the Wheat into his garner, " but the Chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable." Luke iii. 17.

VER. 169—174.

" Continuo in ſylvis magnâ vi flexa domatur
" In burim, et curvi formam accipit ulmus ❋[1] aratri.
" Huic à ſtirpe pedes temo protentus in octo,
" Binae ❋[2] aures, duplici aptantur dentalia dorſo,
" Caeditur et tilia ante jugo levis, altaque fagus,
" ❋[3] Stivaque, quae currus à tergo ❋[4] torqueat imos."

❋[1] In the kingdom of Naples they ſometimes call all the wood of the plough from the point of the handle to the ſhare Ventale, by corruption from Dentale; but properly it is that part only to which the ſhare is fixed.

The ſhare is called Gomere, and is made with two corners jutting out, and riſing in the middle with a back called Schena.

The plough uſed in ſeed-time is made with two ears, or ſide-boards, called Orecche, which are neceſſary to turn the earth over the ſeed when ſown.

❋[2] Palladius [one of the old Writers on Agriculture], ſpeaking of the inſtruments of husbandry, deſcribes two ſorts of ploughs, the Simplicia and Aurita, and tells us, that the uſe of the latter was to raiſe the ridge higher and make a deeper furrow, in order to throw off the water in a flat deep country. " Aratra Simplicia: vel, ſi plana regio permittit, Au- " rita, quibus poſſint contra Stationes humoris hyberni Sata celſiore ſulco " attolli." Lib. I. Tit. 43.

❋[3] Stiva is rather a foot-board on which the Ploughmen in Italy, even at this day, uſually ſtand to guide the plough. 'Tis probably ſo called à Standō. —— Vid. Columella, l. I. c. ix. 2. " In re ruſticâ nullo minus " opere fatigatur prolixior, quia in arando ſtivae pene rectus innititur."

——— " Innixus ſtivae arator." Ovid. Met. l. VIII. 44.

Buris is that part of the plough which the ploughman holds.

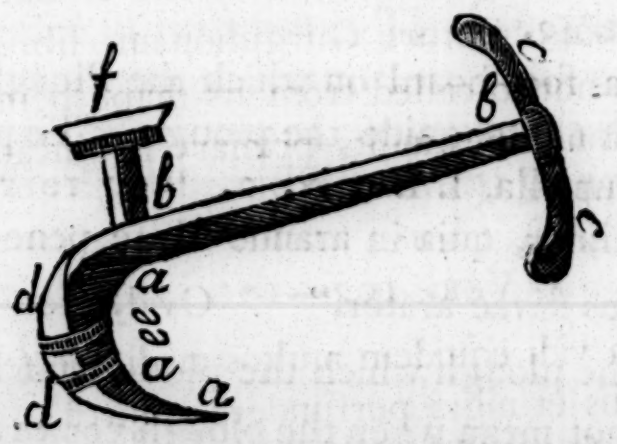
❋[4] Q. If this does not mean when the plough comes to the end of a furrow? for then the ploughman is chiefly employed, " torquere aratrum:" and then, in the kingdom of Naples, he twiſts the cord round a ſtick fixed to the handle, and ſits upon it, in order the better to turn the plough. See Columella.

" Magnâ

" Magnâ vi domatur ulmus — Alta fagus caeditur — Currus torqueat" — are all expreſſions uſed to ennoble the deſcription.

This deſcription of a plough, according to Servius's interpretation of it, would not deſerve great commendation, being, I think, if we believe his comment, very lame; for he makes the Poet omit entirely a principal part of the plough, which is the ſhare, and deſcribe another part twice, making Buris and Stiva to ſignify the ſame thing, viz. the crooked part of the plough, which is that which the ploughman holds.

* I never yet could underſtand Virgil's deſcription of the Plough in uſe in his time, ſo perfectly as I could wiſh; and the beſt way of coming at the entire meaning of it, would be by a figure of the old ploughs: but there was ſuch a variety of them uſed at different times, and in different parts of Italy, that the figure ought to be of one uſed near his time, and in the country about Naples; as he had that country chiefly in his eye, whilſt he was writing his Georgics. —— † Mr. Holdſworth had the model of one made in wood, whilſt he was laſt in Italy; which is at preſent in the hands of his particular friend, Mr. Jennens of Leiceſterſhire. I have a drawing of an antique plough; from a braſs figure, in the Jeſuits College, at Rome: which was publiſhed in the late edition of Virgil, by Mr. Sandby. Though I don't know the exact time or place in which it was made, every part of it ſeems to me to have ſomething to anſwer it in Virgil's deſcription. It may not be improper to inſert both the deſcription and the figure in this place; that every one may judge, how far I may be right, or how far I may have been miſtaken.



I take all the bending part of the wood, or the plough-tail, (marked *a*) to be what Virgil calls Buris: — *b*, the Pole, or Temo: — *c*, the two pieces that go over the necks of the oxen; which he calls Aures: — *d*, the plough-ſhare, Dentale: — *e*, the two clouts of iron, to faſten the plough-ſhare, Dorſa: — and *f*, the handle of the plough, or Stiva.

VER.

VER. 178—180.

" Area ❋[1] cum primis ingenti aequanda cylindro,
" Et vertenda manu, et cretâ ſolidanda tenaci;
" Ne ſubeant herbae, neu pulvere victa ❋[2] fatiſcat."

❋[1] Varro gives the following inſtructions: " Aream eſſe oportet ſolidâ " terrâ pavitam, maxime ſi eſt argilla, ne aeſtu paeminoſa, in rimis ejus " grana obliteſcant, et recipiant aquam, et oſtia aperiant muribus ac for- " micis." Lib. I. c. li.

❋[2] Fatiſcere ſignifies ſometimes to chop or cleave; and ſometimes likewiſe to be fatigued, or worn out: in this place it may be underſtood in its largeſt ſenſe, in both meanings.

VER. 183.

" Aut † oculis capti fodere cubilia talpae."

† This was the vulgar opinion. Galen knew otherwiſe: and the microſcope has fully diſcovered it in our times. See Derham's Phyſico-Theol. p. 92. note (*m*).

VER. 185.

——— " Populatque ingentem farris acervum
❋ Curculio."———

❋ The common people at Lyons uſe the name of Gourguillon for a ſmall brown fly, in ſhape like a beetle, which is frequently found in beans: in the other parts of France, they call it Calendre; in Engliſh, Weevil. — Pliny calls this creature Gurgulionem, lib. XVIII. c. xxx.

Q. If this worm is not ſo called from its ſhape being formed like the gullet, which the word ſignifies in its primary ſignification? — See the figure of it in Redi, Tab. xv.

VER. 193—196.

❋[1] " Semina vidi equidem multos medicare ſerentes,
" Et nitro prius et nigrâ perfundere amurcâ;
" Grandior ut foetus ſiliquis fallacibus eſſet,
" ❋[2] Et quamvis igni exiguo properata maderent."

❋[1] Though Virgil uſes the general word Semina, yet by the reaſons alledged, " Grandior ut foetus," etc. he ſeems to mean Legumes only; and though Varro, lib. I. c. lvii. ſays, that Wheat was ſometimes medicated,

cated, yet he intimates that this was done rarely; and that it was chiefly practiſed for Legumes: — and Columella, lib. II. c. x. makes this paſſage relate to the Bean only. " Priſcis autem ruſticis, nec minus Virgilio, prius " amurcâ vel nitro macerari fabam, et ita ſeri placuit." And then adds theſe two verſes, " Laetior ut foetus," etc. putting Laetior inſtead of Grandior.

*[2] Theſe two verſes in moſt of the editions are very ill pointed. There ought to be a full ſtop at Maderent, and only a comma at Effet. The miſtake is owing to the not underſtanding the ſecond verſe, the meaning of which is undoubtedly this; That one advantage ariſing from ſteeping beans in nitrous water is that they boil the ſooner and grow tender over a little fire. — Palladius mentions the ſame effect: " Graeci aſſerunt fabae " ſemina aquâ pridie infuſa citius naſci, nitratâ aquâ reſperſa cocturam non " habere difficilem." Lib. XII. De re ruſt. Tit. i. — Q. If Maderent will not admit the conſtruction, becoming tender? — Columella uſes the word Madeſcere in the ſame ſenſe on the like occaſion, lib. XI. c. iii. where, giving directions how to manage the cabbage-plant in tranſplanting it, he adds: " Haec res efficit, ut in coctură celerius madeſcat;" that is certainly, that it may be tender with leſs boiling.

VER. 197—200.

" *[1] Vidi lecta diu, et multo ſpectata labore,
" Degenerare tamen; ni vis humana quotannis
" Maxima quaeque manu legeret: ſic omnia fatis
" In pejus ruere, ac retro ſublapſa referri."

*[1] This latter part of the precept, Columella obſerves, is more extenſive. " Hoc non tantùm de ſeminibus leguminum, ſed in totam agricola- " tionis rationem dictum eſſe, intelligendum eſt." Lib. III. c. x. And to the ſame purpoſe, Lib. II. c. ix. in both which places he quotes theſe four verſes.

*[2] Columella, Lib. II. c. ix. having given inſtructions " de medicandis " ſeminibus," proceeds thus: " Illud deinceps praecipiendum habeo, ut " demeſſis ſegetibus jam in areâ futuro ſemini conſulamus. Optimam " quamque ſpicam legere oportet, ſeparatimque ex eâ ſemen reponere." And much more to this purpoſe. And then adds: " Quia frumenta de- " generant, niſi cura talis adhibeatur." And concludes: " Ideoque " Virgilius cum et alia, tum et hoc de ſeminibus praeclarè ſic diſſeruit: " Vidi ego lecta diu," etc.

VER. 204—207.

" Praeterea tam ſunt * Arcturi ſidera nobis
" Hoedorumque dies ſervandi, et lucidus Anguis;
" Quam quibus in patriam ventoſa per aequora vectis
" Pontus et oſtriferi fauces tentantur Abydi."

* Pliny calls Arcturus, Orion, and the Hoedi, " horrida ſidera." Lib. XVIII. c. xxviii. And Ovid, deſcribing the terrors of his baniſhment, ſays:

" Saepe ego nimboſis dubius jactabar ab Hoedis,
" Saepe minax Steropis ſidere pontus erat,
" Fuſcabatque diem cuſtos Erymanthidos urſae."

Triſt. lib. I. Eleg. ult.

Ovid declares, in the ſame Elegy, that he was in the Adriatic going into baniſhment in December.

VER. 210—211.

" Exercete, viri, tauros, ſerite hordea campis,
" Uſque ſub * extremum brumae intractabilis imbrem."

* This muſt certainly mean, " to the very beginning of the time pro-" perly called Bruma," not to the end of it, as commonly rendered; for during that time no tillage was to be undertaken, which Virgil means by his Intractabilis. — 'Tis evident from Cato, Varro, and Columella, that the Romans were very ſcrupulous of ſowing or tilling their ground in the dead of Winter. — Columella particularly, lib. XI. c. ii. ſpeaking of the latter end of the month of December, ſays: " His diebus qui religioſiùs " rem ruſticam colunt, niſi ſi vinearum causâ paſtines, negant debere ter-" ram ferro commoveri. Itaque quicquid citra id genus effici poteſt, id " ab his comprehenditur, ut olea legatur, et oleum conficiatur," etc.— " Nonnulli etiam legumina ſerunt." Then proceeding from the Calends of January to the Ides, he ſays: " Per hos quoque dies abſtinent terrenis " operibus religioſiores agricolae, ita tamen ut ipſis kalen. Januariis auſpi-" candi cauſâ omne genus operis inſtaurent. Caeterùm differant terrenam " molitionem uſque in proximas idus." ——— According to the common acceptation of this verſe, the word Intractabilis, which is very ſignificant, would be very improper, to ſay no worſe of it: and therefore, to avoid the force of it, Ruaeus renders it only Durae. ——— " Uſque ſub ex-" tremum imbrem," may perhaps carry this image in it; till you come

near or under the very ſkirts of the Winter-ſhowers.——What Columella obſerves above, " Nonnulli etiam legumina ſerunt," explains what Virgil ſays afterwards, ver. 227.

" Si verò viciamque ſeres," etc.

About theſe ſorts of ſeed, which are of leſs conſequence, they were not ſo ſcrupulous. They did venture ſometimes to continue ſowing them till the middle of Bruma.

VER. 212—214.

" Necnon et lini ſegetem et cereale papaver
" Tempus humo tegere; et *[1] jamdudum incumbere aratris:
" Dum *[2] ſiccâ tellure licet, dum *[3] nubila pendent."

*[1] This adverb is commonly joined to expreſs great ardency, and Empreſſement, as the French call it.——See other parts in Virgil; and Lucan iv. 545.

——" Nec plura locuto
" Viſcera non unus jamdudum tranſigit enſis."

*[2] Whilſt the ground ſtill continues dry.——This is well obſerved, eſpecially with reſpect to Hordeum.——" Hordeum niſi ſolutum et ſiccum " locum non patitur," ſays Columella, lib. II. c. ix. And again: " Siligo " et far adoreum poſt continuos imbres, ſi neceſſitas exigat, quamvis ad- " huc limoſo et madente ſolo ſparſeris, injuriam ſuſtinent. Ordeum, ſi " lutoſo commiſeris, emoritur."

*[3] Becauſe the ſooner it rains after ſowing the better.——" Ut ſemina " conſita rigataque imbribus celeriter prodeant et confirmentur ante hie- " mis violentiam." Col. lib. II. c. xi.

VER. 215, 216.

" Vere fabis ſatio: tum te quoque, medica *[1], putres:
" Accipiunt ſulci, et milio venit annua *[2] cura."

*[1] " Locum, in quo medicam proximo vere ſaturus es, proſcindito circa " Calendas Octobris; et eum totâ hieme *putreſcere* ſinito." Col. lib. II. c. xi.

*[2] Annua, on account of Medica before named; which, as Columella aſſerts: " Cum ſemel ſeritur, decem annis durat." Lib. II. c. xi.——

Cura

Cura too requires its particular emphaſis; for Columella obſerves of it: "Frequenter exigit ſarritionem et runcationem, ut herbis liberetur." Lib. II. c. ix.——And Palladius directs: "Ut herbis liberetur aſſiduè." Lib. IV. Tit. 3.

VER. 217, 218.

* "Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum
"Taurus, et adverſo cedens canis occidit aſtro."

* Commentators are much divided about the reading and explanation of this paſſage. The common reading is Adverſo; which not being well underſtood, Ruaeus and others read Averſo, but ſtill are puzzled in explaining it. In my opinion, the whole difficulty lies in their making Canis the nominative caſe to Occidit, whereas I think it the genitive, the ſecond verſe relating to Taurus as well as the firſt, and then the whole will run thus: "Cùm candidus Taurus aperit annum auratis cornibus, et "occidit cedens adverſo aſtro Canis."—— The deſign of theſe two verſes is to ſhew the proper ſeaſon for ſowing Milet, and perhaps Medica too, which, in my opinion, Virgil ſays is from the 1ſt of April to the Ides or 13th of the ſame month. That the beginning of April is ſignified by the firſt verſe, "Candidus auratis," 'tis generally agreed; and I think that the Ides are plainly meant by the latter, "Cum Taurus occidit." But, to ſet this matter in a clear light, let us enquire what was reckoned the time of the ſetting of Taurus, and what the proper ſeaſon for ſowing Milet. Columella, lib. XI. De re ruſtica, c. ii. (which is a ſort of Farmer's Almanack) ſays: "Pridie idus Aprilis Suculae celantur." The ſtars in the Bull's head are hid from us the 12th of April. And, in the ſame chapter, directing what is to be done at the beginning of April, he ſays: "Milii quoque et Panici haec prima ſatio eſt, quae peragi debet circa Idus "Aprilis." Here we find Columella and Virgil agree very exactly, both as to the beginning and end of the ſeaſon for ſowing Milet. The one directs ſimply as a Farmer, the other as a Poet. And as Virgil adorns his firſt verſe by an alluſion to the ancient ſacrifices, in Candidus and Auratis Cornibus; and by the latter expreſſion points out the two bright ſtars which tip the horns of Taurus; and likewiſe hints at the etymology of the name Aprilis in the word Aperit: ſo he beautifies the ſecond verſe from the natural enmity between the Bull and Dog; and repreſents the Bull when ſetting as yielding to his adverſary the Dog, who ſtill remains above as it were victorious. (See the Bull and the Dog on the Farneſian

Globe.) —— Taking the two verſes thus, the expreſſions are very poetical, and yet the conſtruction eaſy, without diſtorting any word from its proper ſignification, or changing a letter.

Palladius likewiſe, in his month Aprilis, tit. I. ſays, "Aprili menſe in "areis, quas ante, ſicut diximus, praeparaſti, medica ſerenda eſt." And, tit. II. "Nunc locis mediocriter ſiccis milium ſerimus et panicum."

Heſiod ſpeaks of the ſetting of the Pleiades, and their flying the fury of Orion, as Virgil of the Bull yielding to the Dog.

Εὖτ' ἂν Πληϊάδες, σθένος ὄβριμου Ὠρίωνος
Φεύγουσαι, πίπτωσιν ἐς ἠεροειδέα πόντον. Op. et Dies, lib. II. ver. 237.

As Virgil before takes in the whole ſeaſon for barley ſowing, from the autumnal equinox to the fall of the winter rains; and directs the ſeaſon for flax, and poppy, as long as it continues dry after the equinox; ſo likewiſe here he ſets down both the beginning and ending of the ſeed-time for beans, medica, and milet.

VER. 219—224.

"At ſi triticeam in meſſem robuſtaque farra
"Exercebis humum, ſolisque inſtabis ariſtis:
"Ante tibi Eoae Atlantides abſcondantur *[1],
"Gnoſiaque *[2] ardentis decedat ſtella coronae;
"Debita quam ſulcis committas ſemina, quamque
"*[3] Invitae properes anni ſpem credere terrae."

*[1] Columella, in his tenth book of Agriculture, which is a poem on gardening, mentions theſe two conſtellations together in imitation of Virgil, and expreſsly declares, that he means the ſetting of the Pleiades in the morning, which he intimates to be near the beginning of winter:

"Expectetur hiems, dum Bacchi Gnoſſius ardor
"Aequore caeruleo celetur, vertice mundi,
"Solis et adverſos metuant Atlantides ortus."

Columella in another place, explaining this paſſage of Virgil, tells us expreſsly, That this is about the ninth of the Calends of November. "Ab-"ſconduntur Atlantides altero et trigeſimo die poſt autumnale aequinoc-"tium, quod fere conficitur nono kalend. Octob. Propter quod intelligi "debet tritici ſatio dierum ſex et quadraginta ab occaſu Vergiliarum, qui

"fit

" fit ante diem nonum kal. Novemb. ad brumae tempora." Lib. II. c. viii.

*[2] The brighteſt ſtar of the Crown is the firſt of that conſtellation that ſets, and therefore, perhaps, this ought to be rendered, " Ardenſque de- " cedat ſtella Gnoſiae coronae." — Or it may be, that the whole conſtellation is termed *ardens*, becauſe it appears all the hot months.

*[3] Several commentators have miſtaken the meaning of this epithet. Virgil does not apply it to the earth as unwilling to receive ſeed at any time till forced by the plough, but he uſes this word to enforce the meaning of Properes — As if he ſhould ſay, that when the huſbandman haſtens to ſow before the proper ſeaſon, the earth, at ſuch time, receives the ſeed unwillingly, for fear ſhe ſhould diſappoint the huſbandman, and not repay what is committed to her truſt. The words Debita, Committere, and Credere, ſhew that Virgil alludes to a truſt. — In the ſecond Georgic, ver. 460, Virgil gives the earth the character of Juſtiſſima.

VER. 227—230.

" Si verò [1]* viciamque ſeres, vilemque *[2] faſelum,
" Nec Peluſiacae curam aſpernabere *[3] lentis;
" Haud obſcura cadens mittet tibi ſigna Bootes:
" Incipe, et ad medias ſementem *[4] extende pruinas."

*[1] " Viciae duae ſationes ſunt; prima quam pabuli cauſâ circa aequi- " noctium autumnale ſerimus; ſecunda quam menſe Januario, vel etiam " ſeriùs, jacimus ſemini progenerando." Col. lib. II. c. xi.

*[2] " Circa finem Septembris faſeolus ad eſcam feritur. Nam ad prae- " cipendum ſemen ultimâ parte Octobris, circa kalendas Novembris melius " obruitur." Lib. XI. c. ii. — Virgil means only the latter ſowing, what is intended for ſeed.

*[3] Martial calls the Lens, Niliacam; and " Peluſia munera:" and ſays of it, that it was " vilior algâ:" and to ſhew how vile and contemptible the Faba was, he ſays in the ſame place, " Carior illa fabâ."

" Accipe Niliacam, Peluſia munera, lentem;
" Vilior eſt algâ, carior illa fabâ." Lib. XIII. Ep. ix.

*[4] What I have remarked above, ver. 211, ſhews this word to be very expreſſive.

VER.

VER. 259—263.

" Frigidus agricolam ſi quando continet imber;
" Multa, ✱[1] foret quae mox caelo properanda ſereno,
" ✱[2] Maturare datur: durum procudit arator
" Vomeris obtuſi dentem, cavat arbore lintres;
" Aut pecori ſignum, aut numeros † impreſſit acervis."

✱[1] Columella directs the doing of theſe in the month of January, during the time that they were hindred from other work. " Menſe Jan. ridicis " vel etiam palis conficiendis idoneum tempus eſt." Lib. XI. c. ii.—And afterwards, " His etiam diebus maturi agni, et reliqui foetus pecudum, nec " minus majora quadrupedia charactere ſignari debent." — Virgil's advice is more general.

✱[2] As the genuine ſignification of Maturus is ripe, as fruit which comes leiſurely to perfection, ſo Maturare is oppoſed to Properare — doing a thing in perfection, to hurrying it over ſlovenly.

† The Caeſars impreſſed their whole names, at once, on their grants and letters; and this was ſo common, that even the ſhepherds impreſſed their names on their cattle:

——— " Vivi quoque pondera melle
" Argenti coquito, lentumque bitumen aheno,
" Impreſſurus ovi tua nomina; nam tibi lites
" Auferet ingentes lectus poſſeſſor in arvo."
Calphurnius, Ecl. V. ver. 85. See Georg. III. ver. 158.

This was a ſort of Printing; and I wonder much how they came not to find out that art ſooner: for it was as eaſy to impreſs a whole line, as two words; and a page, as a whole line. Had they gone but theſe two eaſy ſteps farther, it would have been juſt what the Chineſe Printing is now.

VER. 264—265.

" Exacuunt alii vallos, furcaſque bicornes,
" Atque ✱ Amerina parant lentae retinacula viti."

✱ Tria ſunt genera praecipuè Salicis, Graecae, Gallicae, Sabinae, " Quam plurimi vocant Amerinam." Col. lib. IV. c. xxx. ——

VER.

VER. 266, 267.

" Nunc facilis rubeâ texatur fiſcina virgâ:
" Nunc * torrete igni fruges, nunc frangite ſaxo."

* The Romans uſed to dry their corn on a kiln, before they ground it: and it is probable that they were obliged by an old law to do it: for Pliny tells us, " Numa inſtituit far torrere, quoniam toſtum cibo ſa-
" lubrius eſſet. Id uno modo conſecutum ſtatuendo, non eſſe purum ad
" rem divinam niſi toſtum." L. XVIII. c. ii. And Ovid, ſpeaking of the Fornacalia, ſays:

" Facta Dea eſt Fornax; laeti fornace coloni
" Orant, ut fruges temperet illa ſuas." Faſt. lib. ii.

And Feſtus. — " Fornacalia feriae inſtitutae ſunt farris torrendi gratiâ;
" quod ad fornacem, quae in piſtrinis erat, ſacrificium fieri ſolebat." By which it is plain, that the Fornax, and Bakehouſe, were differently uſed. They firſt dried their corn, then ground it, and then baked it; the poorer ſort on the hearth, the richer at the bakehouſe. Virgil ſpeaks only of the two former, which, he ſays, may be done in wet weather, when they are hindred from working without doors. The latter muſt be done as there is occaſion, whether wet or dry; and therefore cannot be ſuppoſed to be mentioned here. — That it was a cuſtom among the antients, to bake their bread in cakes upon the hearth, is plain from Ovid. Faſt.

" Suppoſitum cineri panem focus ipſe parabat,
" Strataque erat tepido tegula quaſſa ſolo."

This we gather likewiſe from the widow's cake in the Scriptures. —— In Wales, and ſeveral other places, they ſtill make bread in this manner. Varro expreſsly directs the drying, and grinding or pounding of Far, in the winter, in order to have it ready for uſe, as occaſion required: " Far quod in ſpicis condideris per meſſem, et ad uſus cibatûs expedire
" velis, promendum *hieme*, ut in piſtrino piſetur ac torreatur." Lib. I. c. lxiii. And again; " Meſſum far promendum *hieme* in piſtrino ad tor-
" rendum, quod ad cibatum expeditum eſſe velis." C. lxix.

VER. 268—272.

" Quippe etiam feſtis quaedam exercere diebus
" Fas et jura ſinunt: rivos deducere nulla

" Relligio

" Relligio vetuit, ſegeti praetendere ſepem,
" Inſidias avibus moliri, incendere vepres,
" Balantumque * gregem fluvio merſare ſalubri."

* Balantum has its beauty in this place, becauſe ſheep on waſhing bleat more than ordinarily: and Salubri is added, as Columella obſerves, becauſe it was not allowed to waſh ſheep on holidays, unleſs Medici-
" nae gratiâ."

VER. 273—275.

" Saepe oleo tardi coſtas agitator aſelli
" Vilibus aut onerat pomis; *[1] lapidemque revertens
" *[2] Incuſum, aut atrae maſſam *[3] picis urbe reportat."

*[1] I very much queſtion whether Virgil means here a mill-ſtone. Ovid in his account of the Veſtalia in his Faſti calls " Mola ſcabra et pumicea," which is a proper deſcription of the roughneſs of a mill-ſtone, but " lapis " incuſus" gives us but an imperfect idea of it, and, I think, does by no means anſwer. Quaer. If it may not rather mean a mortar, or ſuch like hollowed ſtone, in which the poorer people uſed to break their corn after they had dried it? as appears by what is ſaid before;

" Nunc torrete igni fruges, nunc frangite ſaxo."

It is manifeſt, by the whole paſſage, that the poet is ſpeaking here of the poorer ſort of country people.

" Ante inventum molarum uſum, frumenta in pilâ comminuebantur. " Pilae autem erant vaſa concava, in quae antiqui ſiccata frumenta im-
" miſſa pinſebant." Roſini Antiq. Rom. lib. I. c. xiv.

*[2] The conſumption of pitch formerly was very great, for pitching the inſide of their veſſels or jars for keeping wine, etc. as appears from ſeveral places in Columella; particularly lib. XII. c. xviii. et xx.

VER. 281, 282.

" Ter ſunt conati imponere Pelio * Oſſam
" Scilicet, atque Oſſae frondoſum involvere Olympum."

* This ſort of verſification is very noble and beautiful, when uſed in a proper place. And it is manifeſt from that verſe in the third book of the Aeneid, ver. 211.

" Inſulae Ionio in magno,"

that

that Virgil ſometimes purpoſely affected that irregularity, otherwiſe he would certainly have ſaid, " Inſulae in Ionio magno," but the Hiatus makes it ſound more grand.

VER. 289, 290.

" ❋ Nocte leves ſtipulae melius, nocte arida prata
" Tondentur: noctes lentus non deficit humor."

❋ " Noctibus roſcidis foenum ſecari melius." Plin. lib. XVIII. c. xxviii.

VER. 291, 292.

" Et quidam ſeros hiberni ad luminis ignes
" Pervigilat, ferroque faces ❋ inſpicat acuto."

❋ Quaer. If not torches cut in that manner on purpoſe to look into furnaces? — Cato calls them Faculas, c. xxxvii.

VER. 293—296.

" Interea longum cantu ſolata laborem
" Arguto conjux ❋[1] percurrit pectine telas:
" Aut dulcis ❋[2] muſti vulcano decoquit ❋[3] humorem,
" Et ❋[4] foliis undam ❋[5] tepidi deſpumat aheni."

❋[1] In great farms formerly they had looms to make the neceſſary cloaths for their labourers, as appears from ſeveral paſſages in Varro; and Columella, lib. XII. c. iii.

❋[2] Hereby is meant the making Defrutum, or Sapa; and in this ſhort deſcription Virgil hints at the moſt remarkable circumſtances obſerved in making it; and uſes the epithet Dulcis, becauſe they choſe commonly the ſweeteſt wine for it. — " Muſtum quam dulciſſimi ſaporis decoquatur," ſays Columella, lib. XII. c. xxi. treating of the Defrutum.

❋[3] Becauſe the watery particles evaporated. — Virgil in this verſe,

——— " Vulcano decoquit humorem,"

affects the ſtile of Lucretius, which is very proper to the ſubject.

❋[4] Pliny, ſpeaking of this very ſubject, tells us, that the people ſtrictly obſerved this nicety of uſing leaves to take off the ſcum. " Non niſi foliis " deſpumandum; quia ſi ligno contingatur vas, aduſtum ac fumoſum fieri " putant." Lib. XVIII. c. xxxi.

✻[5] Becauſe done over a gentle fire, which was not to touch the furnace with the flames. — "Levi primum igne et tenuibus admodum lignis, "quae cremia ruſtici appellant, fornacem incendemus, ut ex commodo "muſtum ferveat," &c. Col. lib. XII. c. xix.

VER. 297.

"At rubicunda ✻[1] Ceres medio ✻[2] ſucciditur aeſtu."

✻[1] "Antequam ex toto grana indureſcant, cùm rubicundum colorem traxerunt, meſſis facienda eſt." Col. lib. II. c. xxi.

✻[2] So "Supponat," ver. 348. The compound is uſed, in both places, expreſs the manner of reaping. See Varro, lib. I. c. l.

VER. 302.

"Invitat † genialis hiems, curaſque reſolvit."

† Alluding to their Saturnalia, which anſwered to our merry time of Chriſtmas.

They had their Chriſtmas jeſts too;

"Poſtulat ecce novos ebria Bruma ſales." Mart. pref. to lib. XIII.

——— "Jocos Decembris." Id. X. 85.

It was a time of debauch;

——— "Et toto vinum neſcire Decembri." Juv. Sat. VII.

And of feaſting;

——— "Acceptus geniis December." Ov. Faſt. III.

See the laſt poem in Statius's Sylv. lib. I.

VER. 304, 305.

"Ceu preſſae eum jam portum tetigere carinae,
"Puppibus et laeti nautae impoſuere ✻ coronas."

✻ Suetonius mentions this cuſtom. "Forte Puteolanum ſinum praeter-"vehenti vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrinâ, quae tantum quod ad-"pulerat, candidati, *coronatique*, et thura libantes fauſta omina et laudes "congeſſerant," etc. In Aug. c. xcviii.

VER.

VER. 316—321.

" Saepe ego, cum flavis meſſorum induceret arvis
" Agricola, et ✻[1] fragile jam ✻[2] ſtringeret hordea culmo,
" Omnia ✻[3] ventorum concurrere praelia vidi,
" Quae gravidam late ſegetem ab radicibus imis
" Sublime expulſam eruerent; ita turbine nigro
" Ferret hiems culmumque levem, ſtipulaſque volantes."

✻[1] This epithet is very proper. Columella, ſpeaking of barley, ſays, " Ubi paulum maturuerit, feſtinantius quàm ullum aliud frumentum deme- " tendum erit, nam et fragili culmo, et nullâ veſtitum paleâ, granum ejus " celeriter decidit." Lib. II. c. ix.

✻[2] See in Pliny and others the ſeveral ways of reaping. — See Ecl. IX. 61. note. — Quaer. If Stringeret does not imply the reaping in haſte?

✻[3] The Poet takes occaſion here to obſerve, that the regular ſeaſons are frequently interrupted by ſtorms, etc. Pliny in the ſame manner, after having diſcourſed " de temporibus ſerendi," proceeds thus — " Cum " omnia haec ſtatis ſideribus coeloque affixis conſtent, interveniunt motu " ſtellarum (i. e. by the planets) grandines, imbres, et ipſi non levi ef- " fectu, ut docuimus, turbantque conceptae ſpei ordinem. — Ideo Virgilius " errantium quoque ſiderum rationem ediſcendam praecipit, admonens " obſervandum frigidae Saturni ſtellae tranſitum." Lib. XVIII. c. xxv.

VER. 328—333.

" Ipſe pater, media nimborum in nocte, † coruſcâ
" Fulmina molitur dextrâ: quo maxima motu
" Terra tremit: fugere ferae, et mortalia corda
" Per gentes humilis ſtravit pavor: ille flagranti
" Aut Atho, aut Rhodopen, aut alta Ceraunia telo
" Dejicit: ingeminant Auſtri, et denſiſſimus imber."

† This is ſuppoſed to be taken from ſome antient painting. See Pol. VI. 36.

VER. 335—337.

" ✻[1] Hoc metuens, coeli ✻[2] menſes et ſidera ſerva;
" ✻[3] Frigida Saturni ſeſe quo ſtella receptet:
" Quos ignis coeli Cyllenius erret in orbes."

*[1] By theſe three verſes Virgil adviſes the countrymen to obſerve the twelve ſigns of the zodiac, and the other conſtellations, and likewiſe the planets. — That Pliny underſtood him in this ſenſe, I think, plainly appears from the beginning of the twenty-fifth chapter of his eighteenth book. See note *[3] on ver. 318. anteh.

*[2] A very pretty expreſſion for the twelve ſigns.

*[3] This epithet is given to Saturn, becauſe he was ſuppoſed by the antients to preſide over cold. The Aegyptian prieſt in Lucan, explaining to Caeſar the different powers of the heavenly bodies, ſays;

" Frigida Saturno glacies et zona nivalis
" Ceſſit; habet ventos, incertaque fulmina Mavors."

Pharſ. X. 205.

VER. 347—350.

——— " Neque ante
" Falcem maturis quiſquam *[1] ſupponat ariſtis,
" Quam Cereri, tortâ redimitus tempora *[2] quercu,
" Det motus incompoſitos et *[3] carmina dicat."

*[1] See ſecond note on ver. 297.

*[2] The worſhip here directed muſt be different from the Ambervalia, juſt before mentioned by Virgil. For that feaſt, we find, was,

——— " Extremae ſub caſum hiemis;"

whereas this was juſt before harveſt, when they adorned themſelves with garlands of oak.

I have ſeen the Florentine peaſants in the month of July dancing and ſinging, in the *manner here deſcribed*, crowned with garlands of oak.

*[3] Horace tells us, that Poetry in Italy began firſt at their harveſt feaſts. Lib. II. Ep. i. ver. 139.

" Agricolae priſci, fortes, parvoque beati,
" Condita poſt frumenta, levantes tempore feſto
" Corpus et ipſum animum ſpe finis dura ferentem,
" Cum ſociis operum pueris, et conjuge fidâ,
" Tellurem porco, Sylvanum lacte piabant;
" Floribus et vino genium memorem brevis aevi.
" Feſcennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
" Verſibus alternis opprobria ruſtica fudit."

VER.

VER. 379, 380.

" ✻[1] Saepius et tectis penetralibus extulit ova
" Anguſtum formica terens iter ; et bibit ✻[2] ingens
" Arcus."———

✻[1] The emphaſis, as I take it, is to be laid upon *ſaepius*. The obſervation relating to the hurry ants are in, againſt bad weather ; when they run out and in, and carry their eggs backward and forward, ſeveral times.

" Imperfecto complectitur aëra gyro
" Arcus, vix ullâ variatus luce colorem,
" Oceanumque bibit." Lucan. Pharſ. lib. IV. ver. 79.

Where the bow is repreſented as dark, and cloudy, and imperfect ; portending an inundation.

It is now a common opinion that the rainbow ſometimes portends fair weather, at other times rain. The like opinion prevailed among the antients ; and when the bow appeared dark and watery at either end towards the horizon, then they ſaid, " bibit arcus." — Plautus makes one of his actors, on ſeeing a crooked old woman drinking, ſay very humorouſly ;

" Ecce autem bibit arcus, pluet, credo, herclè hodie."
Curcul. act. I.

Seneca in his Nat. Quaeſt. lib. I. cap. vi. confirms what is ſaid, that the rainbow ſometimes portended rain, ſometimes fair weather. ——

VER. 388, 389.

" Tum cornix ✻ plenâ pluviam vocat improba voce ;
" Et ſola in ſiccâ ſecum ſpatiatur arenâ."

✻ Servius reads it, *raucâ*. — Pliny obſerves of the Corvi, " Peſſima " eorum ſignificatio, cum glutiunt vocem, velut ſtrangulati," lib. X. c. xii.

VER. 393, 394.

" Nec minus ex ✻ imbri ſoles et aperta ſerena
" Proſpicere, et certis poteris cognoſcere ſignis."

✻ Dr. Martyn reads *eximbres*, thinking this more poetical than the common reading ; and ſays it is certain that Virgil's meaning could not be,

be, that theſe obſervations are to be made during the rain, etc. With ſubmiſſion, I think that " ex imbri" does not neceſſarily ſignify whilſt it actually rains, but rather immediately after a ſhower. During which interval one may judge whether the bad weather is like to continue, or not. Virgil here gives us prognoſtics of the latter; and Proſpicere plainly intimates ſomething future; and ſhews Virgil's meaning to be, when the weather is not quite ſettled, but going to change from bad to good. We find too afterwards, verſ. 413, that the ſhowers are but juſt over, when the ravens foretell a change, and promiſe fair weather:

——— " Juvat imbribus actis
" Progeniem parvam dulcesque reviſere nidos."

VER. 395—397.

" Nam neque tum ſtellis acies obtuſa videtur,
" Nec fratris radiis obnoxia ſurgere Luna:
" ✱ Tenuia nec lanae per caelum vellera ferri."

✱ Theſe fleecy thin clouds are ſigns of rain: " Si nubes ut vellera " lanae ſpargentur multae ab oriente, aquam in triduum praeſagiunt." Plin. lib. XVIII. c. ult.

As Virgil and Pliny call theſe thin clouds, " vellera lanae;" ſo Ovid likens a fleece, carded by Arachne, to a cloud.

——— " Repetitaque longo
" Vellera mollibat nebulas aequantia tractu."
Met. lib. VI. ver. 21.

VER. 418, 419.

——— " Jupiter humidus † Auſtris
" Denſat, erant quae rara modo; et, quae denſa relaxat."

† See Pol. xiii. 71.

VER. 430, 431.

" At ſi virgineum ſuffuderit ore ruborem
" Ventus erit: vento ſemper rubet aurea ✱ Phoebe."

✱ The common epithet given to the Moon is Argentea; on this occaſion the Poet more properly and very prettily calls her Aurea.

VER.

VER. 432—435.

" Sin ortu in *[1] quarto (namque is certiſſimus auctor)
" *[2] Pura, neque obtuſis per coelum cornibus ibit;
" Totus et ille dies, et qui naſcentur ab illo
" Exactum ad menſem, pluviâ ventisque carebunt."

*[1] " Quartam Lunam maximè obſervat Aegyptus. Si ſplendens ex-
" orta puro nitore fulſerit, ſerenitatem; ſi rubicunda, ventos portendere
" creditur." Plin. lib. XVIII. cap. ult.

*[2] M. Annaeus Seneca has quoted this paſſage at large in his 3d Suaſoria, and all the editions of that author have it, " Plena, neque obtuſis." Yet, notwithſtanding this ancient and good authority, we find in all printed copies of Virgil the word Pura ſubſtituted inſtead of Plena. 'Tis pretended indeed by And. Schottus, that in Mſſ. of Seneca, he found the word, as in the printed copies of Virgil, Pura; and contends that it ought to be ſo. But, beſides the teſtimony of the beſt editions of that author, it ſeems evident, from the whole tenor of Seneca's diſcourſe, that he read the word Plena; and the chief ſtreſs of his argument depends upon it. And therefore I make no doubt but this is the genuine reading; and, with ſubmiſſion, I think it likewiſe far preferable to the other. For Pura conveys no idea to us more than " neque obtuſis cornibus;" but Plena does. The whole of Virgil's obſervation is this: When on the firſt appearance of a New Moon the horns are dim, and the ſpace within the horns dark and black, then we are threatened with bad weather. But on the contrary, when on the fourth day of the Moon the horns appear ſharp, and the ſpace between them ſo bright (as may be obſerved in a clear ſky) that the whole circle or face of the Moon is plainly diſtinguiſhable, which is the purport of Plena, then it portends good weather.

Any one may eaſily perceive, that the word in this place is very expreſſive, and the oppoſition between " Luna plena" and " in ortu quarto" enlivens the thought; and therefore, I ſuppoſe, 'tis admired by Seneca as a ſhorter, more eaſy, and happier expreſſion than what he quotes from Fuſcus Arellius: " Luna, ſive plena lucis ſuae eſt ſplendensque, pariter " aſſurgit in cornua:" which is dull and languid in compariſon of Virgil, and contains no more in ſuch a number of words than Virgil has expreſſed in one, but yet may ſerve as a good comment upon him. This ſeeming inconſiſtency between Plena and Ortu quarto might probably at firſt occaſion the adulteration; ſome acute critics imagining, that Plena could by

no

no means ſuit the Moon when but four days old. 'Tis true indeed it cannot in the common ſenſe, but in the Poet's it does. And if this was the occaſion of the alteration, I hope what appeared to them a ſoleciſm will be thought a real beauty.—— † I have often obſerved this appearance ſpoken of by Mr. Holdſworth, and that ſometimes on the third and fifth days of the New Moon, as well as on the fourth. Virgil had, no doubt, often ſeen the ſame; but he inſtances in the fourth, as its being a ſurer ſign of fair weather than any of the other; ("namque is certiſſimus auctor.") It may be a ſurer ſign in Italy too, than it is with us; for I have ſcarce ever found it to hold good, as to its prediction, in our moiſter air and more inconſtant climate. —— Mr. Holdſworth's reaſon for altering the word Pura, depends wholly on the reading of the verſe in Seneca. It might perhaps be ſaid, on the other ſide, that Valerius Flaccus, in a verſe (in which he ſeems to have had this line of Virgil in his eye) uſes the word Pura: it is in the ſecond book of his Argonautics:

——— "Micat immutabile coelum;
"Puraque, nec gravido ſurrexit Cynthia cornu:"

But an imitation is not near ſo full a proof, as a quotation; and of the two, Val. Flaccus is farther removed from the time of the firſt edition of Virgil's works, than Seneca.

VER. 461—463.

"Denique, quid Veſper ſerus vehat; unde ſerenas
"Ventus agat nubes; quid ❋ cogitet humidus Auſter;
"Sol tibi ſigna dabit."———

❋ The Poet here ſpeaks of the South-Wind as a perſon having the command over the watery corner, and meditating whether he ſhould bring rain upon the earth or not; and ſuppoſes that, by frequent obſervations on the Sun, one may diſcover his deſigns and enter into his thoughts.

——— "Quid cogitet humidus Auſter."

Dr. Martyn, in a note on this verſe, tells us, that Pierius ſays, ſome would fain read, "Quid cogat et humidus Auſter;" but that moſt of the antient Mſſ. have Cogitat.

Again, at the end of the 4th Georgic, he publiſhes ſome remarks, which he ſays were ſent him, after the publication of the third Georgic, by the learned Edward King, Eſq; in a letter dated from Bromley in Kent. Among which is this following: "I never could be reconciled to, Quid

"cogitet

" cogitet humidus Auſter. I had rather read Cogat et, or Concitet, " (contra omnes Codices) than Cogitet."

For my part, I ſee no difficulty in animating the winds; Cogitet. There is no doubt but the ancients often deſcribed the winds as perſons, which alone ſufficiently juſtifies the uſe of the word Cogitet. And as the ſoutherly wind generally produces cloudy dark weather, and, as Virgil ſays in another place, " Contriſtat caelum," may it not very properly be repreſented in a thoughtful poſture, like an old penſive fellow, on a damp gloomy day?—In this ſenſe Cogitet is an expreſſion, which to me appears not only eaſy; but truly poetical, and very beautiful.——† See alſo Polymetis, xiii. 13. on the paſſage.

VER. 471—473.

——" Quoties Cyclopum effervere in agros
" Vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam,
" Flammarumque globos ❋ liquefactaque volvere ſaxa?"

❋ The Academy of Sciences at Naples, who may well be ſuppoſed to be proper judges of a juſt deſcription of a burning mountain, take occaſion to applaud this paſſage, in the account they publiſhed of the eruption of mount Veſuvio, which happened in the year 1737. They ſeem to think theſe words convey a truer and more lively idea of the torrents of a burning mountain, than any of the formal deſcriptions given by Virgil's interpreters, or other writers: The matter thrown out at ſuch times being, as they obſerve, really liquid or melted ſtone. They particularly condemn Ruaeus's note on this paſſage, as not agreeable to Virgil or the truth; and quoting his words, they add this angry cenſure: " Ex quibus " manifeſtum eſt aptiſſimam Poetae phraſin imperiti hominis temerario " judicio in praepoſteram explicationem eſſe deductam."——See their commentary De Veſuvii conflagratione, publiſhed at Naples, 1738. p. 47. See likewiſe Borelli, De Incend. Aetn. p. 69.

VER. 476—479.

" Vox quoque per lucos vulgò exaudita ſilentes
" Ingens, et ſimulacra modis pallentia miris
" Viſa ſub obſcurum noctis: pecudesque locutae,
" ❋ Infandum! ſiſtunt amnes, terraeque dehiſcunt."

❋ Virgil ſeldom or never mentions ſuch incredible ſtories, without an exclamation to denote his not giving too much credit to the report. Ob-

 ſerve,

ſerve, that the exclamation is the moſt proper that could be uſed on the occaſion.

VER. 481—483.

✻ " Proluit inſano contorquens vortice ſylvas
" Fluviorum rex Eridanus, camposque per omnes
" Cum ſtabulis armenta tulit."———

✻ This is a ſhort but noble deſcription of the inundations of the Po: of which Virgil, who lived in the neighbourhood, muſt frequently have been an eye-witneſs. The firſt verſe flows with ſtrength and fury; and the irregularity of Fluviorum adds a beauty in deſcribing the violence of a torrent that knows no bounds. Lucan, lib. VI. expatiates more minutely on the damages done by the ſame river; but, according to cuſtom, he knows not where to leave off. And though he has commonly too much rage, yet in this place, for want of judgment, he is very tame; where his fury, if ever, might have been pardonable. —— " Tum flu- " mine toto Tranſit," is a very calm way of breaking down bounds, and overflowing a country.

VER. 484—486.

——— " Nec tempore eodem
" Triſtibus aut extis fibrae apparere minaces,
" Aut puteis manare cruor ceſſavit; et altè
" Per noctem reſonare lupis ✻ ululantibus urbes."

✻ The ſound of this word, eſpecially according to the foreign pronunciation, is expreſſive of its ſenſe. 'Tis very mournful, and cannot be uttered without howling.

VER. 489—492.

† " Ergo inter ſeſe paribus concurrere telis
" Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi:
" Nec fuit indignum ſuperis, bis ſanguine noſtro
" Emathiam et latos ✻ Haemi pingueſcere campos."

† See Mr. Holdſworth's Diſſertation on this paſſage.

✻ A large extent was given to this mountain, by the Antients; and at this day 'tis called by the Italians, Catena mundi.

VER.

VER. 498—500.

" Dii †[1] patrii Indigetes, et Romule, Veſtaque mater,
" Quae †[2] Tuſcum Tiberim *, et Romana Palatia ſervas,
" Hunc ſaltem everſo juvenem ſuccurrere ſaeclo
" Ne prohibete!" ———

†[1] Beſide leſs miſtakes, our Mr. Dryden has made a very groſs one, in his tranſlation of this paſſage. Virgil, by the Dii Patrii here, means the great Triad of deities firſt received all over the Eaſt; and afterwards, ſucceſſively, in Greece and Italy. Theſe the ancient writers in general (from Herodotus quite down to Macrobius) uſually call by the title of Θεοὶ Πατρῶοι, or Dii Patrii. There is an endleſs variety of opinions, who theſe three deities were, who were ſo much revered in the Eaſt; and particularly in the iſland of Samothrace: but among the Romans it is evident enough, that the three deities received as the three ſupreme, were Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva: and therefore Virgil adds the word Indigetes, to fix it to the Θεοὶ Πατρῶοι, or the three great ſupreme gods, received as ſuch in his own country. Indigetes here is much the ſame as Noſtri in Juvenal; where he is ſpeaking of theſe very deities, (Sat. III. ver. 145.) They are therefore no leſs perſonages than Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva (the three ſupreme, among all the gods of the Romans), whom Dryden here repreſents Virgil as calling,— " Home-born deities; of mortal birth."

†[2] Mr. Holdſworth ſeems to have thought (as appears in a note, which he has left imperfect), that there were two temples of Veſta in Rome; and that this verſe may point out the ſituation of each: one on the banks of the river; and the other, near the gate of the Palatine Hill.

* Virgil ſpeaks of Tuſcany and Rome almoſt as if they were both upon the ſame footing, here and in other places; chiefly out of complaiſance for his great patron Maecenas, who was deſcended from the old race of the kings of that country.

VER. 509—513.

" Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum:
" Vicinae ruptis inter ſe legibus urbes
" Arma ferunt: ſaevit toto Mars impius orbe:
" Ut cum carceribus ſeſe effudêre quadrigae,
" ✱ Addunt ſe in ſpatia."———

* Dr. Martyn owns this to be the common reading, but chooſes to follow Heinſius and Ruaeus in reading, " Addunt in ſpatio :" which he takes to ſignify, " They increaſe their ſwiftneſs in the ring ; or run faſter " and faſter." As if Virgil meant (as he ſays Grimoaldus underſtands him), that the longer horſes run in a courſe, they faſter they go. With ſubmiſſion, I think the Poet has no ſuch thought in view : what he chiefly intends in this compariſon, at leaſt in this part of it, is, as I take it, the eagerneſs and fury of horſes, when they firſt find themſelves at liberty, as ſoon as the barrier is removed. To this he compares the mad licentiouſneſs of the world, which he had before deſcribed, when looſed from the reſtraint of laws, upon the death of Caeſar. " Effudêre ſe carceribus" anſwers to " ruptis legibus," and " addunt ſe in ſpatia," to the firſt impetuoſity of regained liberty or licentiouſneſs. In the foot-race, Aen. V. Virgil calls this firſt Impetus, " Corripere ſpatia :"

——— " Signoque repentè
" Corripiunt ſpatia audito, limenque relinquunt."

In which place 'tis plain, from " ſigno audito" and " limen relinquunt," that " corripiunt ſpatia" can relate only to the firſt Impetus after ſtarting. Dr. Martyn underſtands " corripere campum" in the ſame manner, Georg. III. ver. 103.

" Cùm praecipiti certamine campum corripuere :"

which he well tranſlates, " when the chariots have ſeized the plain." I think, " addunt ſe in ſpatia," or " addunt ſe ſpatio," ſignifies much to the ſame purpoſe ; and therefore I take one of theſe to be the true reading. The chief difficulty lies in the word Addunt. Let us then only ſuppoſe it to be Dant, and then the expreſſion would be eaſy, " dant ſe in ſpatia," they give themſelves a looſe. Addunt may be taken in the ſame ſenſe, and with more force ; for as this prepoſition (in compoſition) not only implies nearneſs, but one of its known powers is to enforce ; ſo here it has both ſignifications, and expreſſes not only their ſtarting together as Quadrigae, but ſerves to give a greater emphaſis : and its intent is to ſhew with what violence they jointly ſeize the field.

GEORGIC THE SECOND.

VER. 4—6.

" HUC †, pater, ô Lenaee: tuis hic omnia plena
" Muneribus, tibi pampineo gravidus autumno
" Floret ager, ſpumat plenis vindemia labris."

† This was either part of an antient prayer to Bacchus, or is new made, for the uſe of the countrymen, by Virgil, in the ſame manner as Ovid has made one for them in his Faſti. They firſt deſire him to favour them with his looking toward them, which they thought occaſioned the fertility of their vines; and next to favour them with his actual preſence among them in their labours, at the vintage.——Mr. Holdſworth obſerves, that Montfaucon has ſome figures relating to the latter, in his Antiquities. He was called Lenaeus from this, as Ruaeus obſerves, and Mr. Holdſworth proves from Diodorus Siculus. —— Τὸν δὲ ἓν Διόνυσον ἐπελθόντα μετὰ στρατοπέδου πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην διδάξαι τὴν φυτείαν τῆς ἀμπέλου, καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ληνοῖς ἀπόθλιψιν τῶν βοτρύων, ἀφ' ἧς Ληναῖον αὐτὸν ὀνομασθῆναι. Diodor. Sic. p. 138.

Virgil reminds the huſbandmen of praying to Bacchus toward the cloſe of this book, as well as in the entrance on it. See ver. 529.

VER. 9—11.

" Principio arboribus varia eſt natura creandis:
" Namque aliae, nullis hominum cogentibus, ipſae
" Sponte * ſuâ veniunt."——

* Varro, lib. I. c. xl. ſays, " Semen, quod eſt principium oriendi, " duplex; unum, quod latet noſtrum ſenſum; alterum, quod apertum." And then proceeds: " Latet, ſi ſunt ſemina in aëre, ut ait Phyſicus " Anaxagoras," etc.

The antients might perhaps be of opinion, that all plants had not ſeed: Virgil ſeems to favour that opinion, by his " Non ullo ſemine," G. I. 22. but that does not ſeem to be his meaning here. He mentions one (viz. Geniſta) which he muſt know to have ſeed; and therefore I rather believe, he means ſelf-ſown plants, and adds,

——" Nullis hominum cogentibus,"——

to explain his meaning.

" Arbores,

" Arbores, quas naturae debeamus, tribus modis naſcuntur; ſponte, " aut ſemine, aut ab radice," etc. Pliny, lib. XVI. c. xxxii. And, in the beginning of the following book, he ſays: " Natura arborum, terrâ " marique ſponte ſuâ provenientium, dicta eſt: reſtat earum, quae arte et " humanis ingeniis fiunt veriùs quam naſcuntur."

VER. 14.

" Pars autem * poſito ſurgunt de ſemine."———

* Poſito, according to Catrou, in this place ſignifies fallen naturally:

——— " Poſitas ut glaciet nives
" Puro numine Jupiter." Hor. lib. III. od. x.

I ſee not any occaſion of limiting the word to that meaning, but underſtand it in the common ſenſe. Virgil certainly intends to bring under this head, all trees raiſed from ſeed ſet by hand; which he properly calls natural propagation, being ſo, or at leaſt dictated by nature; whereas under the next claſs, he reckons up only ſuch methods of propagation as are purely the inventions of art, and diſcoveries made by experience. —— Under this firſt claſs are comprehended, 1ſt, Trees that grow " ſponte ſuâ," as explained above: 2dly, Trees raiſed from ſeed ſet, or ſown: 3dly, All trees raiſed or growing from the ſuckers of the roots. —— Theſe three ſorts he repeats again from ver. 47 to 60, and ſhews how they may be improved, and what diſadvantage there enſues by leaving them to nature. —— I take therefore " poſito de ſemine" to ſignify ſeed " ſet by hand," or ſet regularly as in nurſeries; in oppoſition to thoſe juſt before mentioned, which he ſays,

——— " nullis hominum cogentibus, ipſae
" Sponte ſuâ veniunt."———

And ſuch trees as are raiſed from ſeed ſet by hand, belong properly to this claſs of trees raiſed naturally; for though art is employed therein, yet nature ſhewed the way.

———" Hos natura modos primùm dedit."———

Virgil afterwards makes uſe of the ſame expreſſion, " Poſitis ſeminibus," ſpeaking of vine-layers planted out:

" Seminibus poſitis, ſupereſt deducere terram
" Saepius ad capita."——— 355.

When

When Virgil ſpeaks of ſeed ſcattered naturally, or ſown by hand without attention, or regularity, he makes uſe of the word Jactis:

" Jam quae *ſeminibus jactis* ſe ſuſtulit arbos
" Tarda venit," etc. 57.

He obſerves that ſeed ſown in that manner muſt degenerate, and therefore adviſes to ſet them regularly, as in nurſeries:

——— " Omnes
" Cogendae in ſulcum." 62.

VER. 16.

* Aeſculus, atque habitae Graiis oracula quercus."

* There is a ſpecies of oak in Spain, that bears a ſweet acorn, which the people eat as commonly as cheſnuts. Quaer. If not the Aeſculus? and how called there?

VER. 17—19.

" Pullulat ab radice aliis denſiſſima ſylva;
" Ut ceraſis, ulmiſque: etiam Parnaſſia † laurus
" Parva ſub ingenti matris ſe ſubjicit umbra."

† Strictly ſpeaking, our Laurel is the Lauro, or Lauro Regio, of the Italians; and our Bays, their Alloro: but our Poets, as well as theirs, uſe the words indifferently. Laurus was uſed too by the Roman writers indifferently, for the Laurel, and Bays. Pliny, ſpeaking of the Laurus, ſays: " Duo ejus genera tradit Cato: Delphicam et Cypriam: Delphicam, " aequali colore, viridiorem, maximis baccis, atque è viridi rubentibus: " hâc victores Delphis coronari, et triumphantes Romae. Cypriam eſſe " folio brevi, nigro, per margines imbricato, criſpam." Nat. Hiſt. lib. XV. c. xxx. ſub initio.

It was the Laurels or Laurus Delphica, with which their Poets were crowned:

——— " Sume ſuperbiam
" Quaeſitam meritis, et mihi Delphicâ
" Lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam."
Hor. lib. III. od. xxx. ver. 16.

And it is hence the ſame Poet calls it Laurea Apollinaris, lib. IV. od. ii. 9. and Virgil here Parnaſſia.

VER.

VER. 23, 24.

" Hic ✻[1] plantas tenero abſcindens de corpore matrum
" Depoſuit ſulcis ; hic ſtirpes ✻[2] obruit ✻[3] arvo."

✻[1] Not ſhoots or ſuckers from the foot of the tree, but ſlips from the young branches. — The word Tenero being added, inclines me to prefer this meaning. Beſides, Virgil comes afterwards, in a more proper place, to ſpeak of the planting out of ſuckers, ver. 53, etc.

✻[2] Pliny ſpeaks of this way of planting figs: " Optimè quidem naſ-
" citur ficus, ſi vaſtiore ramo pali modo exacuto adigatur altè, exiguo
" ſuper terram relicto capite, eoque ipſo arenâ cooperto." Lib. XVII. c. xvii. —— This is very well expreſſed by Obruit.

✻[3] " Arvum dicitur quod aratum necdum ſatum eſt." Var. De re ruſt. lib. I. c. xxix.

VER. 28, 29.

" Nil radicis egent aliae ; ſummumque putator
" Haud dubitat terrae referens mandare ✻ cacumen."

✻ Some plants may be ſet reverſed with their heads downwards ; and that this was known and practiſed formerly is plain from Columella, who gives particular orders not to plant olives ſo.— " Taleae ſerrâ praecidan-
" tur, atque earum plagae utrâque parte falce leventur, et rubricâ no-
" tentur ; ut ſic quemadmodum in arbore ſteterat ramus, ita parte imâ
" terram, et cacumine caelum ſpectans deponatur. Nam ſi inverſa mer-
" gatur, difficulter comprehendet ; et cum validiùs convaluerit, ſterilis in
" perpetuum erit." Lib. V. c. ix. — And ; " Opuli meliùs cacuminibus in
" arbuſto protinus deponuntur." Lib. V. c. vi.

VER. 30, 31.

" Quin et caudicibus ſectis, mirabile dictu,
" Truditur è ſicco ✻ radix oleagina ligno."

✻ I obſerved about Olioules, which is within a league of Toulon, and likewiſe on the road from Toulon to Hieres, that moſt of the olive-trees are ſhoots from the old ſtocks which ſuffered in the year 1709 ; ſome of which had their heads cut off, others were cut down to the ground on that account. Moſt of theſe old ſtocks ſeem in appearance to be dead and

and look like rotten ſtumps, and yet bear very flouriſhing young trees ſhooting out all round them.

† The ſame is often as ſurprizing in our old willows; of which I have ſeen ſeveral (and particularly ſome in the Garden-Iſland in St. James's Park) which ſend down a tap-root from their heads through the trunk, that often ſeems entirely decayed; and ſo form a young tree on an old ſtock, which looks as flouriſhing as the other does rotten.

VER. 40, 41.

" O decus, ô famae merito pars maxima noſtrae,
" Maecenas; ✻ pelagoque volans da vela patenti."

✻ Ruaeus has obſerved a ſeeming contradiction between this and what follows; but Virgil means that he is going to enter upon a vaſt extenſive ſubject, and by what follows declares that he will only enter or touch upon it, not launch into the deep, but keep within bounds. How extenſive this ſubject was he again declares the laſt verſe but one of this Georgic:

" Sed nos immenſum ſpatium," etc.

In ſuch a variety as the ſubject afforded, it required great art and judgment to chooſe what ſhould be moſt proper, and digeſt the inſtructions into an agreeable order. He has hinted ſeveral of his precepts by one word only. And, that he might not be tireſome by dictating too many rules one after another, he has interſperſed beautiful deſcriptions, and interwoven proper digreſſions.

Volans, flying along with me, and hovering over me as my good Genius. This is more poetical than as Ruaeus interprets it.

VER. 47, 48.

" Sponte ſuâ quae ſe tollunt in luminis ✻ auras,
" Infoecunda quidem, ſed laeta et fortia ſurgunt."

✻ Notwithſtanding the ſeveral quotations brought by Dr. Martyn from Lucretius in favour of Oras, yet ſince Auras is equally intelligible, and as it is allowed that the beſt Mſſ. and editions read it ſo, I would prefer that reading; not only on account of what is urged by Fulvius Urſinus, but likewiſe becauſe Virgil concludes a verſe but juſt before with Oram, ver. 44.

VER. 55, 56.

" Nunc altae frondes et rami matris opacant,
" Creſcentique adimunt foetus, ✵ uruntque ferentem."

✵ Parch, kill —— So,

——— " Penetrabile frigus adurat." G. I. 93.

And again,

" Urentes culta capellas." G. II. 196.

VER. 63, 64.

" Sed truncis ✵ oleae melius, propagine vites
" Reſpondent, ſolido Paphiae de robore myrtus."

✵ Columella, having given directions about making nurſeries of olives, and tranſplanting young olive-trees from the nurſery to the olive-yard, ſays: " Quod ſi cum eâ terrâ planta non convenit, tum optimum eſt omni " fronde privare truncum; atque levatis plagis, fimoque et cinere oblitis, " in ſcrobem vel ſulcum deponere. Truncus autem aptior tranſlationi eſt, " qui brachii craſſitudinem habet: poterit enim longe majoris incrementi " et robuſtioris transferri."—— From this account it is plain Columella thought this the ſecurer way of propagating olive-trees: and this is now much practiſed about Trivoli. —— N. B. Truncus was uſed to denote not only the body, but the limbs of a tree, as appears from Columella, lib. V. c. vi. where, deſcribing the Tabulata of trees for vines to ſpread on, he ſays: " Hoc enim nomine uſurpant agricolae ramos truncosque promi- " nentes," etc.

Columella, in the book De Arboribus, cap. xvii. ſays: " Melius trun- " cis quam plantis olivetum conſtituitur." And then gives directions: " Oportet autem arbuſculam deponere ita rectam, ut quod a ſcrobe exti- " terit in medium ſit."

VER. 67, 68.

——— " Etiam ardua ✵ palma
" Naſcitur, et caſus ✵ abies viſura marinos."

✵ Q. If this ought not to be conſtrued thus? " Palma naſcitur etiam " ardua; item Abies:" i. e. they may be planted out, when they are tall large trees. This I take to be Virgil's meaning; and is finely expreſſed. 'Tis certain that this is commonly practiſed with firs: Q. whether the palm will bear it? In the 4th Georgic, Virgil confirms what he ſays here; and

and makes his Corycius Senex put in practice, what he here mentions as feasible:

" Ille etiam seras in versum distulit ulmos,
" Eduramque pyrum," etc.———

Pliny mentions the transplanting the Abies with roots above eight cubits long: " Apud autores certe invenitur, abietis planta cum transfer-
" retur, octo cubitorum in altitudine; nec totam refossam, sed abruptam." Lib. XVI. c. xxxi.

VER. 69—72.

" Inseritur *[1] vero ex foetu nucis arbutus horrida,
" Et steriles platani malos gessere valentes:
" Castaneae fagus, ornusque incanuit albo
" Flore *[2] pyri: glandemque sues fregêre sub ulmos."

*[1] Pliny mentions this passage, lib. XV. c. xv. " Virgilius insitam nuci-
" bus arbutum, malis platanum dicit."

The cutting off the last letter at the end of the verse adds a beauty to the epithet given to Arbutus.

*[2] Palladius, in his book De insitione, has a long article about the pear-tree, which begins thus:

" Germine cana pyrus niveos haud invida flores
" Commodat," etc.———

These epithets are probably given in imitation of Virgil's " incanuit albo" —and relate, one to the tree, the other to the flower.

VER. 74—77.

——— " Quà se medio trudunt de cortice gemmae,
" Et tenues rumpunt tunicas, angustus in ipso
" Fit nodo sinus: huc aliena ex arbore germen
" Includunt, *[1] udoque docent *[2] inolescere libro."

*[1] It seems to me that by Udo is meant the plaistering used in inoculation; from whence this sort of grafting was as often called Emplastratio as Inoculatio; as appears from Columella, lib. V. c. xi. where, speaking of several ways of grafting, he says: " Tertium genus est insitionis, quo
" arbor ipsas gemmas cum exiguo cortice in partem sui delibratam recipit,
" quam vocant agricolae Emplastrationem, vel ut quidam Inoculationem."— And then describes this inoculation thus: " Alterius arboris, quam Em-

" plaſtraturus es, nitidiſſimum ramum eligito; et ejuſdem ſpatii corticem
" circumcidito, et materiam delibrato; deinde in eam partem quam nuda-
" veris praeparatum Emplaſtrum aptato; ita ut alterae delibratae parti
" conveniat: Ubi ita haec feceris, circa gemmam bene alligato, cavetoque
" nè laedas ipſum germen. Deinde commiſſuras et vincula luto oblinito;
" ſpatio relicto, ut gemma libera vinculo non urgeatur."

✱[2] Columella commonly uſes the word Coaleſcere on this ſubject; but, lib. V. c. x. he uſes Inoleſcere; probably from Virgil.

VER. 78, 79.

" Aut rurſum enodes trunci ✱ reſecantur, et altè
" Finditur in ſolidum cuneis via: deinde feraces
" Plantae immittuntur."———

✱ " Arborem, quam inſerere voles, ferrâ diligenter exſecato; eâ parte,
" quâ maximè nitida et ſine cicatrice eſt." Col. lib. V. c. xi.

VER. 83, 84.

" Praeterea genus haud unum, nec fortibus ✱[1] ulmis,
" Nec ✱[2] ſalici ✱[3] lotoque, nec Idaeis ✱[4] cypariſſis:"

✱[1] Columella, lib. V. c. vi. De ulmariis faciendis, ſays thus: " Ulmo-
" rum duo eſſe genera convenit, Gallicum et vernaculum: illud Atinia,
" hoc noſtras dicitur. Eſt autem Atinia ulmus longè laetior et procerior
" quam noſtras, frondemque jucundiorem bubus praebet: quâ cùm aſſiduè
" pecus paveris, et poſtea generis alterius frondem dare inſtitueris, faſti-
" dium bubus affert." —— This may ſerve likewiſe to explain Virgil's
" frondibus ulmi," ver. 446. poſth.

✱[2] " Tria ſunt genera praecipuè Salicis, Graecae, Gallicae, Sabinae,
" quam plurimi vocant Amerinam." Col. lib. IV. c. xxx.

✱[3] The celebrated Lotus was an African tree; but, as Pliny tells us, they had the Lotus too very common in Italy, but very different from the other: " Et ipſam Italiae familiarem, ſed terrâ mutatur." —— Again he ſays, the differences between the ſeveral ſorts conſiſted chiefly in the fruit. — That the African was as large as a bean, and grew thick like myrtle; but the fruit of the Italian was like a cherry. Plin. lib. XIII. c. xvii.

✱[4] Pliny ſays of the cypreſs: " Duo genera earum — Meta in faſtigium
" convoluta, quae et foemina appellatur: Mas ſpargit extra ſe ramos de-
" putaturque et accipit vitem," etc. lib. XVI. c. xxxiii. See likewiſe in the ſame chapter, the reaſon of the epithet Idaeis.

VER.

VER. 85, 86.

" Nec pingues unam in faciem naſcuntur olivae,
" Orchades ❋, et radii, et amarâ pauſia baccâ."

❋ Columella reckons up ten different ſorts of olives: Virgil names only three of them. It cannot be known for certain by what names they are called at preſent; but this may be collected, from paſſages in Columella, that the Orchis and Radius were large olives, and uſed chiefly for eating; the Pauſia, a ſmall olive, uſed commonly to make oil.——" Pauſiae oleum " ſaporis egregii—Orchis et Radius melius ad eſcam quàm in liquorem " ſtringitur.—Omnisque olea major fere ad eſcam, minor oleo eſt aptior." Lib. V. c. viii. And again lib. XII. c. xlvii.—From this account, it may not be amiſs to ſuppoſe, that the Orchis anſwers to the Spaniſh olive, Radius to the ſtreaked olive ſuch as that of Languedoc, and Pauſia to the Lucca or Florence olive.—— N. B. Columella, in this deſcription of the ſeveral ſorts of olives, ſays, Bacca jucundiſſima eſt Pauſiae;" whereas Virgil diſtinguiſhes it by " amarâ baccâ:" in order to reconcile them, we muſt ſuppoſe, that Virgil ſpeaks of the berry before it is preſſed; and the more bitter that is, it uſually makes the ſweeter oil, in which latter ſenſe Columella calls it Jucundiſſima.

VER. 91—96.

" Sunt Thaſiae vites, ſunt et Mareotides ❋[1] albae;
" Pinguibus hae terris habiles, levioribus illae.
" Et paſſo * Pſythia utilior, ❋[2] tenuisque lageos
" Tentatura pedes olim, vincturaque linguam;
" Purpureae ❋[3], preciaeque: et quo te carmine dicam,
" ❋[4] Rhaetica? nec cellis ideo contende Falernis."

❋[1] " Dixit Virgilius Thaſias, Mareotidas, et Lageas, compluresque ex-
" ternas, quae non reperiuntur in Italiâ." Plin. lib. XIV. c. iii.

The Alexandrian or Mareotic wine from the lake Mareotis, near the city Alexandria in Aegypt, was much celebrated and very ſtrong. Horace, ſpeaking of Cleopatra, ſays:

" Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico
" Redegit in veros timores." Lib. I. Od. xxxvii.

Strabo, ſpeaking of Alexandria and the Lacus Mareia, ſays: Εὐοινία τε ἐςὶ περὶ τὰς τόπους, ὥςε καὶ διαχεῖσθαι πρὸς παλαίωσιν τὸν Μαρεωτικὸν οἶνον, lib. XVII.

" Quae

" Quae Graeculae vites ſunt, ut Mareoticae, Thaſiae, Pſithiae, ſicut " habent probabilem guſtum, ita noſtris regionibus et raritate uvarum, et " acinorum exiguitate, minus fluunt." Col. lib. III. c. ii.

* The Vino Santo is now made much in the ſame manner as the wine from the grape Pſythia here mentioned was made formerly. They gather the grapes when ripe, and ſpread them abroad, or hang them up, for ſome time, to dry; and when they are become in ſome degree Raiſins, they preſs them; and the juice, inſpiſſated by the evaporation of the watery parts, makes a very rich wine.

*[2] Pliny, treating of the different ſorts of wine, ſays: " Vinum tenue " et auſterum celeriùs per urinam tranſit, tantoque magis capita tentat." Lib. XXIII. c. i.

*[3] Purpureae muſt ſignify here a particular ſpecies of grapes; for Pliny ſays expreſly, that Virgil has enumerated fifteen different kinds of grapes; and we ſhall not find this number right without reckoning the Purpurea for one: " xv omnino generibus uvarum nominatis, tribus " oleae, totidem pyrorum." Plin. lib. XIV. Prooem.

That Precia was the name of a particular grape appears from the ſame author: " Preciae duo genera magnitudine acini diſcernuntur, quibus " materies plurima, uvaque ollis utiliſſima; folium apio ſimile." Lib. XIV. c. ii.

" Mediocri quoque ſolo foecundae, ſicut pretiae minor et major." Col. Lib. III. c. ii.

*[4] The Vino Santo, and Aromatico, both excellent wines, are ſtill made near the Lago di Garda and Lago di Como, and in the Valteline, all which were within the territories of the antient Rhaeti; for thus Strabo deſcribes them: " Rhaeti uſque in Italiam protenduntur, ſupra Veronam " et Comum." Lib. IV.

Servius tells us, that Cato celebrated the Rhaetian wine, and that Catullus condemned it. And he fancies that, as it was diſputed whether this was a good wine or not, Virgil expreſſes himſelf in the manner he does on purpoſe to leave the matter ſtill undecided.

I rather believe that, as 'twas a favourite wine of Auguſtus, he means, he knows not how to celebrate it ſufficiently. And though he ſays this out of complaiſance to his Prince, yet ſtill has that regard to the general taſte as to give the preference to the Falernian.

The excellence of this wine is generally allowed. Tibullus calls the " Falernus ager Bacchi cura."

——— " Bacchi cura Falernus ager." Lib. I. Ecl. ix.

Dionyſius

Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, ſpeaking of the wines of Albano, ſays: " Excepto Falerno, caetera omnia vina bonitate longè ſuperat." Lib. I.

And Varro: " Quod far conferam Campano? Quod triticum Appulo? " Quod vinum Falerno? Quod oleum Venafro?" Agricul. lib. I. c. ii.

" Falernus ager" and " Vinum Falernum" are taken ſometimes in a more extenſive, ſometimes in a more limited ſenſe. In the former ſenſe, it reached from the Volturnus quite to the Lini; taking in the Maſſic hills, now called Monte Marſo, or Montagne della Rocca.

VER. 97—100.

" Sunt etiam Ammineae vites, ❋[1] firmiſſima vina;
" ❋[2] Tmolus et aſſurgit quibus, et rex ipſe ❋[3] Phanaeus,
" Argitisque ❋[4] minor: cui non certaverit ulla,
" Aut tantum fluere, aut totidem durare per annos."

❋[1] Firmiſſima are wines which will keep; not liable to be prickt, or grow flat. Columella often uſes this epithet for wines; particularly book the XIIth, in oppoſition to Vina languentia. That the Amminea vitis had this good quality in an eminent degree is evident likewiſe from the ſame, lib. XII. cap. xix. where, ſpeaking " de pluribus generibus conditu- " rarum quibus vinum confirmatur," he prefers the Amminea vitis as the moſt effectual: " Quaecunque vini nota ſine condimento valet perennari, " optimam eſſe eam cenſemus, nec omnino quicquam permiſcendum, quo " naturalis ſapor ejus infuſcetur. Id enim praeſtantiſſimum eſt, quod " ſuâpte naturâ placere poterit. Caeterum cum aut regionis vitio, aut " novellarum vinearum, muſtum laborabit, eligenda erit pars vineae (ſi " eſt facultas) Ammineae; ſi minus, quam belliſſimi vini, quaeque erit et " vetuſtiſſima, et minimè uliginoſa."

❋[2] On the famous baſe at Pozzuoli, dedicated to Tiberius, on which are fourteen figures in grand relief, repreſenting ſo many cities or provinces of Aſia (with their proper attributes, and the name under each figure), that of Tmolus is repreſented as a Bacchus.

This mountain was fruitful in wines even to a proverb; as appears by Ovid:

" Africa quot ſegetes, quot Tmolia terra racemos,
" Quot Sicyon baccas, quot parit Hybla favos."
Lib. IV. de Ponto, Eleg. penult.

And Strabo ſays: " Sardibus imminet mons dives," lib. XIII. p. 625.— " Tmolus vino excellit," lib. XIV. p. 637.—— In the Pembroke collection

is

is a buſt of Tmolus crowned with grapes and vine-leaves. And Canini, in his Iconografia, plate XLIX, gives us a medal in the cabinet of Monſig. de Maſſimi, repreſenting an old man crowned with a garland of grapes, with this inſcription, TMΩΛOC. The reverſe, he ſays, is a figure holding in its right hand an inclined vaſe, with an inſcription, partly defaced, CAPΔIANΩ. — Canini very juſty remarks, that by this medal is repreſented the excellency of the wines of Mount Tmolus, near the city of Sardis.— This may ſerve likewiſe to explain the latter part of this verſe — " Et Rex ipſe Phanaeus:" — for by this is probably meant that Phanaeus had, or at leaſt deſerved, for his excellent wines, the ſame honours of ſtatues and medals as well as Tmolus. In that ſenſe the Ipſe is very emphatical.

Plutarch, and after him Tzetzes, place Tmolus in the number of the Kings of Lydia.

✵3 Phanaeus Rex ſignifies undoubtedly Chian, from Phanae, a promontory of Chios. See Stephanus Byzant. Φάναι, Ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Χίε· οἱ οἰκήτορες, Φαναῖοι. —— Servius ſays of " Rex ipſe Phanaeus — De Lucillio " hoc tractum eſt, qui ait, Χῖός τε δυνάσης; that is, οἶνος."

✵4 Columella ſays of this: " Terrae mediocritate laetatur, nam in " pingui nimiis viribus luxuriat; in macrâ, tenuis et vacua fructu venit. " Amicior jugo, quam arboribus; ſed etiam in ſublimibus fertilis vaſtis " materiis et uvis exuberat, humillimis tabulatis aptior." Lib. III. c. ii.

VER. 101—104.

" Non ✵1 ego te, menſis ✵2 et Diis accepta ſecundis,
" Tranſierim, ✵3 Rhodia; et tumidis, * bumaſte, racemis.
" ✵4 Sed neque quam multae ſpecies; nec nomina quae ſunt,
" Et numerus: neque enim numero comprendere refert."

✵1 Having mentioned ſome of the moſt celebrated grapes for making wine, he deſcends to ſuch as were uſed only for eating. And by this tranſition, " Non ego tranſierim," ſeems to inſinuate, that though theſe were excellent in their kind, yet were not to be had in equal eſteem with the others, which were more neceſſary for life. Columella reckons the Bumaſtus, and Rhodia, among the grapes for eating.

✵2 —— " Alteris
" Te menſis adhibet Deum."

Horat. ad Auguſtum, lib. IV. od. v.

✵3 Probably,

✻[3] Probably, a very large full grape; and therefore uſed for deſerts. Pliny mentions it with the Uva uncialis, ſo called, as he obſerves, " à " pondere acini," lib. XIV. c. iii.

* Bumaſtus is the very large red ſort of grapes, that they give you ſo perpetually in their deſerts in Italy, and particularly at Florence. It has its name from its ſhape; each grape being like the teat of a cow: Varro half latiniſes the word, and calls it Bumamma.

✻ " Tument mammarum modo bumaſti." Plin. lib. XIV. c. i.

✻[4] Columella, quoting this paſſage, ſays: " Univerſae regiones, regi- " onumque pene ſingulae partes habent propria vitium genera, quae con- " ſuetudine ſuâ nominant; quaedam etiam ſtirpes cum locis vocabula mu- " taverunt; quaedam propter mutationes locorum à qualitate ſuâ diſceſſe- " runt, ita ut dignoſci non poſſint. Ideoque in hâc ipſâ Italiâ vicinae " etiam nationes nominibus earum diſcrepant, variantque vocabula." Lib. III. c. ii.

VER. 116, 117.

——— " Sola India ✻[1] nigrum
" Fert ebenum, ſolis eſt thurea virga ✻[2] Sabaeis."

✻[1] Virgil uſes this epithet for diſtinction ſake, and it is in this place very neceſſary, the black ebeny being the only ſort valued. —— " Duo " genera ejus; rarum id, quod melius, arboreum, trunco enodi, materie " nigri ſplendoris, ac vel ſine arte protinus jucundi: Alterum fruticoſum, " cytiſi modo, et totâ Indiâ diſperſum." Plin. lib. XII. c. iv.

Lucan makes Meroë in Aethiopia the Mother of Ebeny:

———" Nigris Meroë foecunda colonis,
" Laeta comis Ebeni."——— Pharſal. lib. X. 303.

Virgil ſeems in ſeveral places to uſe India in the larger ſenſe, to ſignify Aethiopia, or any very hot country, as well as India properly ſo called.

✻[2] " Ad meridiem ultima è regionibus, quae habitantur, Arabia eſt: " in quâ ſolâ omnium naſcuntur thus, myrrha," etc. Herod. Thalia.

" Thura, praeter Arabiam, nullis; ac ne Arabiae quidem univerſae: " in medio ejus ferè ſunt Atramitae, pagus Sabaeorum; capite regni " Sabota, in monte excelſo; à quo octo manſionibus diſtat regio eorum " thurifera, Saba appellata." Plin. lib. XII. c. xiv.

VER. 118—125.

" Quid tibi odorato referam ſudantia ligno
" Balſamaque, et baccas ſemper frondentis acanthi?
" Quid nemora *[1] Aethiopum, molli canentia lana?
" *[2] Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia *[3] Seres?
" Aut quos Oceano propior gerit India lucos,
" Extremi ſinus orbis? Ubi aëra vincere *[4] ſummum
" Arboris haud ullae jactu potuere ſagittae:
" Et gens *[5] illa quidem ſumptis non tarda pharetris."

*[1] Pliny, lib. XIII. c. xiv. adds to the paſſage quoted by Ruaeus; That what the woods of Aethiopia produce much more reſembles wool, than that of Arabia or the Indies: that it is contained in pods reſembling a pomegranate, and that the tree is like the pomegranate-tree. — " Propior " tamen huic naturae lanae; majorque folliculus, granati modo mali: " Similesque et inter ſe arbores ipſae."

*[2] See an account of Silk in Monſ. Rollin's Antient Hiſtory, vol. X. laſt ſection.

*[3] Silius Italicus makes the Seres the fartheſt people of the world eaſtward:

——— " Jam Titan equos jungebat Eois
" Littoribus, primique novo Phaëtonte retecti
" Seres lanigeris repetebant vellera lucis."

At the beginning of the 6th book.

*[4] Q. Curtius gives this account of the woods of India: " Alexander " Poro amneque (Hydaſpe) ſuperato ad interiora Indiae proceſſit. Sylvae " erant prope in immenſum ſpatium diffuſae, procerisque et in eximiam " altitudinem editis arboribus umbroſae: Plerique rami inſtar ingentium " ſtipitum flexi in humum rurſus, quâ ſe curvaverant, erigebantur; adeo " ut ſpecies eſſet non rami reſurgentis, ſed arboris ex ſuâ radice genera- " tae." Lib. IX. § 2. ——And a little before, ſpeaking of the Indian arrows, he ſays, they were ſo great and heavy, that upon Alexander's attacking Porus's army on a ſudden; their arrows were of little uſe to them. — " Ne ſagittarum quidem ullus erat Barbaris uſus; quippe longae " et praegraves, niſi prius in terrâ ſtatuerint arcum, haud ſatis aptè et " commodè imponuntur." Lib. VIII. § 47.

*[5] Lucan,

✻[5] Lucan, ſpeaking of the Indians, ſays:

——— " fortior arcus:
" Nec puer, aut ſenior, lethales tendere nervos
" Segnis."——— Lib. VIII. 295.

VER. 126, 127.

" Media fert triſtes ſuccos tardumque ✻[1] ſaporem
" Felicis ✻[2] mali *."———

✻[1] " Citreis odor acerrimus, ſapor aſperrimus." Plin. lib. XV. c. xxviii.

✻[2] That the Malum citreum is here meant appears plainly from Pliny, who has given us an account of the Malus Aſſyria or Medica, lib. XII. c. iii. which is agreeable to this deſcription of Virgil's. And he declares in another place, that this Medica is the Citrea malus: for he ſays, lib. XV. c. xiv. " Malorum plura ſunt genera. De citreis cum ſuâ arbore " diximus; Medica autem Graeci vocant, Patriae nomine."

* I take it that Virgil here means the orange-tree, which was firſt brought into Italy, from Media, in his time. — As it was not yet generally known in Italy, he deſcribes it by its likeneſs to a tree well known there, the laurel-tree. " Its leaves," ſays he, " reſemble the leaves of that; but " have a finer and more diffuſed ſmell; and it is almoſt always beautified " with flowers." Pliny calls the orange-tree Malus Medica (as above); and his account of it agrees extremely with this in Virgil.

† Fracaſtorius has a very pretty deſcription of the ſame, which may be worth inſerting here:

" Sed neque carminibus neglecta ſilebere noſtris,
" Heſperidum decus et Medarum gloria Citre
" Sylvarum: ſi forte ſacris cantata Poëtis,
" Parte quoque hâc Medicam non dedignabere Muſam."
" Sic tibi ſit ſemper viridis coma; ſemper opaca,
" Semper flore novo redolens: ſis ſemper onuſta
" Per viridem pomum ſylvam pendentibus aureis." Siph. I. 2.

VER. 136—139.

" Sed neque ✻[1] Medorum ſylvae, ditiſſima terra,
" Nec pulcher Ganges, atque auro turbidus Hermus,

" Laudibus † Italiae certent: non Bactra, neque Indi,
" Totaque thuriferis Panchaïa pinguis ✱[2] arenis."

✱[1] Obſerve with what art he introduces the prăiſes of Italy, and his compliment to Caeſar; making the thread of his diſcourſe lead him to it, without ſeeming to have it in his view.

† Compare this with Denis of Halicarnaſſus's Elogium of Italy, lib. I. c. viii. § 5.—Pliny, lib. III. c. v. and lib. XXXVII. c. xiii.— and Solin. c. viii.

✱[2] Columella, ſpeaking of the land of Numidia and Aegypt, calls it "terram pinguibus arenis putrem veluti cinerem ſolutam." Lib. II. c. ii.

VER. 149, 150.

" Hic ver aſſiduum, atque alienis menſibus aeſtas;
" Bis gravidae pecudes, bis ✱ pomis utilis arbos."

✱ This, as Ruaeus obſerves, is generally thought an hyperbole, but without reaſon; for beſides what Varro mentions, lib. I. c. vii. "De malo "biferâ in agro Conſentino," ſeveral other authors affert the ſame, as ſufficient juſtifications of the poet. And I remember to have ſeen a vine at Iſchia, which I was aſſured bore grapes three times in the year; and is therefore called Uva di tre volte l'anno. It had ripe grapes in Auguſt; others turning, which would be ripe in October; and others quite green and ſmall, which I was informed would be ripe in December or January.— This correſponds with what Pliny affirms, lib. XVI. c. xxvii. "Vites "quidem et triferae ſunt, quas ob id inſanas vocant; quoniam in iis aliae "matureſcunt, aliae turgeſcunt, aliae florent." — But, without enlarging further upon ſuch ſingular inſtances affirmed by other authors, we may obſerve that when Virgil mentions this particular in honour of the Italian climate, he expreſſes himſelf more modeſtly and accurately than other authors do. He does not affirm that the trees are Biferae, or Bis parturit arbos, which perhaps may be doubted, but "bis pomis utilis."——This is certainly true of the fig, which they have in great plenty, eſpecially about Naples, at two diſtant ſeaſons of the year; (viz.) at the uſual time, at the latter end of Auguſt, or September; and likewiſe in May, thence called, from the ſeaſon, Fico di Paſcha. I was informed at Cava near Naples, which place is celebrated for its figs, that they cover their trees with mats all the winter, by which means the ſmall figs, which remained green on the tree in the autumn, are preſerved, and ripen in the ſpring as ſoon as the trees begin to ſhoot, and produce thoſe forward figs.

Columella,

Columella, lib. X. reckons the Ficus among the Arbores biferae:

" Tunc praecox biferâ deſcendit ab arbore ficus."

VER. 154.

❋ " Squameus in ſpiram tractu ſe colligit anguis."

❋ This verſe is admirably well adapted to expreſs the thought."

VER. 155, 156.

" Adde tot egregias urbes, operumque laborem:
" †. Tot congeſta ❋ manu praeruptis oppida ſaxis."

† Virgil, in his panegyric on Italy, among other inſtances of the happineſs of that country, mentions their having ſo many towns built on craggy rocks and hills. There were more formerly, and are ſeveral ſtill. In the road from Rome to Naples, you ſee no leſs than four in one view, from the hill on which Piperno ſtands; reckoning that in for one of them. Theſe were very uſeful, of old, for defence, among ſuch a fighting race of people: and are ſo ſtill for coolneſs; in ſo hot a climate, that they are generally forced to drive their flocks of ſheep up upon the mountains for the Summer-ſeaſon: as they uſually feed them in the ſheltered plains, or by the ſea-ſide, in the Winter.

❋ Many of the towns in Italy ſtand on the tops of ſuch high and ſteep rocks, that it ſeems impoſſible that any materials for building could be brought thither by carriages; and therefore Virgil calls them " congeſta " manu."

VER. 161—164.

" An memorem portus, ❋ Lucrinoque addita clauſtra,
" Atque indignatum magnis ſtridoribus aequor:
" Julia qua ponto longe ſonat unda refuſo,
" Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur aeſtus Avernis?"

❋ Caſſiodorus, in his Chronicle, ſays, the Lucrine lake was turned into a harbour in the Conſulſhip of M. Agrippa and L. Caninius, who were Conſuls in the year of the City 716. —— According to Ruaeus's calculation, Virgil began his Georgics this very year. Whether he did or not, it is probable, at leaſt, that he was writing them at the time that this port was making, or juſt after it was made, being then about 34 years old; and

and therefore takes this opportunity to compliment Agrippa, and celebrate this work as one of the glories of Italy.

† "Portum Julium apud Baias, immiſſo in Lucrinum et Avernum lacum "mari, effecit." Sueton. in Aug.

VER. 165, 166.

"Haec eadem argenti rivos, aerisque ✻ metalla
"Oſtendit venis, atque auro plurima fluxit."

✻ "Metalla ejus regionis" (ſpeaking of that part of Italy called Gallia Ciſalpina) "hodiè non perinde magno ſtudio tractantur, quia (puto) plus "utilitatis ex Tranſalpinis Gallicis et Hiſpanicis percipitur: olim autem "magnae erant curae. Nam et Vercellis aurifodina fuit et Ictomuli, quae "vicina ſunt Placentiae oppida." Strab. lib. V.

The ſame author, ſpeaking of a river which divides Aquileia from the Veneti, ſays: "Habet is locus Auri lavacra, et ſecturas ferri praeclaras." Ibid.

VER. 167—170.

"Haec genuś acre virûm, Marſos, pubemque ✻ Sabellam,
"Aſſuetumque † malo Ligurem, Volſcosque verutos
"Extulit: haec Decios, Marios, magnosque Camillos,
"Scipiadas duros bello."———

✻ This expreſſion, as Ruaeus obſerves, Aen. VII. 665, means either Sabines or Samnites; but in this place it certainly means the latter, as Cluverius judiciouſly remarks. "Quum graviſſima et maximè diutina "cum Samnitibus in Italiâ bella geſſerint Romani, haud dubium eſt, quin "eam gentem non vero Sabinos hic inter bellicoſiſſimas Italiae gentes con-"numerare voluerit poëta." Cluv. lib. III. c. ix.——Pliny ſays: "Samni-"tium, quos Sabellos et Graeci Saunitas dixêre, Colonia Bovianum." Lib. III. c. xii. And Horace probably means the ſame people, when, ſpeaking of his own country, he ſays:

———"Pulſis, vetus eſt ut fama, Sabellis."

If the Sabines were deſcended from the Samnites, and were of the ſame race, this expreſſion of Virgil's may include both.

† "Aſſuetum malo;" Q. If not, laborious? Certainly ſomething in praiſe of them here, though he ſpeaks of the Genoeſe as a deceitful people onanother occaſion, Aen. XI. 716.

VER.

VER. 170—172.

——— " Et te, maxime Caeſar,
" Qui nunc extremis Aſiae jam victor in oris
" * Imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum."

* Compare this with Aen. VI. ver. 794, etc.—Virgil tells us expreſsly at the latter end of his Georgics, that Caeſar was in Aſia whilſt he was writing them.

This, according to Ruaeus and others, may ſignify, effeminate, not of a warlike diſpoſition; but as it is intended as a compliment to Caeſar, and as there is little honour in conquering an effeminate people, I rather believe that the word in this place ſignifies, "without war, without bloodſhed." That is, Caeſar by his preſence in Aſia ſo awed the Indians, that they threw down their arms, and ſubmitted without daring to come to battle. Silius Italicus, the great imitator of Virgil, pays the like compliment to Domitian with regard to the ſame people.

" Huic laxos arcus olim Gangetica pubes
" Submittet; vacuaſque oſtendent Bactra pharetras."

Statius, Sylv. IV. 4. and ver. 47. uſes "imbelles" in the ſame ſenſe. "Imbelles laurus:" Honours got without fighting. — Again, lib. III. Ecl. ii. 98.

——" Imbellis, tumidoque nihil juratus Atridae:"

ſpeaking of Phoenix, who attended Achilles without being engaged to fight.

+ Vexatiſſimus hic locus omnium quotquot vidi interpretum artes omnes eluſiſſe videtur. Fruſtra fuerunt omnium interpretationes et commenta, quibus Virgilium ab Auguſti frigidiſſime laudati culpa abſolvere conati ſunt. Vulgo haec intelligi volunt de celebri illa Indorum legatione amicitiam Auguſti petentium, a Strabone, Dione, Euſebio, Suetonio, Floro, Eutropio, et Aurelio Victore memorata; ſed, ut alia multa quae opponi poſſent taceam, non quadrat temporum ratio. Legationem enim illam non niſi poſt ſecundam Auguſti in Orientem profectionem fuiſſe miſſam uno conſenſu tradunt hiſtorici, anno ſcilicet U. C. 733 aut 743, et nono aut decimo poſtquam Georgica abſolviſſet et edidiſſet Virgilius. Neque credibile eſt hunc, qui in Aeneide perficienda tunc totus erat, Georgica de novo recenſita poſt decem annos iterum edidiſſe, aut, ſi hoc etiam detur, notam

notam tamen temporis hic inſeruiſſe, quae ei plane contradicat qua liber ultimus, totum adeo opus, clauditur:

" Haec ſuper arvorum cultu pecorumque canebam,
" Et ſuper arboribus; Caeſar dum magnus ad altum
" Fulminat Eupraten bello, victorque volentes
" Per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympo."

Ubi victor proculdubio eſt victor Antonii et Cleopatrae, et cum iis Aegypti et totius Orientis, nam ne bellum quidem ullum ab Auguſto in ſecunda profectione ſuſceptum, nedum victoriam ullam ab eo partam tradunt hiſtorici. Notanda etiam ſunt verba iſta, " viamque affectat " Olympo;" non igitur jam Olympum ſibi vindicaverat, nec in Deorum numerum jam relatus fuerat; at notum eſt, poſt debellatum Antonium pacatumque Orientem, proximo ſtatim anno, et templa ſibi poni, et divinis ſe coli honoribus, paſſum fuiſſe. Rejecta igitur interpretatione illâ haec referente ad legationem Indicam, quam nunquam cogito quin mentem ſimul ſubit gemina illa prorſus ac germana ad Ludovicum Magnum Galliarum Regem e Perſide ſub regni finem adornata legatio, videndum tandem ac tentandum an nobis felicius ſucceſſerit loci hujus explicatio. Primum autem per "Imbellem Indum" hic praecipue denotari exiſtimo Marcum Antonium, Auguſti de orbis imperio aemulum. Hunc enim Georgicorum librum poſt partam victoriam Actiacam, dum Caeſar jam victor, ad Actium ſcilicet, adhuc in extremis Aſiae oris, id eſt, circa Aegypti confinia, cum exercitu verſabatur, et ante debellatum Antonium captamque Alexandriam, fuiſſe ſcriptum vel hinc conſtat, quod nunc avertere, id eſt, in avertendo occupari, non avertiſſe, Imbellum Indum dicitur Caeſar. Hunc vero M. Antonium, indole ſua atque ingenio jam ab juventa voluptatibus nimis deditum, deinde ex diuturna in Aegypto commoratione, ubi Cleopatrae lenociniis detinebatur, deſidia ac luxu totum diffluentem, moribusque Aegyptiis et Aſiaticis ad omnem mollitiem imbutum, enervatum tandem prorſus ac imbellem evaſiſſe, teſtantur uno ore omnes qui illorum temporum hiſtoriam ſcriptis tradiderunt. Neque vero Antonium ſolum hic deſignari autumo, ſed cum eo una Aegyptum et omnem denique Orientem, quippe cujus gentes fere omnes, quam late Romanum petebat Imperium, ejus partes amplexae eſſent, ac, ſi viciſſet, praecipuum victoriae praemium ablaturae credebantur, ſede ſcilicet Orbis Imperii Roma Alexandriam tranſlata. Hanc rem non parum illuſtrant quae alibi a noſtro ſcripta ſunt; ut Georg. I. ver. 509.

" Hinc

" Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania, bellum."

Haec ante praelium ad Actium ſcripta fuiſſe, ex praecedentibus et ſequentibus conſtat, et per Euphraten, Oriens et Antonii partes, per Germaniam, Occidens partesque Octaviani denotari intelliguntur. Ita in Aeneid. VIII. ver. 678, ubi acies utrinque ad pugnam inſtructas recenſet noſter; ex una parte,

" Hinc Auguſtus agens Italos in praelia Caeſar,
" Cum patribus, populoque, penatibus, et magnis Diis."

ex altera parte, ver. 685.

" Hinc ope Barbarica variisque Antonius armis,
" Victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro,
" Aegyptum, viresque orientis, et ultima ſecum
" Bactra vehit, ſequiturque (nefas!) Aegyptia conjux."

Et paulo infra:

——" Omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi,
" Omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei."

At omnem de interpretatione noſtra dubitationem plane tollere videntur iſta Poëtae noſtri in Georg. III. ver. 26—29. ubi Auguſti triumphos depingens ait,

" In foribus pugnam ex auro ſolidoque elephanto
" Gangaridum faciam, victorisque arma Quirini;
" Atque hic undantem bello, magnumque fluentem
" Nilum, ac navali ſurgentis aere columnas."

Hic Quirinus certiſſime eſt ipſe Auguſtus, (vide Servium ad locum); et Gangaridum pugna victoriam ex Antonianis in Aegypto ab eo relatam clariſſime deſignat, quae interpretatio et a facta ſtatim Nili mentione confirmatur. Gangaridae enim verae Indiae populi circa Gangem habitantes, quibuſcum Auguſto nihil unquam rei fuit, aut eſſe potuit, utpote adeo longe ab imperii Romani finibus remotis, ut ejus forſan ne nomen unquam audierant. Hic autem per figuram poëtis familiarem, Indi univerſim ſumpti denotantur, et cum eodem nomine vulgo etiam cenſerentur Aethiopes et Arabes, qui ſub Aegyptiorum ditionem comprehendebantur; hinc et Aegyptios hoc in loco intelligi vult Poëta. Nam ſub Indiae appellatione complectebantur Veteres regiones eas omnes, quae trans Mare Mediterraneum ſitae erant, et praecipue Aethiopiam, Arabiam, Aegyptum,

Parthiam, Perſidem, interdum etiam Libyam et Palaeſtinam. Hoc dudum argumentis invictis oſtenderunt viri docti, Turnebus Adverſar. XXI. 9. Cuper. Obſervat. lib. IV. cap. vii. Beauſobr. in Bibliotheca Germanica, tom. XLI. p. 100—125. Freretus in Comment. Academiae Inſcriptionum, tom. VI. p. 352. ut Huetium, J. Alb. Fabricium, Dickenſonium noſtratem, et alios taceam. Per arces Romanas hic intelligo, non, quod vulgo fit, in finibus Imperii Romani poſita propugnacula, ſed ipſam urbem Romam. Ita apud Horatium legimus, Od. I. vii. 5. "Intactae Pal-" ladis arces," pro Athenis; ubi vide et alia ejuſdem loquendi formae exempla a Bentleio congeſta; Od. II. vi. 21, 22. " beatas arces," de Tibure; Epod. vii. 6. " ſuperbas Carthaginis arces," pro ipſa Carthagine; et apud Statium Sylv. l. IV iv. 4. " Romuleas arces," pro ipſa Roma. At praecipue Montem Arcem et Templum Capitolinum in animo habuiſſe Virgilium mihi perſuaſum eſt, quippe in quibus contineri exiſtimabatur ſalus et fatum Urbis et Imperii Romani. Vide Rycquium de Capitolio, cap. xlvi. Adeo ut avertere ab Arcibus Romanis, idem hic valeat ac avertere ab Imperio Urbis ac Orbis Romani occupando. Nulla autem majori clade affligi potuiſſe res Romanas, quam ſi Antonius victoria potitus imperii ſummam tenuiſſet, et ſub ejus auſpiciis imbellis Indus Romae imperaſſet, omnes tunc temporis prudentes clare videbant. Ita Horatius, I Od. xxxvii. 6.

——— " Dum Capitolio
" Regina dementis ruinas,
" Funus et imperio parabat,
" Contaminato cum grege turpium
" Morbo virorum." ———

Idem, Epod. ix. 7.

" Ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius
" Dux fugit uſtis navibus,
" Minatus Urbi vincla, quae detraxerat
" Servis amicus perfidis.
" Romanus (eheu! poſteri negabitis)
" Emancipatus feminae
" Fert vallum et arma miles, et ſpadonibus
" Servire rugoſis poteſt:
" Interque ſigna turpe militaria
" Sol aſpicit conopium.

" Ad

" Ad hoc frementis verterunt bis mille equos
" Galli, canentes Caeſarem:
" Hoſtiliumque navium portu latent
" Puppes ſiniſtrorſum citae."

Ita Paterculus, XI. lxxxv. " Caeſar Antoniusque, productis claſſibus, proſalute alter, in ruinam alter orbis terrarum, dimicavere."

Propertius, III. ix. 29.

" Quid, modo quae noſtris opprobria vexerit armis,
" Et famulos inter femina trita ſuos?
" Conjugii obſceni pretium Romana popoſcit
" Moenia, et addictos in ſua regna patres.

" Septem urbs alta jugis, toto quae praeſidet orbi,
" Femineas timuit territa Marte minas."

Ovidius, Metam. XV. 825.

——— " Fruſtraque erat illa minata
" Servitura ſuo Capitolia noſtra Canopo."

Scilicet ab homine ignavo, otio ac mollitiis pene ultra feminam fluente, et qui ſe totum mulieri laſcivae atque impotenti addixerat, nihil aliud expectandum erat, quam certum Romano et imperio et virtuti exitium. Hanc peſtem, jam cum haec ſcribebat Virgilius, ab arcibus Romanis, ab Urbe, Capitolio, et Imperio Romano, victor avertebat Auguſtus; neque ulla laus ei gratior eſſe potuit, quam tam praeclari facinoris ab eo incepti commemoratio. Ita Epitheton, Imbellis, hoc in loco laudes ejus adeo non minuit, ut etiam quam maxime augeat; quanto enim imbellior Antonius, tanto major, eo depulſo, gratia Auguſto erat habenda. Adde, quod et exprobratio illa morum imbellium Antonio et ejus aſſeclis opportuniſſima erat, tum ad odium atque invidiam Populi Romani erga eum concitandum, tum ad affectus populares in amorem Auguſti, qui dedecus illud Patriae tunc depellebat, conciliandos. Adeo ut nihil tunc temporis ad hujus laudes cumulandas magis aptum aut accommodatum excogitari poterat, atque Antonii iſta vituperatio.

Denique et hoc animadverſione dignum eſt, quod tradunt illorum temporum Hiſtorici, nempe Auguſtum ſemper prae ſe tuliſſe, contra Aegyptios et Cleopatram bellum ſe potius gerere, quam contra Antonium, et qui partes ejus ſecuti ſunt Romanos, ideoque ſuper illis, non autem ſuper his, ſupplicationes decerni voluiſſe. Dio, lib. LI. p. 457. Καὶ Καισαρι καὶ ἑτερα καὶ

και επινικια ὡς και των Αιγυπτιων αγαγειν εδοσαν· τον γαρ Ανθωνιον και τας αλλας Ῥωμαιας τας συν εκεινῳ νικηθεντας, εἰε προτερον, ετε τοτε, ὡς και ἑορταζειν σφας επ' αυτοις δεον ον, ωνομασαν. Atque haec cauſa eſſe potuit, quod Virgilius nomen quidem Antonii, eo praeſertim adhuc vivo, tacere maluerit, eumque cum caeteris ejus aſſeclis ſub *imbellis Indi* appellatione comprehenderit. Poſtea, eo mortuo, et Auguſto imperium ſummum ſine rivali obtinente, minus huic erga nomen Romanum reverentiae indulgendum ratus eſt, ut videre licet in Aeneide.

[By the late judicious and learned Mr. Heath of Exeter.]

VER. 179—181.

" Difficiles primum terrae, collesque maligni,
" Tenuis ubi argilla et dumoſis calculus arvis,
" Palladiâ gaudent ſylvâ vivacis ❋ olivae."

❋ " Aptiſſimum genus terrae eſt oleis, cui glarea ſubeſt, ſi ſuperpo-
" ſita creta ſabulo admiſta eſt. — Creta ex toto repudianda eſt, inimicus
" eſt etiam ager ſabulo macer, et nuda glarea." Col. lib. V. c. viii. — And again; " Sed et denſior terra, ſi uvida et laeta eſt, commode
" recipit hanc arborem:" which anſwers to what Virgil obſerves alſo, ſpeaking of rich land:

——— " Illa ferax oleae eſt."

VER. 182, 183.

" Indicio eſt, tractu ſurgens oleaſter eodem
" Plurimus, et ſtrati baccis ❋ ſylveſtribus agri."

❋ There is no occaſion to confine this to wild olives, as moſt of the commentators do. Virgil is to be underſtood in a larger ſenſe, and means any ſort of berries. The land which is proper for olives producing commonly ſeveral ſorts of trees that bear berries, as well as the wild olive.

VER. 184—187.

" At quae pinguis humus, dulcique uligine laeta,
" Quique frequens herbis et fertilis ubere campus,
" Qualem ſaepe cavâ montis ❋ convalle ſolemus
" Deſpicere," etc.

❋ Columella, ſpeaking of land moſt proper for vineyards, ſays; " Higinius quidem ſecutus Tremellium, praecipue montium ima, quae à
" verticibus

" verticibus defluentem humum receperint, vel etiam valles, quae flu-
" minum alluvie et inundationibus concreverint, aptas esse vineis asseverat;
" me non dissentiente." Lib. III. c. ii.

VER. 191—294.

——— " Hic fertilis uvae,
" Hic laticis; qualem pateris libamus et auro,
" Inflavit cum * pinguis ebur Tyrrhenus ad aras,
" Lancibus et pandis fumantia reddimus exta."

* Virgil applies this epithet only to the Tibicines, who were observed to be commonly very fat fellows; and might well be supposed to be so, being admitted to partake of all feasts and sacrifices. Whoever reads the story of the Tibicines in Livy, lib. IX. and Ovid's Fast. l. VI. cannot doubt but that they were famous for loving their bellies, and that this was Virgil's meaning. For we find, that they all quitted Rome in a body, and retired to Tybur, on an affront offered to their bellies: that they were brought back again to Rome by a drunken bout, and were persuaded to stay there only on condition that they should be admitted to eat at the sacrifices. And Livy in that very place severely taxes them as, " Genus vini avidum." — Observe how one of them is represented in the Basso Relievo of a vase in the Villa Justiniani. —— See Virgil's like reproaches to the Tyrrheni in Tarchon's speech, Æn. XI. ver. 732 to 740.

VER. 203—205.

" Nigra *[1] fere, et presso pinguis sub vomere terra,
" Et cui putre *[2] solum, (namque hoc imitamur arando),
" Optima frumentis." ———

* Fere is very properly added, and is very expressive. Columella observes, lib. II. c. ii. " Plurimos antiquorum, qui de rusticis rebus scrip-
" serunt, quasi confessum nec dubium signum pinguis ac frumentorum
" fertilis agri prodidisse nigrum colorem, vel cinereum." Against whom he proves " a paludibus, a campis salinarum, ab aliis locis, qui pigrum
" contineant humorem, manifestum hunc esse errorem." — And concludes — " Non ergo color, tanquam certus auctor, testis est bonitatis arvorum.
" Considerandum erit, ut solum, quod ex colore destinamus, pingue sit." All this Virgil expresses by one word, Fere, and by subjoining " pin-
" guis terra."

Columella

*[2] Columella quotes this verſe, lib. II. c. ii. and again, lib. V. c. iv. and in both places explains "Putre ſolum" by, "quod per ſe reſolutum "eſt:" and adds in the former place, "Neque enim aliud eſt colore, "quam reſolvere et fermentare terram."

VER. 212—214.

—— "*[1] Jejuna quidem clivoſi glarea ruris
"Vix humiles apibus *[2] caſias roremque miniſtrat;
"Et tophus *[3] ſcaber." ——

*[1] Jejuna is properly added to Glarea here: and this ſeems to be purpoſely enlarged upon, and explained by Columella, lib. III. c. xi. "Solutam glaream, calculoſumque agrum, et mobilem lapidem probari, "—— ſi tamen haec pingui glebae permiſta ſunt: nam eadem jejuna "maximè culpantur." —— And again afterwards — "Cretoſa humus "utilis habetur viti: per ſe ipſa creta, quâ utuntur figuli, quamque non-"nulli Argillam vocant, inimiciſſima eſt."

*[2] Pliny deſcribes it in the ſame chapter with Cinnamon, and therefore it may be thought to belong to the ſame claſs, and is commonly rendered by interpreters Cinnamon, but perhaps improperly. Pliny ſays it is a Frutex as well as the Cinnamon, and that it came from the ſame country; but with this difference, that Cinnamon grew on the plains, Caſia on the mountains. And that whereas the bark of the Cinnamon tree was moſt valued, on the contrary, in the Caſia, the bark was to be taken off, and the only valuable part was a thin ſkin. See Pliny, lib. XII. c. ix. It is this ſort of ſpice Virgil undoubtedly means, when he ſays;

"Nec caſiâ liquidi corrumpitur uſus olivi." Georg. II. 466.

The Caſea mentioned by Virgil in other places, particularly here, was ſome common ſweet herb in Italy, as is well obſerved by Dr. Martyn. See his note on that place.

*[3] Tophus is a very rough ſtone like the pumice ſtone, and therefore very properly called Scaber; it differs from the pumice ſtone in weight. Vitruvius, ſpeaking of the burnt ſtones and ſand about mount Veſuvius and Baiae, ſays, "Ignis et flammae vapor penitus per interve-"nia permanans et ardens efficit levem illam terram; et ibi qui naſcitur "tophus exugens eſt, et ſine liquore." —— And in the ſame chapter he calls this burnt ſtone by the name of "ſpongia et pumex:" by which

which it is plain that he reckons the difference between the Pumex and Tophus to be this; that the former is dry and without moiſture, and conſequently muſt be lighter than the Tophus. This ſtone is now called by the Italians, Tufo. There is abundance of it in the Campagna of Rome.

VER. 217, 218.

" ❋ Quae tenuem exhalat nebulam fumosque volucres;
" Et bibit humorem, et cum vult ex ſe ipſa remittit."

❋ Theſe verſes contain a very nice deſcription of the nature of the Campania Felix, which has generally a thin miſt hanging over it ſome part of the day; which preſerves it from being dry, though continually cultivated: And though there is ſcarce any running water over ſo large a tract, yet its own natural moiſture (and that without dampneſs) ſtill maintains it rich and fertile. This thin miſt flying like ſmoke from the foot of mount Veſuvius and the Surrentin hills over the Campania is ſo frequent, that it has often put me in mind of this deſcription.

VER. 219—225.

" Quaeque ſuo viridi ſemper ſe gramine veſtit,
" Nec ſcabie et falsâ laedit rubigine ferrum;
" Illa tibi laetis intexet vitibus ulmos:
" Illa ferax oleae eſt: illam experiere colendo
" Et facilem pecori, et patientem vomeris unci.
" Talem dives arat Capua, et ❋[1] vicina Veſevo
" Ora jugo, et vacuis ❋[2] Clanius non aequus Acerris."

❋[1] However Gellius came by the ſtory he relates, it is not probable that Virgil ever thought of Nola in this place. The coaſt from Naples is very fruitful; and as Virgil is ſuppoſed to have wrote this at or near Naples, and had this coaſt every day in his view, is it likely that he ſhould pay this compliment to a diſtant town, and forget his favourite country?—I doubt whether the land about Nola merits the praiſes here given; but if it does, it is comprehended under Clanius near whoſe banks it ſtands.

❋[2] Cluver, lib. IV. c. ii. gives us the following deſcription of the Clanius. " Amnis, qui medio ferè ſitu inter Avellam et Nolam exortus, " ac dextrâ ripâ Acerras oppidum, quod vulgò nunc etiam dicitur Acerra

" et

" et Cerra, praelapſus, tria fermè millia paſſuum ab Cumis, cujus ruinae " hodieque Cuma vocantur, in mare ſe effundit vulgari nunc vocabulo " Il Lagno :" and in few lines, after having quoted this paſſage of Virgil, adds, " Certè hodieque totus hic amnis a fonte uſque ad oſtium ab " utrinque paludibus clauditur : ideoque ſuperioribus annis Praeſides regni " Neapolitani varias hic egêre foſſas, quae ſuperſtagnantes amnis ſimul " et paludum aquas exciperent, breviorique curſu inter Vulturnum et " vetus Clanii oſtium in mare effunderent. Clanius eſt apud Acerras in " Campaniâ, qui, cùm creverit, meditatur peſtem terrae." Vibius Sequeſter in catalogo Fluminum.

VER. 226—229.

" Nunc quo quamque modo poſſis cognoſcere, dicam,
" Rara ſit, an ſupra morem ſi denſa, requiras :
" (Altera frumentis quoniam favet, altera Baccho ;
" Denſa magis Cereri ; * rariſſima quaeque, Lyaeo)."

* " Quia denſa radicibus ad comprehendum iniqua," Col. lib. III. c. ii. And further adds in the ſame chapter : " Hoc in totum, ad illud quod " vineis praecipuè eſt idoneum, propriè conſiderandum, ut prius retuli ; " ſi facilis eſt humus, et modicè reſoluta, quam diximus pullam vocitari."

VER. 246, 247.

" At * ſapor indicium faciet manifeſtus, et ora
" Triſtia tentantum ſenſu torquebit amaror."

* See A. Gellii Noct. Att. l. I. c. xxi. Sapor ſignifies both Smell and Taſte—Savour.

VER. 248—250.

" Pinguis item quae ſit tellus, hoc denique pacto
" Diſcimus : haud unquam manibus * jactata fatiſcit,
" Sed picis in morem ad digitos lenteſcit habendo."

* This Columella expreſſes thus ; " Illiſa humo non diſſipatur, et quo- " vis leviſſimo tactu preſſa inhaereſcit, and then quotes this verſe,

" Picis in morem," l. II. c. ii.

This he brings as a proof of fat land, and then proceeds to preſcribe the other experiments, which ſeem to be almoſt copied from Virgil.

VER.

VER. 259—264.

" His animadverſis, ❋[1] terram multo ❋[2] ante memento
" Excoquere, et ❋[3] magnos ſcrobibus concidere montes ;
" Ante ſupinatas Aquiloni oſtendere glebas,
" Quam laetum infodias vitis genus : optima putri
" Arva ſolo : id venti curant, gelidaeque pruinae,
" Et labefacta movens robuſtus jugera foſſor."

❋[1] Here Virgil is giving directions for digging holes or ditches for planting vines ; and as the principal thing to be obſerved was to have the ground well mellowed and looſe, this the Poet inculcates in ſtrong terms : ſaying, that the Foſſor ſhould be Robuſtus, and by " movens " labefacta" the repetition ſhews that it ought to be much and well worked. He likewiſe directs laying the earth expoſed to the north, that the cold and froſt may mellow the ground. Columella treats at large of this head, lib. III. c. xiii. etc. and ſays ; " Non parum refert ſuſpenſiſſi- " mum eſſe paſtinatum, et, ſi fieri poſſit, veſtigio quoque inviolatum : ut " mota aequaliter humus novelli ſeminis radicibus, quamcunque in par- " tem prorepſerint, molliter cedat ; ne incrementa duritia ſua reverbe- " ret, ſed tenero velut nutritio ſinu recipiat, et caeleſtes admittat imbres, " eosque alendis ſeminibus diſpenſet ; ac ſuis omnibus partibus ad edu- " candam prolem novam conſpiret." —— He explains Paſtinum thus : " Quicquid emoti ſoli vineis praeparatur .Repaſtinatum vocatur," cap. xviii. — See Columella's deſcription of planting vines in holes, and like- wiſe in the Quincunx, lib. III. c. xiii.

❋[2] " Si ſcrobibus aut ſulcis vineam poſituri erimus, optimum erit ante " annum ſcrobes vel ſulcos facere." The Author of the book De Ar- boribus, uſually aſcribed to Columella.

❋[3] Dr. Martyn ſays, " he can hardly forbear thinking that Virgil " wrote *Magnis*, which will make the ſenſe be, To cut the hills with " great trenches :" but propoſes this only as a conjecture, for he owns it is *Magnos* in all the copies he has ſeen. It is reaſonable to believe with the Doctor that Virgil, in imitation of Theophraſtus, whom, as the Doctor obſerves, he ſeems to copy in this place, directs making trenches for planting vines very deep. This is ſtill the practice in Italy ; and ſo, I think, we may underſtand Virgil without altering *Magnos*. For if there is ſufficient earth dug out of the trenches to raiſe large hills, conſequently the trenches muſt be large too. Whoever has ſeen the

manner of planting a new vineyard in Italy, will eaſily have an idea of the Poet's meaning in this ſenſe: for the plaineſt field at ſuch a time is nothing but great hills and ditches. I propoſe this too only as a conjecture; but in favour of it one may further obſerve, that Dr. Martyn's other interpretation, (viz.) *To cut the hills with great trenches*, can properly be applied only to vineyards on hilly grounds; whereas Virgil's rule is general, and relates to all new planted vineyards, whether on hills or plains. And it is certain he is to be underſtood of both, for he ſays preſently after:

" Collibus an plano melius ſit ponere vitem.
" Quaere priùs." Ver. 274.

VER. 265—268.

" At ſi quos haud ulla viros vigilantia fugit;
" Ante locum ſimilem exquirunt, ubi prima paretur
" Arboribus ſeges, et quo mox digeſta feratur:
" ❋ Mutatam ignorent ſubito ne ſemina matrem."

❋ Plants, from the rich nurſeries about London, frequently ſuffer when tranſplanted.

VER. 274—278.

——— " Sin pinguis agros metabere campi;
" Denſa fere: in ❋[1] denſo non ſegnior ubere Bacchus.
" Sin tumulis acclive ſolum, colleſque ſupinos;
" Indulge ❋[2] ordinibus: nec ❋[3] ſecius omnis in unguem
" Arboribus poſitis ſecto via limite quadret."

❋[1] " Denſa terra" is cloſe land, the oppoſite to Reſoluta; in ſuch land the roots cannot ſpread, and therefore vines may be planted cloſe.

❋[2] " Indulge ordinibus." — Give a greater looſe, more liberty to the vines, by widening the rows.

❋[3] " Nec ſecius." — Nevertheleſs, (i. e.) as well in this way of planting wide, as in the other of planting thick, obſerve always to plant exactly at equal diſtances, for the reaſons given afterwards. —— See " Haud ſecius," Aen. VII. ver. 718.

VER.

VER. 288—292.

" Forſitan et ſcrobibus quae ſint faſtigia quaeras.
" Auſim vel ❋ tenui vitem committere ſulco.
" Altius ac penitus terrae defigitur arbos:
" Aeſculus imprimis, quae quantum vertice ad auras
" Aethereas, tantum radice in Tartara tendit."

❋ This does not in the leaſt interfere with the above-mentioned rule of making deep trenches for planting vines. For though it might not be neceſſary to ſet the ſhoots deep; yet it was requiſite to make the trenches ſo, that the earth being looſened all round, the roots might have room to ſpread, and more eaſily receive nouriſhment.

VER. 298—302.

" Neve tibi ad ſolem vergant vineta ❋[1] cadentem:
" Neve ❋[2] inter vites corylum ſere: neve flagella
" ❋[3] Summa pete, aut ſummas defringe ex arbore plantas:
" (Tantus amor terrae!) neu ferro laede ❋[4] retuſo
" Semina: neve oleae ſylveſtres inſere truncos."

❋[1] Columella, lib. III. c. xii. ſays, " Quam regionem coeli ſpectare de-
" beant vineae, vetus eſt diſſenſio; Saſernâ maxime probante ſolis ortum,
" mox deinde meridiem, tum occaſum: Tremellio Scrofâ praecipuam po-
" ſitionem meridianam cenſente: Virgilio de induſtriâ occaſum ſic repu-
" diante,

" Neve tibi ad ſolem," etc.

" Nobis in univerſum praecipere optimum viſum eſt, ut in locis frigi-
" dis meridiano vineta ſubjiciantur; tepidis, orienti advertantur."

❋[2] It is an obſervation of the learned Gaſſendus, that ſeveral plants are affected by others growing too near them: (e. g.) if you ſet white Hellebore or the herb Mercury near the Vine, the grapes will acquire a purging faculty, lib. De Plantis, cap. iii. De facultatibus Plantarum. And Dodonaeus, lib. V. c. xxxvii. deſcribing his Raphanus Montanus, ſays, that it hath been found by experience, that this plant doth hinder the growing of the Vine; and being planted near it, doth cauſe the Vine to ſtarve or wither away. — Pliny afferts the ſame: " Odit vitis et caulem,

" et olus omne ; odit et corylum ; ni procul abſint, triſtis et aegra," lib. XVII. c. xxiv.

✻[3] Here are two prohibitions ; 1ſt, Not to take juſt the top of any branch for planting ; nor, 2dly, To chuſe the ſhoots from the top of a tree. Both the precepts are largely explained by Columella in a chapter intitled, " Ex quâ vitis parte ſemina eligenda ſunt," lib. III. c. x. " Fera- " ciſſima ſemina ſunt, non ut veteres auctores tradiderunt, extrema pars " ejus, quod caput vitis appellant, id eſt, ultimum et productiſſimum fla- " gellum ; ſed id ſarmentum quod mediâ vite ſitum, non importunâ qui- " dem parte deficit, ac numeroſo foetu benignitatem ſuam oſtendit." Again for the other part, he ſays ; " Majores noſtri etiam ex foecundo malleolo, " quem ipſi probaſſent, deciſam ſagittam repudiabant." — And again afterwards. " Sagittam, id eſt, ſuperiorem partem malleoli, vituperandam " cenſebant." — And, c. xvii. he explains what Sagitta means. " Sagit- " tam ruſtici vocant noviſſimam partem ſurculi," etc. And then gives his reaſons, why it ſhould be rejected.

" Defringe" has its force likewiſe ; and contains a third prohibition.

✻[4] Columella ſays, lib. IV. c. xxiv. " Magnopere monendus putator eſt " ut prolixet aciem ferramenti ; et, quantum poſſit, novaculae ſimilem " reddat." In the next chapter he deſcribes the figure of the Falx ; and, in both chapters, ſpeaks largely of the ſharpneſs of it : which is too plain to be inſiſted on, or quoted.

VER. 319—324.

" ✻[1] Optima vinetis ſatio eſt, cum vere rubenti
" Candida venit avis longis inviſa colubris :
" Prima vel autumni ſub frigora, cum ✻[1] rapidus ſol
" Nondum hiemem contingit equis, jam praeterit aeſtas ;
" Ver adeo frondi nemorum, ver utile ſylvis :
" Vere tument terrae, et genitalia ſemina poſcunt."

" Columella preſcribes the ſame ſeaſons, lib. III. c. xiv. " Vinea vel " vere vel autumno tempeſtivè deponitur. Vere melius, ſi aut pluvius " aut frigidus ſtatus coeli eſt ; aut ager pinguis, aut campeſtris et uligi- " noſa planities. Rurſus autumno, ſi ſicca, ſi calida eſt aëris qualitas ; ſi " exilis atque aridus campus : ſi macer praeruptusve collis." — The reaſons given a little before by Columella for allowing liberty to the roots to ſpread, will hold ſtrongly in favour of Virgil's rule, not to plant in Winter.

" Rura

" Rura gelu cum claudit hiems," etc. Ver. 317.

❋[3] This epithet is very properly applied to the ſun at any time of the year, but more emphatically ſo when the days are ſhortning; for then he finiſhes his courſe ſooner, and ſeems to be more in haſte. This thought, which is here expreſſed in one epithet, Virgil expatiates more largely on, ver. 481.

" Quid tantum oceano properent ſe tingere ſoles
" Hiberni; vel quae tardis mora noctibus obſtet."

VER. 325—327.

" Tum ❋ Pater omnipotens foecundis imbribus Aether
" Conjugis in gremium laetae deſcendit; et omnes
" Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, foetus."

❋ Thus Lucretius:

——— " Pereunt imbres, ubi eos Pater Aether
" In gremium Matris Terraï praecipitavit," l. I. ver. 251.

† And ſeveral of the Poets that preceded Virgil. See Pol. XX. 30.

VER. 130—334.

" Parturit almus ager: Zephyrique tepentibus auris
" Laxant arva ſinus: ſuperat tener omnibus humor:
" Inque novos ſoles audent ſe gramina tuto
" Credere: nec metuit ſurgentes pampinus † Auſtros,
" Aut actum coelo magnis † Aquilonibus imbrem."

† The antients ſeem to have imagined not only a principal Deity of the winds, for each quarter of the heavens; but alſo a number of inferior ones, under each of the principal. See Pol. XIII. 37.

VER. 336—342.

" Non alios primâ creſcentis origine mundi
" Illuxiſſe dies, aliumve habuiſſe tenorem
" Crediderim: ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat
" Orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri;
" Cum primum lucem pecudes hauſêre, virûmque
" ❋ Ferrea progenies duris caput extulit arvis;
" † Immiſſaeque ferae ſylvis, et ſidera caelo."

* Dr. Martyn obſerves, that on the authority of Lactantius ſome read *Terrea:* but he ſuppoſes that it is an error in the copy of Lactantius. With ſubmiſſion, I think Terrea the true reading. For the Poet ſuppoſing that God created every thing in the Spring, becauſe the world in its firſt infancy could not have reſiſted the violence of great heat or cold; and, imagining that man ſprang like a plant out of the ground, it would have been very improper for him to have uſed the epithet Ferrea on ſuch an occaſion, when he was ſpeaking of the tenderneſs of man.

† This ſeems to be oddly put together at firſt ſight. "The foreſts were "ſtocked with beaſts, and the heavens with conſtellations." It was not ſo in thoſe times, when the conſtellations were generally conſidered as real animals; many of them as men, but moſt of them as beaſts.

This conſideration gives a ſtronger light to a great number of paſſages in the antient Poets; who repreſent the conſtellations in general as animals, with animal motions, and even as coming down on our earth.

The prologue to Plautus's Rudens is ſpoken by Arcturus, as one of the Dramatis Perſonae. He tells us there, that all the conſtellations come down by day, to ſee how men act upon earth; and to inform Jupiter every evening of their behaviour. This notion, however wild, may ſhew how much they conſidered the conſtellations as detached, particular, animal beings.

Ovid uſes a manner of expreſſion very much like that of Virgil's above; on the very ſame occaſion:

"Neu regio foret ulla ſuis animantibus orba;
"Aſtra tenent caeleſte ſolum, formaeque deorum;
"Terra feras cepit." ——— Met. I. ver. 75.

Thus Statius calls the Sea-nymphs, the conſtellations of the ſea; (that is, the intelligent and divine inhabitants of the waters, as the other are of the heavens):

——— "Antennae gemino conſidite cornu,
"Oebalii fratres! ———
"Vos quoque caeruleum, Divae Nereïdes, agmen!
"Dicere quae magni fas ſit mihi ſidera ponti."
Lib. III. Sylv. ii. ver. 15.

The ſame Poet repreſents Aurora, as driving the ſtars out of heaven, with a whip, like ſo many beaſts:

"Tempus

" Tempus erat junctos cum jam ſoror ignea Phoebi
" Sentit equos, penituſque cavam ſub luce paratâ
" Oceani mugire domum: ſeſeque vagantem
" Colligit: et moto leviter fugat aſtra flagello."

Theb. VIII. ver. 274.

Manilius uſes the word, Flock, in ſpeaking of a number of ſtars; and repreſents them going on like a flock of ſheep, or any other animals:

——" Cum ſecretis improvidus Hoedus in aſtris,
" Erranti ſimilis, fratrum veſtigia quaerit;
" Poſtque gregem, longo producitur intervallo."

Aſtron. V. ver. 308.

VER. 346—353.

——" Quaecunque premes ❋[1] virgulta per agros,
" Sparge ſimo pingui, et multâ memor occule terrâ:
" Aut lapidem bibulum, ❋[2] aut ſqualentes infode conchas.
" Inter enim labentur aquae, tenuisque ſubibit
" Halitus; atque animos tollent ſata: jamque reperti
" Qui ſaxo ❋[3] ſuper atque ingentis pondere teſtae
" Urgerent: hoc effuſos munimen ad imbres;
" Hoc, ubi hiulca ſiti findit canis aeſtifer arva."

❋[1] Obſerve, he directs, "Spargere virgulta ſimo, occulere terrâ, et "multâ," becauſe little dung was to be uſed to plants, if any. Columella ſays, "M. Columella patruus meus doctiſſimus et diligentiſſimus agri- "cola negabat ſtercus vitibus ingerendum, quod ſaporem vini corrum- "peret: melioremque cenſebat eſſe materiam vindemiis exuberandis con- "geſtitiam, vel de vepribus, vel denique aliam quamlibet arceſſitam et "advectam humum," lib. II. c. xvi. Again, l. V. c. vi. "Vites depoſitas "ſtercoremus (ut ego exiſtimo), ſi minus terrâ ſubactâ operiamus."

❋[2] Columella quotes this paſſage, and approves of the precept, lib. III. c. xv.

❋[3] This is practiſed about Trani in Apulia, where they make excellent Muſcat; and, if I miſtake not, about St. Laurent in Provence.

VER.

VER. 354—357.

" Seminibus poſitis, ſupereſt deducere ❋[1] terram
" ❋[2] Saepius ad ❋[3] capita, et duros ❋[4] jactare bidentes:
" Aut preſſo exercere ſolum ſub vomere, et ipſa
" Flectere ❋[5] luctantes inter vineta juvencos."

❋[1] Columella gives directions together, about digging round young vine plants, and taking off the leaves. —— " Primo quidem anno, quo " poſita ſunt ſemina, frequentibus foſſionibus, omnibus menſibus, dum " frondent, ac pampinationibus adjuvanda ſunt; ut robur accipiant," lib. IV. c. x. —— And c. vii. he orders the leaves to be taken off gently, with the fingers — " Omnis pampinationis ea eſt tempeſtivitas, dum adeo " teneri palmites ſunt, ut levi tactu digiti decutiantur."

❋[2] Columella, ſpeaking of the month of May, ſays, " Hoc menſe " ſeminaria omnia crebrò fodere oportebit: ſed à kalendis Martiis uſque " in idus Septembres omnibus menſibus non ſolum ſeminariis, ſed etiam " novellis vineis danda foſſio eſt," l. XI. c. ii. And again, afterwards, he ſays, " De fodiendis colendisve novellis vineis, ſaepius jam dixi nullum " eſſe menſem omittendum, donec autumnale aequinoctium conficiatur."

❋[3] Qaer. If this does not mean to cover even the top of the young plants with mould? Columella directs the ſame, lib. III. c. xvi. where, ſpeaking of planting young vines, he ſays, " Cum ſemen ſupra ſcrobem " compluribus internodiis productum, quod de cacumine ſupereſt, dua- " bus gemmis tantum ſupra terram relictis amputatur, et ingeſtâ humo " ſcrobis completur."

❋[4] The author of the book De Arboribus, uſually aſcribed to Columella, ſays, " Bidentibus terram vertere utilius eſt, quàm aratro. Bidens " aequaliter totam terram vertit; aratrum, praeterquam quod ſcamna " facit, tum etiam boves, qui arant, aliquantulum virgarum, et interdum " totas vites, frangunt," cap. xii.

The antients, as well as the moderns, in ſome places, houghed the land between the ranks of vines, in others ploughed it. And, according as the cuſtom of the country, or as the land required one or the other; they planted their vines at a leſs or greater diſtance. Thus Columella, lib. III. c. xiii. " Inter ordines vinearum relinquitur ſpa- " tium, prout cuique mos eſt vineas colere vel aratro vel bidente. Si " foſſore tantum terra verſetur, minimum eſt quinque pedum interordi- " nium, ſeptem maximum; ſin bubus et aratro, minimum eſt ſeptem " pedum,

" pedum, ſatis amplum decem. Nonnulli tamen omnem vitem per denos
" pedes in quincuncem diſponunt, ut more novalium terra tranſverſis ad-
" verſisque ſulcis proſcindatur." This is repeated again, lib. V. c. v.

*5 It is the cuſtom in Provence and Languedoc, as well as in Italy, to plow up the diſtances between the vines, where there is ſufficient room; where there is not, to hough the land in the ſpring-time. — " Flectere " luctantes juvencos" expreſſes very naturally and livelily this ſort of plowing.

Luctantes well expreſſes the difficulty of plowing among vineyards and plantations, as they are obliged to do in Italy: on which occaſion Columella gives the following direction. — Boves, cùm ad arborem venerint, fortiter retinere ac retardare oportet, ne in radicem majore niſu vomis impactus colla commoveat, neve aut cornu bos ad ſtipitem vehementiùs offendat, aut extremo jugo truncum delibet ramumque deplantet." Lib. II. c. ii.

VER. 358, 361.

" Tum *1 leves calamos, et raſae haſtilia virgae,
" Fraxineasque aptare ſudes, furcasque bicornes:
" Viribus eniti quarum, et contemnere ventos
" Aſſueſcant, ſummasque ſequi *2 tabulata per ulmos."

*1 Leves, and Raſae, ſuch as cannot grow and draw thereby any of the virtue of the earth. For the ſame reaſon, Columella, ſpeaking of ſupporting young vines, orders that they ſhould be old — " Aut veteres (ne " novae radicem agant) arundines binas ſingulis vitibus applicabimus; aut " ſi regionis conditio permittat, vetera deponemus haſtilia, quibus adnec- " tantur ſingulae tranſverſae perticae." Lib. IV. c. xii.

*2 Tabulata were ſtages or ſtories formed on elms, or other trees, for their vines. The manner of doing this is fully explained by Columella, lib. V. c. vi. " Cum adoleſcere incipient ulmi, falce formandae et tabulata " inſtituenda ſunt. Hoc enim nomine uſurpant agricolae ramos truncosque " prominentes; eosque vel propius ferro compeſcunt, vel longius promit- " tunt, ut vites laxiùs diffundantur: Hoc in ſolo pingui melius, illud in " gracili." —— Then he proceeds to direct the making theſe Tabulata. " Tabulata inter ſe ne minus ternis pedibus abſint; atque ita formentur " ne ſuperior ramus in eâdem lineâ ſit, quâ inferior; nam demiſſum ex eo " palmitem germinantem inferior atteret, et fructum decutiet." —— Again afterwards: " Ulmum autem novellam ſic formare conveniet. Loco

" pingui octo pedes à terrâ ſine ramo relinquendi, vel in arvo gracili ſeptem
" pedes: Supra quod ſpatium deinde per circuitum in tres partes arbor di-
" videnda eſt, ac tribus lateribus ſinguli ramuli ſubmittendi primo Tabu-
" lato aſſignentur. Mox ternis pedibus interpoſitis, alii rami ſummittendi
" ſunt, ita ne iiſdem lineis quibus in ſuperiore poſiti ſint; in eâdem ratione
" usque in cacumen ordinanda erit arbor." An emphaſis is to be laid on Summas, under which epithet is couched a precept much inſiſted on by Columella, who thus proceeds: " Plerique agricolae ima tabulata mate-
" riis frequentant, uberiorem fructum et magis facilem cultum ſequentes;
" at qui bonitati vini ſtudent, in ſummas arbores vitem promovent."

VER. 362—370.

——— " * Dum prima novis adoleſcit frondibus aetas,
" Parcendum teneris; et dum ſe laetus ad auras
" Palmes agit, laxis per purum immiſſus habenis,
" Ipſa acies nondum falcis tentanda; ſed uncis
" Carpendae manibus frondes, interque legendae.
" Inde ubi jam validis amplexae ſtirpibus ulmos
" Exierint; tum ſtringe comas, tum brachia tonde,
" Ante reformidant ferrum: tum denique dura
" Exerce imperia, et ramos compeſce * fluentes."

* Columella, who has conſtantly followed Virgil, has here expreſsly condemned him; but it is in very good company. — His whole paſſage is thus: " Illam veterem opinionem damnavit uſus, non eſſe ferro tangendos
" anniculos malleolos, quod aciem reformident: quod fruſtra Virgilius
" et Saſerna, Stolonesque et Catones timuerunt: qui non ſolùm in eo
" errabant, quod primi anni capillamenta ſeminum intacta patiebantur;
" ſed et poſt biennium cum viviradix recidenda erat, omnem ſuperficiem
" amputabant ſolo tenus juxta ipſum articulum, ut è duro pullularet."
Lib. IV. c. xi. — He ſays in the former chapter: " Semina primo quidem
" anno quo ſunt poſita frequentibus foſſionibus, omnibus menſibus dum
" frondent, ac pampinationibus adjuvanda ſunt, ut robur accipiant; nec
" plus quam uni materiae ſerviant." By which, I ſuppoſe, he means, that all the ſhoots, except one, are to be cut off the firſt year. If Virgil differs from him in this, and letting all the ſhoots alone till the ſecond year, he has erred in good company, and has followed the antient method, as Columella himſelf intimates. And though Virgil does not cut off any of the firſt year's ſhoots, yet he orders the leaves to be ſtript; " nec patitur

" vitem

" vitem ſupervacuis frondibus luxuriantem ſilveſcere," as Columella himſelf expreſſes it, cap. xi. As to the ſecond part of Columella's charge, I don't ſee that Virgil is juſtly taxed: for he only expreſſes himſelf at large,

——— " Tum brachia tonde."

And again,

——— " Et ramos compeſce fluentes."

which need not be conſtrued to mean, cutting the ſhoots down to the ground; but pruning them, as Columella himſelf directs: " Media igitur " ratio ſequenda eſt," etc. Ibid.

*[2] Dr. Martyn ſays, Pierius tells us, that the oldeſt Roman manuſcript reads Valentes, and thinks that both the precept and expreſſion were taken from Varro. But, in my opinion, the paſſage quoted from Varro ſhews rather that Valentes is not the true reading: for he orders two or three of the moſt healthy ſhoots (qui plurimum valent) to be left, the others to be cut off.

VER. 376—384.

" Frigora nec tantum canâ concreta pruinâ,
" Aut gravis incumbens ſcopulis arentibus aeſtas;
" Quantum illi nocuere greges, durique venenum
" Dentis, et admorſo ſignata in ſtirpe cicatrix.
" Non aliam ob culpam * Baccho caper omnibus aris
" Caeditur, et veteres ineunt proſcenia ludi:
" Praemiaque † ingentes pagos et compita circum
" Theſeïdae poſuere: atque inter pocula laeti
" Mollibus in pratis unctos ſaliere per utres."

* " Quaedam pecudes culturae ſunt inimicae, ac veneno, ut caprae. " Omnia novella ſata carpendo corrumpunt; non minimùm vites atque " oleas. Itaque propterea inſtitutum diverſâ de cauſâ, ut ex caprino ge- " nere ad alii Dei aram hoſtia adduceretur, ad alii non ſacrificaretur, cum " ab eodem odio alter videre nollet, alter etiam videre pereuntem vellet. " Sic factum, ut Libero patri, repertori vitis, hirci immolarentur, proinde " ut capite darent poenas. Contra, ut Minervae caprini generis nihil " immolarent, propter oleam, quod eam, quam laeſerit, fieri dicunt ſte- " rilem: ejus enim ſalivam eſſe fructuis venenum." Varro, De re ruſt. lib. I. c. ii.

† " Ingentes

† " Ingentes pagos" does not ſound Virgilian; and the paſſage is much more clear, and better poetry, with the alteration mentioned by two or three of the critics, who read Ingeniis, inſtead of Ingentes.

VER. 388—392.

" Et te, Bacche, vocant per carmina laeta, tibique
" † Oſcilla ex altâ ſuſpendunt mollia pinu.
" Hinc omnis largo pubeſcit vinea foetu:
" Complentur vallesque cavae, ſaltusque profundi;
" ❋ Et quocunque Deus circum caput egit † honeſtum."

† Virgil ſpeaks here of ſome little heads of Bacchus, which the countrymen of old hung upon trees, that the face might turn every way; out of a notion, that the regards of this God gave fertility to their vineyards: and Ovid mentions Bacchus's turning his face towards him, as a bleſſing, Faſt. III. 789. The former, in the paſſage above; which is not very eaſy to be underſtood of itſelf; and for the full underſtanding of which I was obliged to a gem, in the Great Duke's collection at Florence. See Pol. pl. XX. fig. ii. — Virgil here ſays, that there is plenty wherever this God turns " his beautiful face." Mr. Dryden, in his tranſlation of the words, ſeems to have borrowed his idea of Bacchus from the vulgar repreſentations of him on our ſign-poſts; and ſo calls it (in downright Engliſh) " Bacchus's honeſt face."

❋ Columella, quoting this verſe, ſays: " Quod de ſacro numine poëta " dicit, verum quocunque Domini praeſentis oculi frequenter acceſſere, in " eâ parte majorem in modum fructus exuberat." Lib. III. c. xxi.

VER. 397—400.

" Eſt etiam ille labor curandis vitibus alter,
" Cui nunquam exhauſti ſatis eſt: namque omne quotannis
" Terque ❋ quaterque ſolum ſcindendum, glebaque verſis
" Aeternùm frangenda bidentibus."———

❋ This rule is excellently well expreſſed, for it directs frequent digging; which " terque quaterque" imports: and at the ſame time intimates the uſual number of times to be three or four: and that his meaning might not be miſtaken, he enforces frequent digging by what follows, " Aeternùm," etc. So Columella directs " crebras foſſiones" in general terms, and then adds: " Nec inficior plerosque ante me ruſticarum rerum " magiſtros

" magiſtros tribus foſſionibus (vinearum) contentos fuiſſe, ex quibus Grae-
" cinus; qui ſic refert: Poteſt videri ſatis eſſe conſtitutam vineam ter
" fodere." etc. Lib. IV. c. xxviii.

VER. 403, 407.

——" Seras poſuit cum vinea frondes,
" Frigidus et ſylvis Aquilo decuſſit honorem;
" Jam tum acer curas venientem extendit in annum
" Ruſticus, et curvo Saturni dente relictam
" Perſequitur vitem attondens, fingitque * putando."

* Columella ſays: " Putandi duo ſunt tempora: melius (ut ait Mago)
" vernum: Sed nec utique verno omnibus regionibus melior putatio eſt.
" Nam ubi caelum frigidum eſt, ea ſine dubio eligenda eſt: Ubi vero
" aprica loca ſunt, mollesque hiemes (as at Naples) optima et maximè na-
" turalis eſt Autumnalis: Quo tempore divinâ quâdam lege et aeternâ
" fructum cum fronde ſtirpes deponunt." Lib. IV. c. x. —— Virgil fol-
lows the ſame direction of nature:

——" Seras poſuit cum vinea frondes."

Again Columella ſays: " Placet ergo, ſi mitis ac temperata permittit in
" eâ regione quam colimus coeli clementia, factâ vindemiâ ſecundum idus
" Octob. auſpicari putationem. Sin autem coeli ſtatus frigidus et pruino-
" ſus hiemis violentiam denunciat, in idus Feb. hanc curam differemus."
Cap. xxiii.

VER. 410, 411.

——" *[1] Bis vitibus ingruit umbra,
" Bis *[2] ſegetem denſis obducunt ſentibus herbae."

*[1] Columella, lib. XI. c. ii. ſpeaking of prid. kal. Mai. ſays: " Per
" hos dies prima pampinatio rectè inchoatur, dum prorepentes oculi di-
" gito decuti poſſint." —— Again, in the ſame chapter, he ſays: " Ab
" idib. Mai. uſque in kal. Jun. veteranam vineam et caeteras omnes vineas
" pampinare oportet." —— Again, afterwards, ſub finem Aug. he ſays:
" Multi etiam, ſi pluvius eſt ſtatus caeli, ſicut ſuburbanâ regione Italiae,
" pampinis vitem ſpoliant, ut percoqui fructus poſſint, nec putreſcere im-
" bribus. At è contrario locis calidioribus, ut in Baeticâ, maritimis regi-
" onibus, et in Africâ, circa vindemiam adumbrantur ſtramentis vel aliis
" tegumentis uvae, ne ventis aut caloribus exareſcant." —— This precept
is confirmed by Palladius, in Aug. tit. — " Aug. menſe ultimo locis fri-

" gidis

" gidis pampinatur; locis autem ferventibus ac ſiccis obumbratur potiùs " uva."—So Columella ſays, lib. IV. c. xxviii. " Tempus pampinationis " antequam florem vitis oſtendat maxime eligendum eſt: Sed et poſtea " licet eandem repetere." And again: " Pubeſcentem verò et quaſi ado- " leſcentem convenit foliis omnibus nudare." Ibid.

✻[2] Segetem; i. e. ſegetem vitium, the young plants, the nurſery. So ver. 266.

——" Ubi prima paretur
" Arboribus ſeges."——

VER. 412.

——" ✻ Laudato ingentia rura,
" Exiguum colito."——

✻ Columella, lib. I. c. iii. calls this " Praeclaram noſtri Poëtae ſenten- " tiam." And adds immediately after: " Nec dubium quin minus red- " dat laxus ager non rectè cultus, quàm anguſtus eximiè." — And, lib. IV. c. ii. he relates a ſtory which very much confirms the truth of this ſentence.

VER. 413—415.

——" Nec non etiam aſpera ruſci
" ✻[1] Vimina per ſylvam, et ripis fluvialis arundo
" Caeditur: ✻[2] incultique exercet cura ſalicti."

✻[1] The antients as well as moderns, who had land proper for it, uſed to have in ſome part of their ground Arundineta and Salicta, for the uſe of their vineyards; but thoſe whoſe lot fell in dry land, which was not proper for ſuch plantations, or who had neglected making them, were obliged to ſeek for the wild Vimina in the woods, and reeds by the water-ſide. That Virgil means ſuch as theſe, is manifeſt from his " Vimina per " ſylvam, fluvialis arundo," and " inculti ſalicti." —— Columella having treated, lib. IV. c. xxx. de ſalicibus, and c. iii. de geniſtis, adds in this laſt chapter: " Cætera vincula, qualia ſunt ex rubo, majorem operam, " ſed in egeno tamen neceſſariam, exigunt." All ſuch ſort of Vimina are meant by Virgil, by his " aſpera ruſci vimina."

✻[2] Inculti, i. e. niſi colatur — for ſeveral had beds of willows, but every body had not that proviſion: of ſuch Virgil ſays, that they muſt have the trouble of getting wild willows. Exercet inclines me to this interpretation; or it may ſignify only, " quod non colitur," becauſe at the beginning

beginning of this book, amongſt thoſe " quae ſponte ſuâ veniunt," Virgil reckons Salicta. See ver. 11 and 13.

VER. 416.

" Jam vinctae vites, jam falcem * arbuſta reponunt."

* Arbuſtum is uſed commonly for a plantation of any trees; as for example, ſuch as are to ſupport vines. Vid. Columella, lib. V. c. De Ulmariis.

VER. 417—419.

" Jam *[1] canit extremos effoetus vinitor antes;
" Sollicitanda tamen tellus, pulvisque *[2] movendus:
" Et jam *[3] maturis metuendus Jupiter uvis."

*[1] Columella hints at the cuſtom of the Vignerol's ſinging at his work, telling us that he makes ſuch verſes:

" Quae canat inter opus muſâ modulante putator
" Pendulus arbuſtis."——— Lib. X.

*[2] The proper term uſed of old for breaking the clods in vineyards was Pulveration, which by the huſbandmen was called Occatio; for thus ſays Columella, ſpeaking of the end of Auguſt: " His quidem diebus " quibuſdam locis, ut in Baeticâ, maritimis regionibus, ut in Africâ, vin- " demia conficitur. Sed frigidioribus regionibus Pulverationem faciunt, " quam vocant ruſtici Occationem, cum omnis gleba in vineis refringitur, " et reſolvitur in pulverem." Lib. XI. c. ii. —— How nicely curious was Virgil in his expreſſions? — Again, Columella: " Pubeſcentem et quaſi " adoleſcentem vitem convenit foliis omnibus nudare, tum et crebris foſ- " ſionibus implere; nam fit uberior pulverationibus." Lib. IV. c. xxviii.

*[3] Even when the grapes are ripe, or near it, all danger is not yet over.—— " In hoc temporis intervallo res ſumma vitium agitur, decretorio " uvis ſidere illo quod Caniculam appellavimus: Unde Carbunculare di- " cuntur, ut quodam uredinis carbone exuſtae. Non comparantur huic " malo grandinis procellae," etc. Plin. lib. XVIII. c. xxviii.

VER. 420—425.

" Contra, non *[1] ulla eſt oleis cultura: neque illae
" Procurvam expectant falcem, raſtrosque tenaces;
" Cum ſemel haeſerunt arvis, aurasque tulerunt.

" Ipſa

" Ipſa ſatis tellus, cum ✻[2] dente recluditur unco,
" Sufficit humorem, et gravidas cum vomere fruges.
" Hoc pinguem et placitam ✻[3] Paci nutritor olivam."

✻[1] So Columella: " Omnis arboris cultus ſimplicior quàm vinearum " eſt; longéque ex omnibus ſtirpibus minorem impenſam deſiderat olea." Lib. V. c. viii.

✻[2] Columella directs houghing and plowing olive-yards: " Olivetum " minimè bis anno arari debet: et bidentibus altè circumfodiri."—— And though he orders " Oliveta ſtercorari, et putari;" yet he preſcribes very little dung; and as to the pruning, he ſays, " Compluribus annis interpo- " ſitis olivetum putandum eſt:" And again; " Satis erit octavo anno fe- " ciſſe, ne fructuarii rami ſubinde amputentur." Lib. V. c. ix. He had ſaid before, in the 8th chapter, that all culture may be omitted without injuring the tree. And in confirmation of this, he tells us it was an old proverb, " Eum, qui aret olivetum, rogare fructum; qui ſtercoret, exorare; " qui caedat, cogere." Yet, after firſt planting, he tells us, they ought to be both watered and pruned; and therefore Virgil ſays,

" Cum ſemel haeſerunt."———

✻[3] Paci ſhould be printed with a capital; " the Goddeſs of Peace."

VER. 434, 435.

" Quid majora ſequar? ✻[1] falices, humilesque geniſtae,
" Aut illae ✻[2] pecori frondem, aut paſtoribus ✻[3] umbram
" Sufficiunt."———

✻[1] And again, preſently after:

" Viminibus ſalices foecundi."———

Virgil had told us before, ver. 83:

" Genus haud unum ſalici," etc.———

and ver. 269:

" Coeli regionem cortice ſignant."———

Columella ſays: " Hanc obſervationem non ſolùm in vitium poſitione, ſed " in ulmorum caeterarumque arborum, praecipio: uti, cum de ſeminario " eximuntur, rubricâ notetur una pars; quae nos admoneat, ne aliter ar- " bores conſtituamus, quàm quemadmodum in ſeminario ſteterint. Plurimum " enim refert, ut eam partem caeli ſpectent, cui ab tenero conſueverunt." Lib. V. c. vi.

✻[2] Virgil

*[2] Virgil ſays, G. III. 175,

" Veſcas ſalicum frondes."———

*[3] Q. whether this does not mean their Huts?

VER. 440—443.

" Ipſae Caucaſeo ſteriles in vertice ſylvae,
" Quas animoſi Euri aſſiduè franguntque feruntque,
" Dant alios aliae foetus; dant utile lignum
" Navigiis pinos, domibus cedrosque * cupreſſosque."

* It is true, that Vitruvius does not reckon the Cypreſs the beſt timber for building houſes; for he ſays: " Nec abietis nec ſapinorum omnibus " locis copia eſt; ſed inopiae abietis aut ſapinorum vitabuntur, utendo " cypreſſo, populo, ulmo, pinu." Lib. II. c. ii. — But Monſ. Perrault, in his edition of Vitruvius, remarks: " Que le Cyprés eſt ſans comparaiſon " meilleur que l'Abies et le Sapin. Theophraſte en parle comme du plus " durable et du moins ſujet aux vers et à la pourriture; etant celui dont " on trouve les plus anciens edifices avoir eté batis."—— N. B. Vitruvius himſelf aſſerts the ſame, lib. II. c. ix.

VER. 446—448.

" Viminibus *[1] ſalices foecundae, frondibus *[2] ulmi:
" At myrtus validis *[3] haſtilibus, et bona bello
" Cornus."———

*[1] Salices being twice mentioned within thirteen verſes; Q. whether Virgil does not mean two different trees, both valuable on different accounts?

" Genus haud unum, nec fortibus ulmis,
" Nec ſalici."——— Ver. 83.

At the beginning of this book, Virgil names Siler and Salicta immediately after one another:

——— " Molle ſiler, lentaeque geniſtae,
" Populus, et glaucâ canentia fronde ſalictâ." Ver. 12.

*[2] See note on ver. 83 of this Georgic.——Varro adviſes planting elms as boundaries of lands: " Quòd frondem jucundiſſimam miniſtrat ovibus " ac bubus." Lib. I. c. xv.—— It is the practice ſtill in Italy, to ſtrip elms for fodder.

*[3] Virgil arms Camilla with a myrtle javelin. Aen. VII. ver. ult.

VER. 455—457.

" Bacchus et ad culpam cauſas dedit: ille furentes
" Centauros leto domuit, Rhaetumque, Pholumque;
" Et magno * Hylaeum Lapithis cratere minantem."

* A good image of drunken folks quarrelling. — Q. if any old basreliefs repreſenting the Centaurs in this attitude? — See what Pliny relates of the ſtory of the Lapithae engraved by Phideas on Pallas's ſhield, lib. XXXVI. c. v. " Scuto ejus (i. e. Minervae) Amazonum praelium " Phideas caelavit, intumeſcente ambitu parmae, ejuſdem concavâ parte " Deorum et Gigantum dimicationem, in ſoleis verò Lapitharum et Cen- " taurorum; adeo momenta omnia compacta artis illius fuere." This being one of the moſt celebrated ſtatues of the world, was undoubtedly very well known to the virtuoſi of Rome.

VER. 458—460.

" O fortunatos nimium, ſua ſi bona norint,
" Agricolas! quibus ipſa, procul diſcordibus armis,
" Fundit humo facilem victum * juſtiſſima tellus."

* The Earth is called here, very properly, Juſtiſſima; not only becauſe it reſtores with intereſt what is depoſited, but by way of antitheſis to the " diſcordibus armis" in the foregoing verſe.

VER. 461—470.

" Si non *[1] ingentem foribus domus alta ſuperbis
" Mane ſalutantum totis vomit aedibus undam;
" Nec *[2] varios inhiant pulchrâ teſtudine poſtes,
" Illuſasque auro veſtes, Ephyreïaque aera;
" Alba neque Aſſyrio fucatur lana veneno,
" Nec caſiâ liquidi corrumpitur uſus olivi.
" At *[3] ſecura quies, et neſcia fallere vita,
" Dives opum variarum; at latis otia fundis,
" Speluncae, vivique lacus; at frigida Tempe,
" Mugitusque boum, mollesque ſub arbore ſomni
" Non abſunt."———

*[1] " Ingentem Salutantum Undam totis Vomit aedibus." This expreſſion is too bombaſt for Virgil's uſual ſtyle; but is purpoſely affected here, as proper in a deſcription of pomp and vanity.

*[2] Some

✻[2] Some of the Romans were ſo extravagant as to cover their doors and door-caſes with Indian tortoiſe-ſhell; and, not contented with pure tortoiſe-ſhell, they had the ſhell inlaid or ſtudded (as we ſee old cabinets) with precious ſtones; which Virgil perhaps means by Varios.——Lucan, deſcribing the palace where Cleopatra entertained Julius Caeſar at Alexandria, ſays:

" Suffecta manu foribus teſtudinis Indae
" Terga ſedent, crebro maculas diſtincta ſmaragdo."
Lib. X. 120.

and obſerves, ten verſes before, that this extravagance was not then got into Rome.

✻[3] Obſerve the difference of ſtyle between the ſix foregoing verſes and the following.—Obſerve likewiſe, with what variety of ſimple expreſſions he enumerates the innocent amuſements and happineſs of a country life.

VER. 486—489.

——— " O ubi ✻ campi,
" Sperchiusque, et virginibus bacchata Lacaenis
" Taygeta! O qui me † gelidis in vallibus Haemi
" Siſtat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbrâ!"

✻ Father Catrou has taken the liberty to change this word into Tempe; without any authority, and, I think, without reaſon: for ſuppoſing the Poet to mean the Tempe of Theſſaly, is it not more elegant and poetical to expreſs himſelf by Campi, i. e. Campi iſti celebres, Campi, κατ' ἐξοχην, than to name Tempe itſelf? Beſides, it is probable that, having mentioned the word Tempe but ſeventeen words before, he purpoſely avoids repeating it here; and as he there makes Tempe ſignify any fine fields in general, ſo here he makes Campi ſignify the fields of Tempe in particular.—And, that his meaning may not be undetermined, he adds the very next word the river Sperchius, which runs through thoſe fields.

† The very beſt of the Roman poets copied ſo much after the Greek, that they ſometimes give us ideas of things, that would be proper enough for a Greek, but ſound quite improper from a Roman. Virgil's and Horace's inſtancing in Theſſaly and Thrace (ſee Hor. lib. I. od. xxv. 20.) as ſuch very cold countries, is a very ſtrong proof of this.—Thrace was full north of Greece; and ſome of the Greeks therefore might talk of the coldneſs of that country, as ſtrongly (perhaps) as ſome among us talk of the coldneſs of Scotland.

The Roman writers ſpeak juſt in the ſame ſtile, of the coldneſs of Thrace, though a conſiderable part of Italy lay in as northern a latitude, and ſome of it even farther north than Thrace.

VER. 490—492.

" † Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoſcere cauſas,
" Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
" Subjecit * pedibus, ſtrepitumque Acherontis avari!"

† Virgil had been ſaying, that his greateſt delight was in the Muſes; that he could wiſh to treat of Natural Philoſophy in verſe; but that if he had not a genius equal to ſo great an undertaking; he would however pleaſe himſelf with rural ſubjects. " Happy (ſays he) is the perſon, that " has done the former with ſo good an effect; and not unhappy are thoſe, " that are engaged, and can divert themſelves at leaſt, in the latter."

Lucretius was the only one of the Romans, who had written any philoſophical poem, when Virgil ſaid this: — all the points he mentions here are treated of in that poem: — the effects of it, ſpoken of by Virgil, are the very things which Lucretius aimed at: — and Virgil, in ſpeaking of the author of it, uſes the ſame words and expreſſions taken directly from this poem of Lucretius. All which (conſidered together with Virgil's general manner of rather hinting at things than ſpeaking them quite out) make it clear to me, that it was Lucretius whom he means in this paſſage.

Our Archbiſhop Tillotſon may be a little too ſevere on Virgil, where he ſingles out this paſſage as a very criminal one, vol. II. § lxiv.

I ſuppoſe, the chief point that gave offence in it, is his diſbelief of Hell. And it is true that Virgil himſelf did not believe it. After deſcribing hell, in the Aeneid, he makes his Hero and the Sibyl go out of the Ivory-gate, which he had juſt before called, The paſſage of vain dreams. The Poetic Hell was not a part of the old Roman creed; though a future ſtate was believed by their beſt philoſophers.

Balbus the Stoic, in Cicero De Naturâ Deorum, arguing for a God, ſays: " Quis Hippocentaurum fuiſſe, aut Chimaeram putat? Quaeve anus " tam excors inveniri poteſt, quae illa, quae quondam credebantur apud " Inferos, portenta extimeſcat?" Lib. II. ſub initio.

Caeſar ſays roundly in the Senate-houſe: " De poenâ poſſum equidem " dicere id quod res habet, in luctu atque miſeriis mortem aerumnarum " requiem, non cruciatum eſſe; eam cuncta mortalium mala diſſolvere; " ultra, neque curae, neque gaudio, locum eſſe." Salluſt. Bell. Cat. § li.

And

And all that Cato anſwers to it is: " Bene et compoſitè C. Caeſar paulo " ante in hoc ordine de vitâ et morte differuit: credo, falſa exiſtimans " ea quae de Inferis memorantur; diverſo itinere malos a bonis loca tetra, " inculta, foeda et formidoloſa habere. Itaque cenſuit," etc. Ironically.

Cicero ſays much the ſame as Caeſar; in a public pleading too: " Nunc " quidem quod tandem illi mali mors attulit? Niſi forte ineptiis ac fabulis " ducimur, ut exiſtimemus illum apud Inferos impiorum ſupplicia per- " ferre, ac plures illic offendiſſe inimicos quàm hic reliquiſſe; à ſocrûs, ab " uxorum, à fratris, a liberûm poenis, actum eſſe praecipitem in ſcelera- " torum ſedem atque regionem: quae ſi falſa ſunt, id quod omnes intelli- " gunt, quid ei tandem aliud mors eripuit praeter ſenſum doloris?" Pro Cluentio, § lxi.

The ſame great philoſopher is very plain and full againſt the poetical hell, in his Tuſculan Queſtions, lib. I. ſub initio; and in his Cato Major.

❋ This was an action of triumph, as may be ſeen in ſeveral ſtatues and medals (ſee Medaglioni di Buonarroti, p. 176.); and from hence was uſed metaphorically, to ſignify any ſorts of triumphing, or having ſuperiority.

VER. 495—499.

" Illum non populi faſces, non purpura regum
" Flexit, et infidos agitans diſcordia ❋[1] fratres;
" Aut conjurato deſcendens Dacus ab Iſtro:
" Non res Romanae, perituraque † regna: neque ille
" Aut ❋[2] doluit miſerans inopem, aut invidit habenti."

❋[1] Virgil was undoubtedly writing his Georgics at the very time that Phraates and Tiridates were diſputing for the kingdom of Perſia; and therefore probably hints at that. — Horace, who wrote at the ſame time, mentions this piece of hiſtory:

" Redditum Cyri ſolio Phraaten." Lib. II. Od. ii.

† When the Roman empire had any war, their authors ſay they had ſomething to do againſt the Reges: ſo Regna here may ſignify the countries under the Reges, " the nations yet to be conquered."

❋[2] Ruaeus's conſtruction may perhaps be agreeable to the ſentiments of the rigid Stoics, but, I think, is too abſtruſe for this place. Virgil ſpeaks of the philoſopher above in thoſe three verſes,

" Felix qui potuit," etc.

And here he deſcribes the happineſs of the innocent farmer above the citizen;

citizen; and may be underſtood in a much plainer ſenſe: That he who lives retired in the country is free from ſeeing ſuch ſad ſpectacles, as they muſt be every day expoſed to at Rome. " He ſees no objects of pity, nor envies the pomp of the rich."

VER. 505—509.

" Hic petit excidiis urbem miſerosque Penates,
" Ut *[1] gemmâ bibat, et Sarrano indormiat oſtro:
" Condit opes alius, defoſſoque incubat auro;
" Hic ſtupet attonitus roſtris: hunc *[2] plauſus hiantem
" Per cuneos (*[3] geminatur enim) plebisque patrumque
" Corripuit."———

*[1] ———— " Gemmaeque capaces
" Excepêre merum."——— Lucan. X. 160.

ſpeaking of the feaſt given to Caeſar in Aegypt.

The pride of the antients covered their tables or ſide-boards with cups of precious ſtone, as onyx, agate, etc. And probably the diſhes and cups of agate, jaſper, etc. which are now preſerved in treaſuries and cabinets, ſerved formerly at the tables of princes and great men. " Appianus " teſtatur Mithridatem Ponti regem circiter duo millia poculorum ex " onyche in ſuo theſauro habuiſſe; verum non ſolum ex onyche, ſed " ſardonyche, et chalcedonio factitata fuiſſe certum eſt." Anſelm. Boet. Hiſt. Gemm. lib. II. c. xcii.——" Achates tantâ mole excreſcit ut pocula " et ſcyphi inde fieri poſſint." Id. lib. II. c. xcvi. Q. whether the vaſes at Genoa, and Venice, were not of this ſort? And likewiſe the agate cup at the Barberini palace. See Miſſon's deſcription of it, vol. II. lett. xxix.

The ſapphire cup in the treaſury of the church of St. John Baptiſt at Monza near Milan, is likewiſe ſuppoſed to be of this ſort. It was left by Theudelinda Queen of the Lombards, who built and endowed the church. It is a tumbler or goblet, two inches three tenths deep, by three inches four tenths diameter.——In the treaſury of St. Denis is a large cup of oriental agate, with a bas-relief repreſenting a Sacrifice.—Pliny, in his Natural Hiſtory, tells us, that Petronius, a little before his death, ordered a valuable cup of this ſort to be broke, that it might not fall into the hands of Nero.—" T. Petronius conſularis moriturus invidiâ Ne- " ronis, ut menſam ejus exhaeredaret, Truilam Murrhynam ccc. HS. " emptam fregit." Lib. XXXVII. c. ii.

*[2] Horace

✻[2] Horace mentions the applauſe given to Maecenas from a crouded theatre, as a mark of the greateſt honour and reſpect that could be paid him by the people:

——— " Cùm populus frequens
" Laetum theatris ter crepuit ſonum." Lib. II. Od. xvii.

" Cum tibi plauſus,
" Care Maecenas eques," etc.——— Lib. I. Od. xx.

✻[3] Repetition of applauſe, a mark of the greateſt favour; as is our Encore, Encore, in our theatres. — Horace, in one of his compliments to Auguſtus, ſays:

" Tuque dum procedis, Io Triumphe,
" Non ſemel dicemus, Io Triumphe,
" Civitas omnis."——— Lib. IV. Od. ii.

VER. 519.

" Venit ✻ hiems; teritur Sicyonia bacca trapetis."

✻ Columella, having directed, in ſeveral chapters of his XIIth book, what was to be done by the Villica, or farmer's wife, during the Autumn, concludes thus: " Sequitur autem frigus hiemis, per quod olivitas, ſicut " vindemia, curam villicae repetit." Cap. xlvii. And cap. l. he ſays: " Media eſt olivitas plerumque initium menſis Decembris. Nam et ante " hoc tempus acerbum oleum conficitur, quod vocatur aeſtivum; et circa " hunc menſem viride premitur; deinde poſtea, maturum."

VER. 532—535.

" Hanc olim ✻[1] veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
" Hanc Remus et frater: ſic fortis Etruria crevit,
" Scilicet et rerum facta eſt pulcherrima Roma;
" Septemque una ſibi muro circumdedit arces."

✻[1] " Antiquiſſima gens eſt Sabinorum, Indigenarum nimirum." Strabo, lib. V.

It is not improbable that, in the compliment here paid, Virgil not only has reſpect to the neareſt neighbours of Rome, the Sabini and Etrurians, but names the latter preferably to any other country in Italy, out of compliment to Maecenas, who was deſcended from the old race of the kings of that country; and therefore ſpeaks of Tuſcany and Rome almoſt as if they

they were both upon the ſame footing; here, and in the Firſt Georgic, ver. 499.

* The only regions allied to Aeneas in his war againſt Turnus, is Tuſcany, and the territory about Rome. The only place out of theſe is his favourite Mantua; which he brings in as an appenage of Tuſcany. See Aen. III. 170. and X. 199.

GEORGIC THE THIRD.

VER. 1, 2.

" TE quoque, magna *[1] Pales, et te memorande canemus
" *[2] Paſtor ab Amphryſo."———

*[1] This Goddeſs is repreſented by Ovid, in his account of the Palilia, as the ſupreme power preſiding over paſtoral affairs; and is therefore very juſtly called Magna.—See Ovid. Faſt. lib. IV.

*[2] Pauſanias ſpeaks of a temple of Apollo, where he is repreſented, " Calceamenta pedibus gerens, et altero pede calvam premens bovis: Bobus " etenim potiſſimum gaudere Apollinem, etc. Hujuſmodi ob cauſam non " ineptè quis conjiciat haec de bovis calvâ ita eſſe facta." Lib. VII. Again, lib. IX. he mentions Apollo called Boidromius.

VER. 8, 9.

———" Tentanda via eſt, quâ me quoque poſſim
" Tollere humo, victorque virûm volitare per ora."

* Pliny hints at this paſſage, lib. V. Epiſt. viii. and ſays: " Me autem " nihil aequè ac diuturnitatis amor et cupido ſolicitat: res homine digniſ- " ſima, praeſertim qui, nullius ſibi conſcius culpae, poſteritatis memoriam " non reformidet."—And, lib. V. Epiſt. iii. offering ſome reaſons for being an author, and publiſhing; and having named ſeveral great men, whoſe example he followed therein, and amongſt others Julius Caeſar, and other Emperors, concludes thus: " Neronem enim tranſeo, quamvis " ſciam non corrumpi in deterius quae aliquando etiam à malis, ſed ho- " neſta

" neſta manere quae ſaepiùs à bonis fiunt. Inter quos vel praecipuè nu-
" merandus eſt P. Virgilius."

VER. 12.

" Primus ❋ Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas."

❋ ——— " Arbuſto palmarum dives Idume." Lucan. III. 216.

VER. 16—18.

" In medio mihi Caeſar erit, templumque tenebit.
" Illi ❋[1] victor ego, et Tyrio conſpectus in oſtro,
" Centum ❋[2] quadrijugos agitabo ad flumina currus."

❋[1] Virgil had more modeſty than to ſpeak of himſelf, as Ruaeus here interprets him: this paſſage is deſigned as a compliment to Auguſtus, not to himſelf. — Victor rather refers to the triumphal dreſs of the perſon who preſided at the ſports. Tacitus tells us (lib. I.) that in the Ludi Auguſtales, which were decreed by the Senate of Rome in honour of Auguſtus, as Virgil propoſes to do at Mantua, it was ordered " ut per
" Circum triumphali veſte uterentur."

Virgil ſeems to have given here the firſt ſketch for the Auguſtalia; and to have laid the plan for thoſe honours which the Romans and others afterwards ſolemnized to Auguſtus.

❋[2] Strabo, in his account of the Aegyptian temples, lib. XVII. tells us that there was uſually a δρόμος or Curſus before the entrance of their temples, the extent of which δρόμος he deſcribes. — The temple of Bacchus near Rome, according to the draught of it by Deſgodetz, ſeems to have been built on the Aegyptian plan.

VER. 19, 20.

" Cuncta mihi, Alpheum linquens lucosque Molorchi,
" Curſibus et crudo decernet ❋ Graecia caeſtu."

❋ This propoſal of Virgil's to celebrate games, etc. at Mantua, in honour of Auguſtus, after the Graecian manner, was an obliging compliment to the Neapolitans, with whom he lived when he wrote this.—They were deſcended from the Greeks, and, as Strabo expreſsly tells us, obſerved many of their cuſtoms, particularly in their games: " Plurima ibi (Nea-
" poli) Graecorum inſtitutorum ſuperſunt veſtigia, ut Gymnaſia, Ephebo-
" rum coetus, etc. Hoc tempore, Sacrum Quinquennale certamen Muſi-

" cum et Gymnicum per aliquot dies agitur, ludis Graecorum nobiliſſimis " aemulum." Lib. V.

VER. 21—25.

" Ipſe caput tonſae foliis ornatus ❋[1] olivae
" Dona feram. Jam nunc ſolemnes ducere ❋[2] pompas
" Ad delubra juvat, caeſosque videre juvencos:
" Vel ❋[3] ſcena ut verſis diſcedat frontibus, utque
" Purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni."

❋[1] Pliny, ſpeaking of the olive, has this paſſage: " Oleae honorem " Romana Majeſtas magnum praebuit, turmas equitum idibus Juliis ex " eâ coronando: item minoribus triumphis ovantes." Upon which Father Harduin has the following note: " Ovantium igitur corona et olea- " ginea fuit. Sed et oleagineis coronis, inquit Feſtus, miniſtri trium- " phantium utebantur, quod Minerva Dea belli eſſe putabatur. Quare " Virgilius, qui ſe triumphorum Auguſti Caeſaris miniſtrum deligi et ha- " beri ſtuduit, ita cecinit." Lib. XV. § v. N. 5.

Capaccio, in his Hiſtory of Naples, tells us of a Greek inſcription in muſeo Cardinalis Carpenſis; of which he gives this tranſlation: " Bato- " nem Philonis filium, quoniam per annos duos praeſes creatus ex animi " ſui et Aliptarum ſententiâ juſtè ac dignè Gymnaſium adminiſtravit, eâ- " que de cauſâ Collegium univerſum per hoſce duos annos ipſum " oleaginâ coronâ, ſummâ cum celebritate, coronavit," etc. Lib. I. c. xviii.

❋[2] Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, having related the old ſtory of Caſtor and Pollux bringing the news to Rome of the victory obtained at the Lacus Regillus, obſerves, that there were ſeveral tokens ſtill remaining in his time of the credit given by the Romans to that ſtory, and particularly the pompous proceſſion made through ſeveral ſtreets of the city, by the Roman knights on horſeback, on the feaſt-day of Caſtor and Pollux, viz. the ides of July, to their temple in the Forum, lib. VI. c. xiii.

This cavalcade, as we find by Suetonius, was re-eſtabliſhed by Auguſtus, after it had been neglected for ſome time: " Equitum turmas fre- " quenter recognovit, poſt longam intercapedinem reducto more tranſ- " vectionis." Aug. 38.

Livy ſays, that this cavalcade was inſtituted by Q. Fabius Maximus: " Ab eodem inſtitutum dicitur, ut equites idibus Quintilibus tranſvehe- " rentur." Lib. IX. in fine.

This

This is confirmed by Valerius Maximus: " Trabeatos vero equites " idibus Juliis Q. Fabius tranſvehi inſtituit." Lib. II. c. ii.

As Auguſtus had great regard to, and loved theſe pompous cavalcades, Virgil alludes to them by ſaying,

——— " Solemnes ducere pompas
" Ad delubra juvat."———

And as the horſe is one of the principal ſubjects of this book, it was very proper to make a cavalcade one part of the ſhew he would inſtitute at Mantua in honour of Auguſtus.

⁂3 The following inſcription in one of the windows or openings which gave light to the Porta obſcura at Trivoli, over which is ſuppoſed to have been the famous temple of Hercules, makes mention of the Scena CXL feet long:

C. LVTIVS. L. F. AVLIAN.
Q. PLAVSVRNIVS. C. F.
VARVS.
L. VENTIDIVS. L. F.
BASSVS.
C. OCTAV. C. F. GRACCHIN.
III VIR
PORTICVS P. CCLV.
ET. EXEDRAM. ET. PRONAON.
ET. PORTICVM. ET. SCAENAM.
LONG. P. CXL.
S. C. F. C.

Vitruvius thus deſcribes the Roman ſcenes: " Ipſae ſcenae ſuas habe- " ant rationes explicatas, ita uti mediae valvae ornatus habeant aulae " regiae, dextra ac ſiniſtra hoſpitalia. Secundum autem ea, ſpatia ad " ornatus comparata; (quae loca Graeci περιάκτους dicunt, ab eo quod " machinae ſint in iis locis verſatiles trigonos habentes). In ſingula tres " ſint ſpecies ornationis, quae, cùm aut fabularum mutationes ſunt futurae, " ſeu Deorum adventus cum tonitribus repentinis, verſentur, mutentque " ſpeciem ornationis in frontes." Lib. V. c. vii.

† " In Panegyri ſacra ſunt loca, et ſacrificia, et ſtadia ad currendum, " Et *Scena* alicubi. τεμένη γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ἱερὰ, καὶ δρομοὶ, καὶ κσίωνὴ δήπου." Philoſtratus de vitâ Apol. lib. VIII. c. xviii.

VER. 26—29.

† " In ❋[1] foribus pugnam ex auro ſolidoque elephanto
" ❋[2] Gangaridum faciam, victorisque arma ❋[3] Quirini:
" Atque hic undantem bello, magnumque fluentem
" Nilum, ac navali ſurgentes aere columnas."

† Virgil's imaginary temple here ſeems to have been copied from that built by Auguſtus, to Mars Ultor; and they agree in ſo many particulars, that I cannot help thinking the one was a copy of the other. Ovid thus deſcribes the temple of Mars Ultor:

" Ultor ad ipſe ſuos caelo deſcendit honores;
" Templaque in Auguſto conſpicienda Foro.
" Digna Gigantaeis haec ſunt delubra tropaeis;
" Hinc fera Gradivum bella movere decet.
" Proſpicit in foribus diverſae tela figurae;
" Armaque terrarum, milite victa ſuo.
" Hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere ſacro;
" Et tot Iüleae nobilitatis avos:
" Hinc videt Iliaden humeris ducis arma ferentem."

Faſt. V. 565.

By comparing this with Virgil's, one ſees, that on the gates of each are the conquered nations, and their arms;—in each, the Trojan anceſtors of the Julian family; in each, Romulus carrying the Spolia opima.—The trophies, mentioned for both, I imagine, might ſtand on each ſide of the front, at top: with Mars ſtanding between them, on the higheſt elevation, in the one; as Auguſtus may be ſuppoſed to do, in the other.

" Proſpicit Armipotens operis faſtigia ſummi;
" Et probat invictos ſumma tenere Deos."

Faſt. V. 560.

" In medio mihi Caeſar erit; templumque tenebit."

Georg. III. 16.

❋[1] The word Fores was uſed not only for the door, but likewiſe for the exterior part of the temple; as appears from Virgil, in his deſcription of the temple of Juno built by Dido:

" Tum foribus Divae, mediâ teſtudine templi,
" Septa armis ſolioque alte ſubnixa, reſedit." Aen. III. 509.

Where

Where he makes Fores to ſignify all the temple, except the cell or inner part; for he cannot mean that Dido ſat at the door of the temple, becauſe he expreſsly declares that it was "mediâ teſtudine templi." — The ſame may be gathered from Virgil's deſcription of the temple of Apollo at Cumae, lib. VI. and likewiſe from Tacitus, who ſeems to uſe the word in diſtinction to the cell of the temple of Veſta.

*[2] Thoſe that border on the Ganges, or ſtrictly the Indians beyond the Ganges, as we learn from Q. Curtius; who, telling us that Alexander being got as far as the river Hypaſis in India, and enquiring of Phegelas the prince of that part, what countries lay beyond him, was thus informed by him: "Undecim dierum ultra flumen (Hypaſim) per vaſtas "ſolitudines iter eſſe; excipere deinde Gangem, maximum totius Indiae "fluminum: ulteriorem ripam colere gentes Gangaridas et Pharraſios." Lib. IX. § v.

By Gangaridae, Virgil means the Eaſtern people in general.

*[3] Suetonius ſays thus: "Cenſentibus quibuſdam Romulum appellari "oportere, quaſi et ipſum conditorem urbis." And Dion — Ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰσχυρῶς Ρωμύλῳ ὀνομασθῆναι. —— See more in Johannes Philadelphenſis (ſcripto de menſibus in Aug.) Ὀκλαβιανὸς, etc. The pleaſure which Auguſtus took in this title was undoubtedly the reaſon of Virgil's making that artful compliment to him in the ſixth Aeneid, where Anchiſes, ſhewing his ſon the glories of his poſterity, breaks looſe from the true order of ſucceſſion, and places Auguſtus immediately after Romulus: which irregularity, though cenſured by ſome of the critics, is, I think, one of the fineſt ſtrokes of that glorious paſſage. See Dr. Trapp's note on that place, Book VI. ver. 973. of his tranſlation.

VER. 30—33.

"Addam urbes *[1] Aſiae domitas, pulſumque Niphaten,
"Fidentemque fugâ Parthum verſisque ſagittis:
"Et *[2] duo rapta manu diverſo ex hoſte trophaea,
"*[3] Bisque triumphatas *[4] utroque ab litore gentes."

*[1] Compare this with Aeneid, VI. 794. and VII. 605.——Auguſtus's conqueſts in the Eaſt was a favourite topick of the Poets in his time. Vid. Hor. lib. I. Od. vi. ver. 12. et. lib. IV. Od. xiv. et. xv.

*[2] Quaer. Whether Virgil does not mean Auguſtus's victory over Brutus and Caſſius, and his recovery of the Roman Eagles from the Parthi, for in both actions he might very properly be ſaid, "Rapuiſſe ma-

"nu

" nu trophaea." —— And we are aſſured that on the former account Auguſtus built a temple to Mars Ultor, and on the latter account he dedicated one to him under the title of Biſultor. —— Suetonius ſays, " Publica opera plurima extruxit: ex quibus praecipua, forum cum aede " Martis Ultoris," etc. And preſently after, " Aedem Marti Bello Phi- " lippenſi pro ultione paternâ ſuſcepto voverat." —— And, more expreſsly, Ovid:

" Templa feres, et me victore vocaberis Ultor:
" Voverat, et fuſo laetus ab hoſte redit.
" Nec ſatis eſt meruiſſe ſui cognomina Martis;
" Perſequitur Parthâ ſigna retenta manu.
" Parthe, refers Aquilas, victos quoque porrigis arcus;
" Pignora jam noſtri nulla pudoris habes.
" Rite Deo, templumque datum, nomenque BISULTOR;
" Emeritus voti debita ſolvit honor." Faſt. lib. V.

Or do the " Duo Trophaea" mean only the trophies recovered, which were taken from Craſſus and Labienus by the two Parthian Kings, Moneſes and Pacorus? which were eſteemed two of the greateſt diſgraces which had befallen Rome. See Hor. lib. III. Od. vi.

Mr. Holdſworth has the following gueſs on the ſame paſſage in another place. —— One of the caſes here referred to is undoubtedly Auguſtus's recovering from the Parthians the ſtandards they had taken from Craſſus. Quaer. If the other does not refer to his recovering from the Dalmatians the ſtandards they had taken from Gabinius: — for thus the Latin tranſlator of Appian, De Bellis Illyricis, having related Auguſtus's taking Sergeſte (now Trieſte) and his other conqueſts over the Illyrians, adds; " Caeſar copias in Dalmatas convertit gentem Illyriorum. Dalmatae " quidem, ex quo ſub Gabinio quinque cohortes interimentes ſigna ade- " merant, ob res proſpere geſtas animis elati, per decem annos neuti- " quam depoſuere arma, et advenienti (Aug.) Caeſari unà cum Sergeſtanis " occurrere ſtatuerant." —— Then having given account of the ſucceſs againſt them, he tells us that Auguſtus going to Rome to receive the Conſulſhip, and returning again to Dalmatia, " Dalmatae fame fatigati, com- " meatu undique excluſo, venienti Caeſari ſponte obviant, ſeque illi " ſuppliciter dedunt, obſides numero ſeptingentos ex propriis filiis exhi- " bent. Hos Caeſar Romanorum ſigna Gabinio adempta ferre monuit: " tributa quoque quae ſub Caio Caeſare olim polliciti in id tempus diſ- " tuliſſent perſolvere imperavit. Ita Romanis obſequentiores deinceps effecti " ſunt.

" ſunt. Ea ſigna Caeſar in porticu, quae Octavia dicitur, appendit." —— Then having told us of other people of the Illyrians conquered by Caeſar, he concludes: " Ob eam rem triumphus Illyrius à ſenatu Caeſari " decretus eſt, quem poſt devictum tandem egit Antonium." —— The ſtory of Gabinius is related by Appian, lib. II. De Bellis Civil. ſect. cccclxiv. —— Appian hints at Auguſtus's wars againſt the Illyrians, lib. V. Bell. Civ. p. 1175. edit. Toll. and, again, page ult.

One of the people meant here were certainly the Cantabri. Horace, in praiſing Auguſtus, generally, if not always, mentions his conquering the Cantabri. See lib. I. Od. vi. 3. 8. iv. 14.

Horace likewiſe frequently mentions Auguſtus's recovering from the Parthians the Roman enſigns taken from Craſſus, and his wiping out that blot upon the Roman name. See lib. IV. Od. xv.

This was ſo much the more honourable to Auguſtus, becauſe his rival Antony, though he entered Parthia with a vaſt army on purpoſe to revenge the death of Craſſus, and offered to withdraw his forces on condition that the Parthians would ſurrender the Roman eagles, could not obtain them, and being refuſed was forced to retire with diſgrace, and conſiderable loſs. See Plutarch's life of Antony.

*[3] The compleating of the conqueſt of Spain was aſcribed to Auguſtus, as is expreſsly declared by Livy; who has this remarkable paſſage; " Hiſpania non quam Italia modo, ſed quam ulla pars terrarum bello " reparando aptior erat locorum hominumque ingeniis. Itaque ergo " prima Romanis inita provinciarum quae quidem continentis ſint; poſt- " remo omnium noſtra demum aetate ductu auſpicioque Auguſti Caeſaris " perdomita eſt." Dec. III. lib. viii.

The reduction of Aegypt is likewiſe claimed by Auguſtus, as we find it inſcribed on the pedeſtal of the obeliſk at the Porta del Popolo at Rome, which was erected in the eleventh conſulate of Auguſtus, i. e. Anno U. C. 731.

*[4] Probably this means no more than the oppoſite ſhores of the Mediterranean ſea. Horace makes the like compliment to Rome:

" Horrenda latè nomen in ultimas
" Extendat oras, quà medius liquor
" Secernit Europen ab Afro,
" Quà tumidus rigat arva Nilus." Lib. III. od. iii.

VER. 34—36.

" * Stabunt et Parii lapides, ſpirantia ſigna;
" Aſſaraci proles, demiſſaeque ab Jove gentis
" Nomina: Trosque parens, et Trojae Cynthius auctor."

* This ſuited the taſte of Auguſtus, who adorned his public buildings with ſtatues. Suetonius tells us, " Proximum à Diis immortalibus hono-
" rem memoriae ducum praeſtitit, qui imperium Populi Romani ex mini-
" mo maximum reddidiſſent. —— Itaque et ſtatuas omnium triumphali ef-
" figie in utrâque fori ſui porticu dedicavit. Profeſſus eſt edicto com-
" mentum id ſe, ut illorum velut exemplar, et ipſe dum viveret, et inſe-
" quentium aetatum principes exigerentur à civibus." In Aug.

VER. 37—39.

" Invidia infelix Furias, amnemque ſeverum
" Cocyti metuet; tortosque Ixionis † orbes,
" Immanemque rotam; et non exſuperabile ſaxum."

† All the editions of Virgil at preſent (and indeed ſeveral of the manuſcripts, and even ſome of the oldeſt) read Angues here, inſtead of Orbes.

The reaſon why I ſuppoſe ſome critics of late, who have thought it was originally Orbes, are in the right, is, becauſe the latter agrees with Ixion's puniſhment, and the former does not.

The puniſhment of Ixion conſiſted in being attached to a wheel, and whirled round impetuouſly by it; both which are expreſſed in the " Tortos orbes, immanemque rotam," of Virgil. —— Orbis is the very word which Virgil uſes, in the only place beſide this where he ſpeaks of Ixion's puniſhment, in his allowed works: and, if the Aetna be his, it is alſo uſed there of the ſame.

I do not remember that Virgil, or any other of the Roman Poets, ever ſpeak of Ixion's being tormented with ſnakes; or indeed of ſnakes being made uſe of in the torments of Tartarus at all. The ſnakes of the Furies, or infernal tormentors of the old Poets, repreſented the ſtings of conſcience; the tortures and ſufferings of the mind, not thoſe of the body: but the modern painters have made ſo much uſe of ſerpents, in their repreſentations of perſons tormented in the other world, that has made a connection between the tormented and ſnakes now, which was not

not of old: and may have been a chief reaſon, that the reading of Angues has prevailed ſo generally among us.

I muſt juſt obſerve one thing more; which is, the propriety of Virgil in the above paſſage, in another reſpect. The perſons he is ſpeaking of are the enemies of the Julian family; or of the faction (as he calls it) againſt the Caeſars. Theſe, he ſays, ſhould be repreſented on the temple he would build to Auguſtus, as in the tortures of Tartarus; and, more particularly, as puniſhed in the ſame manner as Ixion and Siſyphus. Ixion was puniſhed there, for his ingratitude and impiety; Siſyphus, as a villain and a robber. So that this is calling all the party againſt Auguſtus villains and ingrates; and infers the higheſt compliment to that prince, at the ſame time that it is the moſt cruel of invectives againſt his enemies.

VER. 43, 44.

——— " En age, ſegnes
" Rumpe moras: vocat ingenti clamore ❋ Cithaeron,
" Täygetique canes, domitrixque Epidaurus equorum."

❋ The boundary between Attica and Boeotia. Sir G. Wheler ſays, that he lodged on mount Parnes, not far from Cithaeron, or part of the ſame ridge; that there was a curious fountain hard by, where, he ſays, the wolves, bears, and wild boars come to drink; this mountain being a great covert for them: and that they were forced to ſtop up the entrance into their car, to ſecure them from the aſſaults of wild beaſts, page, 334.

VER. 51—59.

——— " ❋[1] Optima torvae
" Forma bovis, cui turpe caput, cui plurima cervix,
" Et crurum tenus à mento palearia pendent.
" Tum longo nullus lateri modus: omnia magna;
" Pes ❋[2] etiam: et camuris hirtae ſub ❋[3] cornibus aures.
" Nec mihi diſpliceat maculis inſignis et albo:
" Aut juga detrectans, interdumque aſpera cornu,
" Et faciem tauro propior: quaeque ardua tota,
" Et gradiens imâ verrit veſtigia caudâ."

❋[1] Varro's deſcription of the ſhape and colour of a good cow: " Ut " ſint oblongae, amplae, latis frontibus, oculis magnis, piloſis auribus;

" cervicibus craſſis ac longis, à collo palearibus demiſſis; corpore amplo, " bene coſtato; — caudam profuſam uſque ad calces ut habeant." Lib. II. c. v. —— As to the colour, it is difficult to underſtand him; his words are: " Colore potiſſimum nigro, dein rubeo," etc. If I underſtand him, he makes black and white mixed the worſt colour. —— Columella prefers " colorum rubeum, vel fuſcum," lib. VI. c. i. and gives the following deſcription of a cow, c. xxi. " Vaccae probantur altiſſimae formae, " longaeque, frontibus latiſſimis, piloſis auribus, palearibus et caudis " ampliſſimis; caetera quoque fere eadem in feminis, quae et in mari- " bus deſiderantur:" the deſcription of which he had given before; " Parandi ſunt boves, grandibus membris, fronte latâ et criſpâ, hirtis au- " ribus, cervice longâ et toroſâ, palearibus amplis, et penè ad genua " promiſſis, lateribus porrectis, ungulis magnis, caudis longiſſimis." Cap. i.

✱[2] Etiam is to be pronounced with an emphaſis, as an extraordinary caſe; becauſe in other creatures, generally, a large foot is far from being a beauty.

✱[3] " Potius bovem emunt cornibus nigrantibus, quàm albis." Var. lib. II. c. i.

VER. 60, 61.

" ✱ Aetas Lucinam juſtosque pati hymenaeos
" Deſinit ante decem, poſt quatuor incipit annos."

✱ Varro ſays, " In bubulo pecore minoris emitis anniculam," that is, one of a year old, " et ſupra decem annorum; quod à bimâ aut trimâ " fructum ferre incipit, neque longius poſt decimum annum procedit. " Nam prima aetas omnis pecoris, et extrema, ſterilis." Lib. II. c. i. —— Again, he ſays, " Non minores oportet inire bimas, ut trimae " pariant; eò melius, ſi quadrimae." Lib. II. c. v.

" In noſtro orbe, Epiroticis bubus maxima laus; à Pyrrhi, ut ferunt, " jam inde regis curâ: id conſequutus eſt non ante quadrimatum ad par- " tus vocando: praegrandes itaque fuere, et hodieque reliquiae ſtirpium " durant." Plin. lib. VIII. c. xlv.

VER. 75—79.

" Continuò pecoris ✱[1] generoſi pullus in arvis
" ✱[2] Altius ingreditur, et mollia crura reponit:
" Primus et ire viam, et fluvios tentare minaces

" Audet

" Audet, et ignoto ſeſe committere ponti:
" Nec vanos horret ſtrepitus." ——

Virgil's deſcription of a beautiful horſe was admired by the antients, as appears by Pliny. " Equorum forma, quales maximè legi oporteat, " pulcherrimè quidem Virgilio vate abſoluta eſt." Lib. VIII. c. xlii.

Varro's deſcription is as follows: " Equi boni futuri ſigna ſunt, ſi cum " gregalibus in pabulo contendit, in currendo, aliâve quâ re, quo potior ſit; " ſi cum flumen travehendum eſt, gregi in primis praegreditur, ac non " reſpectat alios:" and before, " Qualis futurus ſit equus è pullo con- " jectari poteſt, ſi *caput habet non magnum*, ſi eſt *naribus non anguſtis*, *au-* " *ribus applicatis*, *non anguſtâ jubâ crebrâ*, ſubtenuibus ſetis implicatâ in " dexteriorem partem cervicis, pectus latum et plenum, ventre modico, " ſpinâ maximè duplici, ungulis duris." Lib. II. c. vii.

✻[2] I take " altius ingredi" to ſignify, to ſtep boldly and genteely, or with grace; by lifting the feet high, and then ſetting them down again gently.

VER. 80, 88.

—— " Illi ardua cervix,
" ✻[1] Argutumque caput, brevis alvus, ✻[2] obeſaque terga;
" ✻[3] Luxuriatque toris animoſum ✻[4] pectus: honeſti
" ✻[5] Spadices, glaucique; color deterrimus albis,
" Et gilvo: tum, ſi qua ſonum procul arma dedere;
" † Stare loco neſcit, micat ✻[6] auribus, et tremit artus,
" Collectumque premens volvit ſub naribus ignem.
" Denſa juba, et dextro jactata recumbit in armo.
" At ✻[7] duplex agitur per lumbos ſpina: cavatque
" Tellurem, et ſolido graviter ſonat ungula cornu."

✻[1] What Palladius calls " exiguum caput et ſiccum," a ſharp, briſk-looking head, Virgil expreſſes in one word, Argutum.

" La tête du cheval doit être menuë, etroite, decharnée, et ſeche. " C'eſt une partie eſſentielle de la beauté du cheval, ſans laquelle il ne " peut être agréable quoiqu'il eut tout le reſte du corps bien fait." Solleyſel, c. ii.

✻[2] " La croupe doit être large et ronde," etc. ibid. pag. 16. —— " De la derniere côté juſqu'à l'os de la hanche, qui eſt proprement le " flanc, il y doit avoir fort peu de diſtance." Ibid.

 " Luxuriatque

*[3] "Luxuriatque toris" may be ſaid of a clumſy, heavy horſe; and therefore the Poet has very well qualified the expreſſion, by adding Animoſum — that a horſe muſt be full-cheſted, and have thoſe muſcles ſtrong and vigorous, not overloaded.

*[4] "La poitrine large et ouverte aux chevaux de legere taille eſt tou-
"jours eſtimée." Sol. c. ii. p. 14.

*[5] As Spadix ſignifies a reddiſh colour, this word ought, according to ſtrictneſs, to mean what the French call *Baie rouge* — but, in general, I take Spadices to comprehend the ſeveral ſorts of Bays; and Glauci, different ſorts of Grey. —— Glaucus certainly ſignifies Grey, as well as Blue: and in the Welſh language the word *Glauce*, when applied to *Kephal*, or a horſe, ſignifies a dark Grey; but, when applied to other things, it ſignifies Blue. —— See Revelat. c. vi. 8. ἵππος χλωρὸς, which our tranſlators render *a pale horſe*. —— "Glaucas ſalices." Georg. IV. 187.

† There is a very good imitation of this part of Virgil, in a Roman Poet of the third century, which may deſerve to be inſerted here:

"Illis ampla ſatis laevi ſunt aequora dorſo,
"Immodicumque latus; parvaeque ingentibus alvi:
"Ardua frons, auresque agiles; capitique decoro
"Altus honos; oculique vago ſplendore micantes.
"Plurima ſe validos cervix reſupinat in armos;
"Fumant humentes *calidâ de nare vapores*.
"*Nec pes officium ſtandi tenet*; ungula terram
"Crebra ferit; virtusque artus animoſa fatigat.
"Quin etiam gens ampla jacet trans ardua Calpes
"Culmina, cornipedum latè foecunda proborum.
"Namque valent longos pratis intendere curſus;
"Nec minor eſt illis Graio quàm in corpore forma:
"Nec non terribiles *ſpirabile lumen anheli*
"*Provolvunt flatus*; *et lumina vivida torquent*."

Nemeſianus, Cynegetic. 256.

*[6] "Pline a fait une aſſez bonne remarque ſur les oreilles d'un che-
"val; car il dit que par le mouvement de ſes oreilles on peut juger de
"ſon intention et de ſon courage," etc. Soll. c. ii.

*[7] "Un cheval doit avoir les reins doubles, qui eſt lorſqu'il les a un
"peu plus elevés aux deux cotés qu'au milieu du dos, et paſſant la main
"tout

" tout au long de l'épine on la trouve large, bien fournie, et double " par le canal qui s'y fait." Id. c. ii. p. 15.

Solleyſel remarks, " Si les épaules ſont groſſes, chargées de chair et " rondes, ce ſera un defaut conſidérable;" but he adds immediately afterwards, " C'eſt un defaut aux chevaux François, car, pour les Barbes et " chevaux d'Eſpagne, ils n'en ſont pas pires, ſi d'ailleurs ils ont les qua- " lités qu'on leur demande. Même j'ay veu peu de Barbes et de chevaux " d'Eſpagne avoir beaucoup d'épaules qu'ils ne fuſſent tres bons." Cap. iv. p. 49. The ſame might be ſaid of the Neapolitan horſes, which Virgil probably had in view in this deſcription.

VER. 95—102.

" Hunc quoque, ubi aut morbo gravis, aut jam ſegnior annis
" Deficit, abde domo, ❋[1] nec turpi ignoſce ſenectae.
" Frigidus in Venerem ſenior, fruſtraque laborem
" Ingratum trahit: et, ſi quando ad praelia ventum eſt,
" Ut quondam in ſtipulis magnus ſine viribus ignis,
" Incaſsùm furit. Ergo animos ❋[2] aevumque notabis
" Praecipuè: hinc alias artes, ❋[3] prolemque parentum:
" Et quis cuique dolor victo, quae gloria palmae."

❋[1] If Virgil had meant as Ruaeus ſuppoſes, in his note upon this place, he might as eaſily have ſaid, " et non turpi:" But I think he is to be underſtood in the literal ſenſe, " nec ignoſce turpi ſenectae. Ne ſis in- " dulgentior ſenectuti turpi, quae turpem prolem reddet;" Do not make any allowances to an old ſtallion for what he has been. This ſenſe ſuits beſt with what follows:

" Frigidus in Venerem ſenior." ———

❋[2] " Equorum et Equarum greges qui habere voluerunt, ut habent ali- " qui in Peloponneſo et in Apuliâ, primùm ſpectare oportet aetatem quam " praecipiunt: Videndum ne ſint minores trimae, majores decem anno- " rum." Var. lib. II. c. vii.

❋[3] Dr. Martyn, in oppoſition, as he owns, to the generality of the commentators, thinks the Poet means by " prolem parentum," that we are to obſerve what colts the horſe produces: but I cannot believe this is his meaning; for he gives direction for chooſing a young ſtallion. I rather think he means that we are to inquire into the pedigree, and how the offſpring of that race have proved.

VER.

VER. 103—107.

" Nonne vides? cum praecipiti certamine campum
" Corripuere, ruuntque effuſi carcere currus;
" Cum ſpes arrectae juvenum, exultantiaque haurit
" Corda pavor pulſans: illi inſtant verbere torto,
" Et ✻ proni dant lora."———

" ✻ Non tam praecipites bijugo certamine campum
" Corripuere, ruuntque effuſi carcere currus.
" Nec ſic immiſſis aurigae undantia lora
" Concuſſere jugis, pronique in verbera pendent."

Aen. V. 147.

VER. 113—117.

" ✻[1] Primus Erichthonius currus et quatuor auſus
" Jungere equos, rapidisque rotis inſiſtere victor.
" Fraena Pelethronii Lapithae, ✻[2] gyrosque dedere,
" Impoſiti dorſo: atque equitem † docuere ſub armis
" Inſultare ſolo, et greſſus ✻[3] glomerare ſuperbos."

✻[1] That they had menages for their war horſes, either for the chariot or ſaddle, appears from this, and ſome of the following paſſages; and likewiſe from Varro. " Equi quod alii ſunt ad rem militarem idonei, alii " ad vecturam, alii ad admiſſuram, alii ad curſuram, non item ſunt ſpec- " tandi atque habendi. Itaque peritus belli alios eligit, atque alit, ac " *docet*; aliter quadrigarius, ac deſultor. Neque idem qui vectarios fa- " cere vult, ad ephippium, aut ad praedam; quod ut ad rem militarem, " quod ibi ad caſtra habere volunt acres; ſic contra in viis habere malunt " placidos." ——For the former ſort Virgil requires,

" Calidum animis, et curſibus acrem." Ver. 119.

And again:

——— " Qui ſpumas agit ore cruentas." Ver. 203.

For the latter ſort,

——— " Qui molli feret eſſeda collo." Ver. 204.

The art of managing horſes, ſo as to leap at full ſpeed from one to another, is mentioned by Homer, Il. XV. —— See Mr. Pope's notes on ver. 824.

It

It being objected by critics, that the cuſtom of riding was not known in Greece at the time of the Trojan war; Euſtathius anſwers, that, had Homer put the compariſon in the mouth of one of his heroes, the objection had been juſt, and he guilty of an inconſiſtency; but it is he himſelf who ſpeaks: Saddle-horſes were in uſe in his age, and any poet may be allowed to illuſtrate pieces of antiquity by images familiar to his own times.

*2 " Equi non formâ, non velocitate conſpicui: Sed nec variare gyros " in morem noſtrum docentur." Tacitus, De mor. Germ. c. vi.

† " Nam flecti facilis laſcivaque colla ſecutus
" Paret in obſequium lentae moderamine virgae:
" Verbera ſunt praecepta fugae; ſunt verbera fraeni."
Nemeſianus, Cyneg. 268.

*3 Pliny, ſpeaking of the horſes of Gallicia and Aſturia, ſays: " Non " vulgaris in curſu gradus, ſed mollis alterno crurum explicatu glomera- " tio: unde equis tolutim capere in curſus traditur arte." Lib. VIII. c. xlii.

VER. 118—122.

" * Aequus uterque labor: aeque juvenemque magiſtri
" Exquirunt, calidumque animis, et curſibus acrem:
" Quamvis ſaepe fugâ verſos ille egerit hoſtes,
" Et patriam Epirum referat, fortesque Mycenas;
" Neptunique ipſâ deducat origine gentem."

* I take it that the Poet has in theſe verſes a view to the language of the horſe-courſers; and means that whoever would purchaſe a fine horſe muſt be ſure that he is " juvenis, calidus animis, et curſibus acer:" and not depend entirely upon the boaſts of the horſe-courſer,

" Quamvis ſaepe fugâ," etc.———

† See note on the place in Mr. Warton's Virgil, where it is propoſed to place theſe three lines, " Quamvis," etc. immediately after

——— " Nec turpi ignoſce ſenectae." Ver. 96.

Mr. Heath propoſes the ſame conjecture, upon the ſame reaſons.

VER.

VER. 124—129.

——— " Omnes
" Impendunt curas denſo diſtendere ❋ pingui,
" Quem legere ducem, et pecori dixere maritum:
" Pubentesque ſecant herbas, fluviosque miniſtrant,
" Farraque; ne blando nequeat ſupereſſe labori,
" Invalidique patrum referant jejunia nati:
" Ipſa autem macie tenuant armenta volentes."

❋ " Ante admiſſuram diebus triginta arietibus ac tauris plus cibi datur,
" ut vires habeant: feminis bubus demitur, quod maceſcentes melius
" concipere dicuntur." Varr. lib. II. c. i. This he repeats, lib. II. c. v.

VER. 130—134.

" Atqui ❋[1] ubi concubitus primos jam nota voluptas
" Solicitat; frondesque negant, et fontibus arcent:
" Saepe etiam curſu quatiunt, et ſole fatigant;
" Cum ❋[2] graviter tunſis gemit area frugibus, et cum
" Surgentem ad Zephyrum paleae jactantur inanes."

❋[1] " Ubi voluptas ſolicitat primos concubitus" certainly means, when the cow or mare diſcovers an inclination to go to horſe or bull. This deſire of enjoyment the Poet repreſents ſo ſtrong in them, that he intimates as if by inſtinct they already know the pleaſure before enjoyment: which I take to be the meaning of " jam nota voluptas," and put by way of antitheſis to " primos concubitus."

❋[2] So Varro: " Initium admiſſionis facere oportet ab aequinoctio verno
" ad ſolſtitium, ut partus idoneo tempore fiat. Duodecimo enim menſe,
" die decimo, aiunt naſci." Lib. II. c. vii. Virgil hints that the moſt proper time is juſt after harveſt.

VER. 135, 136.

" Hoc faciunt, nimio ne luxu obtuſior uſus
" Sit genitali ❋ arvo, et ſulcos oblimet inertes."

❋ As Virgil, Georg. II. 324. ſpeaking of the earth, enlivens his diſcourſe by metaphors taken from copulation; ſo here he modeſtly veils his thoughts by expreſſions proper to tillage.

VER.

VER. 146—151.

" Eſt lucos Silari circa, ilicibusque virentem
" Plurimus Alburnum volitans, cui nomen *[1] Aſilo
" Romanum eſt; *[2] Oeſtron Graii vertere vocantes:
" Aſper, acerba ſonans: quo tota exterrita ſylvis
" Diffugiunt armenta; furit mugitibus aether
" Concuſſus, ſylvaeque, et *[3] ſicci ripa Tanagri."

*[1] Aſilus, otherwiſe called Tabanus; vid. Plin. lib. II. c. xxviii. now called in Italy Tavano.

" Quod vaccas aeſtate tabani concitare ſolent, et beſtiolae quaedam " minutae ſub caudâ, ne concitentur, aliqui ſolent includere ſeptis." Var. lib. II. c. v.

*[2] " Amplioris magnitudinis foetus quam ſint caeterarum apum, non- " nulli putant eſſe Reges; verum quidam Graecorum auctores Οἶστρος ap- " pellant, ab eo quod exagitent, neque patiantur examina conquieſcere." Col. lib. IX. c. xiv.

*[3] Cluverius ſays, " Uterque fluvius Tanager et Calor perennes habent " fontes, et nullo anni tempore exſiccantur:" if ſo, the interpretation given by Ruaeus is wrong. Q. whether Sicci may not relate to the dry country round about this river, rather than to the bed of it? Eutropius Paulinus, in natali Sancti Felicis, ſays:

——— " Qui ſicca Tanagri,
" Quique colunt rigui felicia culta Galeſi:"

Where he makes an oppoſition between the " ſicca Tanagri" and the " felicia culta Galeſi."

VER. 166—169.

" Ac primum laxos tenui de vimine circlos
" Cervici ſubnecte: dehinc, ubi libera colla
" Servitio aſſuerint; ipſis è torquibus aptos
" Junge *[1] pares, et coge *[2] gradum conferre juvencos."

*[1] Varro, ſpeaking of this ſubject, ſays: " Sint pares, ne in opere " firmior imbecilliorem conficiat." Lib. I. c. xx. And, in the ſame chapter, he adds: " Novellos ſi quis emerit juvencos, ſi eorum colla in furcas de- " ſtitutas incluſerit, ac dederit cibum; diebus paucis erunt manſueti, et

" ad domandum proni." This Virgil likewiſe directs, in the paſſage above:

———" Laxos tenui de vimine circlos
" Cervici ſubnecte."———

✻[2] " In bubulo genere aetatis gradus dicuntur quatuor; in primâ Vitu-
" lus, in ſecundâ Juvencus, in tertiâ et quartâ Taurus et Vacca." Var. lib. II. c. v.

VER. 173, 174.

" Poſt valido nitens ſub pondere faginus axis
" ✻[1] Inſtrepat, et junctos temo trahat ✻[2] aereus orbes."

✻[1] Varro gives inſtructions that, " Si poſſis, per vicum aut oppidum
" creber ſtrepitus ac varietas rerum conſuetudine celerrima ad utilitatem
" adducit." Lib. I. c. xx. — This is better expreſſed by Virgil in one word, Inſtrepat; for every farmer is not ſituated near a town, and therefore Varro adds, " ſi poſſis." Virgil's rule is more general. Another poet would have contented himſelf to have employed a phraſe which ſhould denote a very great weight, but Virgil uſes Inſtrepat: this word is uſed more properly, for it not only expreſſes the greatneſs of the load, which occaſions the ſkreaking of a waggon, but gives one a lively idea of ſuch a carriage; and intimates that the beaſts muſt be accuſtomed to the noiſe, that they may not be frightened.

✻[1] It is very common at this time, in ſeveral parts of Italy, to cover the end of the waggon-pole with plates of braſs.

VER. 190—192.

" At, tribus exactis, ubi ✻[1] quarta acceſſerit aeſtas;
" Carpere mox ✻[2] gyrum incipiat, gradibusque ſonare
" Compoſitis: ſinuetque alterna volumina crurum."

✻[1] " Sunt qui dicunt, poſt annum et ſex menſes equulum domari poſſe;
" ſed melius poſt trimum, à quo tempore farrago dari ſolet." Var. lib. II. c. vii. — He proceeds afterwards to preſcribe the method of giving it. — And, lib. I. c. xxxi. he ſays: " Farragine equi et jumenta caetera verno
" tempore purgantur et ſaginantur."

✻[2] ———" Certum flectit in orbem
" Quadrupedis curſus."——— Ovid. Met. lib. VI. ver. 225.

VER.

VER. 196—201.

" Qualis ✻[2] hyperboreis ✻[2] Aquilo cum denſus ab oris
" Incubuit, Scythiaeque hiemes atque arida differt
" Nubila: tum ſegetes altae campique natantes
" Lenibus horreſcunt flabris, ſummaeque ſonorem
" Dant ſylvae, longique urgent ad litora fluctus:
" Ille volat, ſimul arva fugâ, ſimul aequora verrens."

✻[1] This word, which is of Greek extraction, is uſed as the ſuperlative of Boreas: ſo that " Hyperboreis ab oris" ſignifies, from the moſt northern parts of the world. This is plain from Strabo, lib. I. where, after having ridiculed what Herodotus ſays of this word, he tells us expreſsly: " Hy-
" perborei ii dicuntur, qui maximè ſunt omnium Septentrionales. Porro
" Septentrionalium terminus eſt Polus." Ὑπερβορέους τοὺς βορειοτάτους λέγεσθαι. Ὅρος δὲ τῶν βορείων ὁ πόλος.

✻[2] " Denſus Aquilo," a briſk and regular northern gale. Aquilo is the principal wind which diſperſes the clouds and clears the air: and therefore when the gods had determined to drown the world, Ovid ingeniouſly ſuppoſes that Jupiter ordered the dry winds, particularly this, to be impriſoned:

" Protinus Aeoliis Aquilonem claudit in antris,
" Et quaecunque fugant inductas flamina nubes;
" Emittitque Notum."——— Ovid. Met. lib. I. 262.

This wind was reckoned the moſt regular; and therefore, when Horace would deſcribe the middle ſtate between good and bad fortune, and endeavouring by an allegory to repreſent, that he neither was puffed up by a continual courſe of proſperity, nor oppreſſed by adverſity; he expreſſes the former ſtate by the metaphor of a regular north-wind; and the latter by its oppoſite, the ſouth:

" Non agimur tumidis velis Aquilone ſecundo,
" Non tamen adverſis aetatem ducimus Auſtris."
Lib. II. Epiſt. ii. ver. 201.

The commentators are very much puzzled in explaining this paſſage; for taking Denſus to ſignify Vehemens, and Lenibus, Modicis, they find it difficult to reconcile one with the other. Father Catrou has attempted a new diſcovery, and ſuppoſes the former part of this compariſon to be a deſcription of a ſtorm, and the latter of a gentle wind after the ſtorm:

but I fear this interpretation will neither bear application; for Virgil is not ſpeaking of the gentle motion of a horſe, but his ſwiftneſs; nor will it ſuit with the common rules of conſtruction; for "ille volat" muſt certainly be referred to "denſus Aquilo," and conſequently all the verſes between muſt relate to the ſame; unleſs the Father would make the ſtorm ceaſe in order to explain the 3d, 4th, and 5th verſes, and then raiſe it again to explain the 6th.—The whole difficulty will be removed by rendering "lenibus flabris," a ſmooth ſteady gale, or wind; and "denſus "Aquilo," as before.—Obſerve the ſcope of Virgil's meaning. He is deſcribing the ſmooth eaſy gallop of a horſe with a great deal of ſpeed. This he compares, not to a tempeſt, which would have been very improper, but to a north-wind in the ſummer-time blowing regularly, and uniformi. "Summae ſylvae ſonantes," and "longi fluctus urgentes ad "littora," are the effect of ſuch a wind, and "arva et aequora verrens" properly applied to it.—The ſenſe I have here given to Lenis is not new or forced, and in this ſenſe it is not inconſiſtent with ſwiftneſs. Virgil applies this epithet to the Tyber, which he always repreſents as a ſwift river:

"Leni fluit agmine Tybris." Aen. II. 782.

And certainly it cannot be denied but that the ſwifteſt motions may be very ſmooth.—Compare this deſcription with Georg. I. 318, etc. where Virgil has deſcribed a ſtorm, and you will ſoon be convinced that he thought of nothing leſs than a ſtorm or hurricane here.

VER. 202—204.

"Hic, vel ad Elei metas et maxima campi
"Sudabit ſpatia, et ſpumas aget ore cruentas;
"Belgica vel *[1] molli melius ferret *[2] eſſeda collo."

*[1] "Tender neck, unaccuſtomed to the yoke, not galled." So Catullus, in his Epithalamium Thetidos et Pelei, to expreſs the peaſants leaving their work, and the cattle not going to plow, ſays:

"Rura colit nemo, mollescunt colla juvencis."

*[2] This ſort of chariot, which was firſt uſed by the Belgae and Britons, as we are informed by Caeſar and others, was probably in Virgil's time uſed likewiſe in Italy; and is therefore here mentioned by him. I am of opinion, that Lucan hints at their being introduced in Italy, when he ſays:

"Et docilis rector monſtrati Belga covini." Lib. I. 426.

Covinus

Covinus and Eſſedum ſignifies the ſame thing, viz. a very light chaiſe, for expedition. — Silius Italicus, ſpeaking of the Aſtures, ſays:

——" His parvus ſonipes, nec Marti notus; at idem
" Aut inconcuſſo glomerat veſtigia dorſo,
" Aut molli pacata celer trahit eſſeda collo." Lib. III.

VER. 205—208.

" Tum demum craſſâ magnum ✻ farragine corpus
" Creſcere jam domitis ſinito: namque ante domandum
" Ingentes tollent animos; prenſique negabunt
" Verbera lenta pati, et duris parere lupatis."

✻ " Farrago fit optima, cum cantherini ordei decem modiis jugerum " obſeritur circa aequinoctium autumnale,—frigoribus, cum alia pabula " defecerunt, ea bubus caeterisque pecudibus optimè defecta praebetur; " et ſi depaſcere ſaepius voles, usque in menſem Maium ſufficit." Col. lib. II. c. xi.— " Cantherinum ordeum idem dicitur Hexaſtichum." C. ix.

VER. 220—236.

" ✻[1] Illi alternantes multâ vi praelia miſcent
" Vulneribus crebris: lavit ater corpora ſanguis,
" Verſaque in obnixos urgentur cornua vaſto
" Cum gemitu: reboant ſylvaeque et magnus Olympus.
" Nec mos bellantes unà ſtabulare: ſed alter
" Victus abit, longeque ignotis exulat oris:
" Multa gemens ignominiam, plagasque ſuperbi
" Victoris, tum quos amiſit inultus amores:
" Et ſtabula aſpectans regnis exceſſit avitis.
" Ergo omni curâ vires exercet, et inter
" Dura jacet pernox inſtrato ſaxa cubili:
" Frondibus hirſutis et carice paſtus acutâ:
" Et tentat ſeſe, atque iraſci in ✻[2] cornua diſcit
" Arboris obnixus trunco: ventosque laceſſit
" Ictibus, et ſparſâ ad pugnam proludit arenâ.
" Poſt, ubi collectum robur viresque receptae,
" Signa movet, praecepsque oblitum fertur in hoſtem."

✻[1] The ſtrength, gravity, and ſolemnity of this deſcription is very remarkable —— How few dactyls!

It

It ſeems to have been a particular favourite of the old poets.—Lucan has imitated it in his Pharſalia, lib. II. 601. Statius, in his Thebais, lib. II. 321. and Silius Italicus, at the beginning of his XVIth book.

*[2] Not his own horns, but the enemy's.

VER. 258—263.

" Quid juvenis, magnum cui verſat in oſſibus ignem
" Durus amor? nempe abruptis turbata procellis
" Nocte natat caecâ ſerus freta: quem ſuper * ingens
" Porta tonat caeli et ſcopulis illiſa reclamant
" Aequora: nec miſeri poſſunt revocare parentes,
" Nec moritura ſuper crudeli funere virgo."

* This certainly means the palace of Jove. See La Cerda, and Dr. Martyn.

VER. 264—268.

" Quid lynces Bacchi variae, et genus acre luporum,
" Atque canum? quid, quae *[1] imbelles dant praelia cervi?
" Scilicet ante omnes *[2] furor eſt inſignis equarum:
" Et mentem Venus ipſa dedit, quo tempore Glauci
" *[3] Potniades *[4] malis membra abſumpſere quadrigae."

*[1] " Naturally not of a warlike diſpoſition."—Salluſt uſes this word in the ſame ſenſe in his character of Atherbal, Bell. Jugurth. " Quietus, " imbellis, placidus ingenio."

*[2] Horace ſays to an old bawd:

——— " Tibi flagrans amor et libido,
" Quae ſolet matres furiare equorum,
" Saeviet circa jecur." Lib. I. Od. xxv.

*[3] " Eſt etiam ante Thebas fons Dirce et Potniae; ad quas ferunt " Glaucum Potnienſem a Potniadibus equabus fuiſſe diſcerptum prope " ipſam urbem." Strabo, lib. IX.

*[4] This expreſſion, " malis abſumere," certainly carried an idea in the Roman language of ſomething more ravenous than the literal conſtruction imports in ours: for I obſerve that the Harpy Celaeno, when ſhe propheſies to Aeneas and his companions that they ſhould be reduced to ſuch extreme hunger, as to be forced to devour their own tables, makes uſe of the ſame expreſſion:

" Vos

—— " Vos dira fames, noſtraeque injuria caedis
" Ambeſas ſubigat malis abſumere menſas." Aen. III. 257.

VER. 269—279.

" Illas ducit amor trans Gargara, transque ſonantem
" ✻[1] Aſcanium: ſuperant montes, et flumina tranant:
" Continuóque avidis ubi ſubdita flamma medullis,
" Vere magis (quia vere calor redit oſſibus) illae
" ✻[2] Ore omnes verſae in Zephyrum, ſtant rupibus altis,
" Exceptantque leves auras: et † ✻[3] ſaepe ſine ullis
" Conjugiis, vento gravidae (mirabile dictu)
" Saxa per et ſcopulos et depreſſas convalles
" Diffugiunt: non, Eure, tuos, neque Solis ad ortus,
" In ✻[4] Boream, Caurumque, aut unde nigerrimus Auſter
" Naſcitur, et pluvio contriſtat ✻[5] frigore caelum."

✻[1] Strabo places Myſia and Phrygia on the banks of this river, and the Palus Aſcania, lib. XII. — That it is a fruitful country appears from Homer: ἐξ Ασκανίης ἐριβώλακος. Il. R. 793.

✻[2] I take the meaning of this, and what follows afterwards, " non, " Eure, tuos," etc. to be, " that mares are impregnated by the weſt- " wind; and after they are impregnated, they then run, not to the eaſt, " but to the north or ſouth."

Dr. Martyn obſerves, that commentators diſpute much about this expreſſion, " Nigerrimus Auſter pluvio contriſtat frigore caelum;" the ſouth, as they ſay, being commonly a warm wind. But the Doctor well obſerves from Columella, that the time when mares are ſeized with this fury is about the vernal equinox. I think this is a very lively deſcription in few words of the black melancholic weather, attended with cold and rains, which we uſually have, even though the wind is ſouth, about the equinox, the month of March.

† This is not any poetical fancy of Virgil's. It was commonly believed in his time; and Columella makes no manner of doubt of the truth of it. — " Nec dubium, quin aliquot regionibus tanto flagrent ardore co- " eundi feminae, ut etiam ſi marem non habeant, aſſidua et nimia cupi- " ditate figurantes ſibi ipſae venerem (cohortalium more avium) vento " concipiant. —— Cum ſit notiſſimum etiam in ſacro monte Hiſpaniae,

" qui

" qui procurrit in occidentem juxta Oceanum, frequenter equas ſine coïtu " ventrem pertuliſſe, foetumque educaſſe, qui tamen inutilis eſt, quod " triennio, prius quam adoleſcat, morte abſumitur." Lib. VI. c. xxvii.

✻[3] " Conſtat in Luſitaniâ circa Ulyſſiponem oppidum et Tagum amnem equas Favonio flante obverſas animalem concipere ſpiritum, idque " partum fieri, et gigni perniciſſimum ita, ſed triennium vitae non excedere." Plin. l. VIII. c. 42. Virgil is more modeſt. —— " In foeturâ " res incredibilis eſt in Hiſpaniâ, ſed eſt vera; quod in Luſitaniâ ad Oceanum in eâ regione ubi eſt oppidum Olyſippo, monte Tagro, quaedam " e vento concipiant certo tempore equae; ut hic gallinae quoque ſolent, " quarum ova ὑπηνέμια appellant. Sed ex his equis, qui nati pulli, non " plus triennium vivunt." Var. De re ruſt. lib. II. c. i.

✻[4] " In Boream, Caurumve, aut," etc. that is, as ſoon as they have conceived, they run towards the North or the South; and it is expreſsly affirmed by Pliny that they do ſo after copulation. " Equae à coïtu ſolae " animalium currunt ex adverſo Aquilonum Auſtrorumve prout marem " aut feminam concepere." Lib. X. c. lxiii.

✻[5] Frigus does not always ſignify extreme cold or froſt; but moderate, as the coolneſs of the morning or evening in Summer; as plainly appears from verſe 321 to 337, where Virgil ſpeaks of " frigidus Veſper," and, " Luciferi primo cum ſidere," when he is ſpeaking of the Summer.

VER. 284, 285.

" Sed fugit interea, fugit irreparabile tempus,
" Singula dum capti circumvectamur ✻ amore."

✻ The Poet corrects himſelf very prettily for having dwelt ſo long on this ſubject, and lays the fault on love, the effects of which he feels, and is himſelf enſnared whilſt he is deſcribing the paſſion.

VER. 295—304.

" Incipiens, ſtabulis edico in ✻[1] mollibus herbam
" Carpere oves, dum mox frondoſa reducitur aeſtas:
" Et multâ duram ſtipulâ filicumque maniplis
" Sternere ſubter humum: glacies ne frigida laedat
" Molle pecus, ſcabiemque ferat; turpesque podagras.
" Poſt, hinc digreſſus, jubeo frondentia capris

" Arbuta

" Arbuta ſufficere, et fluvios praebere recentes ;
" Et ſtabula à ventis hiberno opponere ſoli
" Ad medium converſa diem : cum frigidus olim
" Jam cadit, extremoque irrorat ❋[2] Aquarius anno.

❋[1] " Cum aliquot dies ſteterunt, ſubjicere oportet virgulta alia, quo " molliùs requieſcant, purioresque ſint ; libentius enim ita paſcuntur." Varr. lib. II. c. ii. — In the ſame place he further directs ; " Stabula idoneo " loco ut ſint, ne ventoſa." — And ſays in the next chapter, that the ſame rule will ſerve for goats.

❋[2] We ſee this ſign always repreſented as pouring out of an urn.

VER. 305—507.

" Hae quoque non curâ nobis leviore tuendae,
" Nec minor uſus erit : quamvis ❋ Mileſia magno
" Vellere mutentur, Tyrios incocta rubores."

❋ " Lana laudatiſſima Apula ; et quae in Italiâ Graeci pecoris appel- " latur, alibi Italica ; tertium locum Mileſiae oves obtinent." Plin. l. VIII. c. xlviii.

VER. 311—313.

" Nec minus interea barbas incanaque menta
" Cinyphii tondent ❋ hirci, ſetasque comantes ;
" Uſum in caſtrorum et miſeris velamina nautis."

❋ This is certainly uſed in the nominative plural. Making the goats give up their beards themſelves for the ſervice of man, is very poetical. So,

" Dant arbuta ſylvae." Georg. II. ver. 520.

and Virgil very frequently uſes the ſame manner of expreſſion. Putting Hirci in the genitive caſe, or introducing a different reading (Hircis) is loſing the whole beauty and energy of the thought. —— Varro ſpeaks thus on this very ſubject — " Ut fructum ovis è lanâ ad veſtimentum, ſic " capra pilos miniſtrat ad uſum nauticum, et ad bellica tormenta, et fa- " brilia vaſa." — If a grave proſe writer may ſay, " *Capra miniſtrat pilos* " ad uſum nauticum," etc. ſurely a Poet may be allowed to ſay, " Hir- " cus tondet barbam in uſum caſtrorum," etc.

Ovid celebrates the Cinyphian as a corn country.

" Cinyphiae ſegetis citius numerabis ariſtas."

De Ponto. lib. II. Ep. vii.

VER. 316, 317.

" Atque ipſae memores redeunt in tecta ; * ſuosque
" Ducunt ; et gravido ſuperant vix ubere limen."

* Dr. Martyn obſerves that moſt of the commentators following Servius, interpret Suos, their young ones; but that La Cerda thinks it means, their paſtors. The former opinion has nothing ſingular in it, for if the dams go home, it muſt be imagined that the young ones do not ſtay behind. — I take the latter to be Virgil's meaning, that inſtead of being driven home to be milked, they even of themſelves ſhew their conductors the way ; which is likewiſe true, and enlivens the former part of the ſentence.

VER. 322—334.

——— " Zephyris cum laeta vocantibus aeſtas,
" In ſaltus utrumque gregem atque in paſcua mittes ;
" Luciferi *[1] primo cum ſidere frigida rura
" Carpamus : dum mane novum, dum gramina canent,
" Et ros in tenerâ pecori gratiſſimus herbâ eſt.
" Inde, ubi quarta *[2] ſitim caeli collegerit hora,
" Et cantu querulae rumpent arbuſta cicadae ;
" Ad puteos, aut alta greges ad ſtagna jubeto
" Currentem ilignis potare canalibus undam :
" Aeſtibus et mediis umbroſam exquirere vallem :
" Sicubi magna Jovis antiquo robore quercus
" Ingentes tendat ramos, aut ſicubi *[3] nigrum
" Ilicibus crebris ſacrâ nemus accubet umbrâ."

*[1] " Aeſtate primâ luce exeunt paſtum, propterea quod tunc herba roſcida meridianam, quae eſt aridior, jucunditate praeſtat : ſole exorto potum propellunt, ut redintegrantes rurſus ad paſtum alacriores faciant. Circiter meridianos aeſtus, dum deferveſcant, ſub umbriferas rupes et arbores patulas ſubjiciunt, quoad refrigerato aëre veſpertino rurſus paſcant ad ſolis occaſum. — Ab occaſu parvo intervallo interpoſito ad bibendum appellunt, et rurſus paſcunt quoad contenebravit : iterum enim

" enim tum jucunditas in herbâ redintegravit." Varro. lib. II. c. ii. — Columella ſays, " a kal. Juniis, ſi jam deficit viridis herba, uſque in ulti-
" mum Autumnum frondem caeſam pecori praebebimus," lib. XI. c. ii.

*[2] " Collegerit ſitim caeli ;" has brought a general drought, ſo that the heaven itſelf has drunk up the dew. —— Or by " ſitim caeli," he means the dew, which the heaven has ſucked up. When the fourth hour has drawn up the dew, which he calls the thirſt of heaven, or what the heaven thirſts after.

*[3] Virgil uſes the ſame epithet again, Aen. IX. 381.

" Sylva fuit late dumis atque ilice nigrâ
" Horrida." ———

VER. 335—338.

" Tum tenues dare rurſus aquas, et paſcere rurſus
" Solis ad occaſum: cum frigidus aëra Veſper
" Temperat, et ſaltus reficit jam roſcida Luna ;
" Litoraque halcyonem reſonant, et * acanthida dumi.

* " Acanthis, avis minima, duodenos gignit." Plin. lib. X. c. lxiii. " Acanthis in ſpinis vivit." Idem, l. X. c. lxxiv.

VER. 339, 345.

" Quid tibi paſtores *[1] Libyae, quid paſcua verſu
" Proſequar, et raris habitata *[2] mapalia tectis?
" Saepe diem noctemque et totum ex ordine menſem
" Paſcitur, itque pecus longa in deſerta ſine ullis
" Hoſpitiis: tantum campi jacet: omnia ſecum
" Armentarius Afer agit ; tectumque, laremque,
" Armaque, Amyclaeumque canem, Creſſamque pharetram."

*[1] That there were Nomades in Arabia and ſeveral other parts of the world formerly, as well as there are at preſent is manifeſt from hiſtory ; but as they were ſo remarkable in Africa, that a large diſtrict of the country was from them called Numidia, therefore Virgil very properly lays the ſcene of this digreſſion there. — Strabo, ſpeaking of Numidia, ſays, " Singulare quiddam hominibus iis accidit. Nam cùm regionem uberem
" colerent niſi quod feris abundabat, his omiſſis, et agri tuto colendi ſtu-
" dio, in ſeſe manus converterunt, agro feris dimiſſo. Itaque contigit eis,
" ut vagi et patriae expertes vitam agerent ; haud aliter quam qui ob

" inopiam et locorum ſterilitatem, et aëris inclementiam ad ejuſmodi vi-
" tae genus adiguntur. Hinc Maſſaeſylii Nomadum ſeu Numidarum no-
" men ſunt adepti." N. B. The Greek name is Νομάδες: and this was the name by which all the people who lived in ſo unſettled a manner were diſtinguiſhed. So Strabo, juſt before the abovementioned paſſage, ſpeaking of the Carthaginians, ſays: " Africam omnem ſibi ſubjecerunt, quae
" non haberetur ab hominibus incertas ad ſedes vagantibus. Τὴν Λιβύην
" κατεκτήσαντο πᾶσαν, ὅσην μὴ Νομαδικῶς οἷον τὴν οἰκεῖν."

✻ Salluſt, in his Jugurthine war, ſpeaking of the old inhabitants of Africa, gives this account of their Mapalia. — " Poſtquam in Hiſpaniâ
" Hercules, ſicut Afri putant, interiit; exercitus ejus compoſitus ex gen-
" tibus variis, amiſſo duce, brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, Perſae,
" etc. navibus in Africam tranſvecti. Hique alveos navium inverſos pro
" tuguriis habuere." — And then he adds; " Caeterum adhuc aedificia
" Numidarum agreſtium, quae mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, incurvis la-
" teribus tecta, quaſi navium carinae ſunt." ———

Dauſqueius in his notes on Silius Italicus, underſtands by " raris tectis," thin ſlight covering, " *Vento ſcilicet et aurâ perflabilibus*." The Mapalia being made only of reed and cane, as appears by that paſſage of Silius, which he is explaining:

" Caſtra levi calamo cannaque intorta paluſtri,
" Qualia Maurus amat diſperſa mapalia paſtor." Lib. XVII.

But as Silius, in the ſame place, calls Mapalia, *diſperſa*, there is as good reaſon to argue from by *raris tectis*, is meant, ſcattered up and down the country.

" Numidae Nomades appellantur a permutandis pabulis, mapalia ſua,
" hoc eſt, domus plauſtris circumferentes." Plin. lib. V. c. iii.

VER. 346—348.

" Non ſecus ac patriis acer Romanus in armis.
" ✻ Injuſto ſub face viam cum carpit, et hoſti
" Ante expectatum poſitis ſtat in agmine caſtris."

✻ It may well be ſuppoſed, that the ordinary baggage ſoldiers were obliged to carry with them, was eſteemed " juſtus faſcis," a reaſonable burden, (of this ſee Vegetius); whatever exceeded this might properly be called " injuſtus faſcis." Such a load they may be ſuppoſed to carry with them upon ſudden marches, when they went to encamp themſelves

ſelves unexpectedly: upon which occaſion every ſoldier might probably be obliged to carry palliſades, a ſpade, or the like; and whatever was neceſſary for ſuch a haſty encampment. According to this interpretation, there is no difficulty in the conſtruction of the words, and the application of the compariſon is juſt. —— L. Florus, ſpeaking of the ſtrict diſcipline uſed by Scipio in his camp, when he beſieged Numantia, ſays: "Tunc acrius in caſtris quàm in campo, noſtro cum milite, quàm cum "Numantino, praeliandum fuit. Quippe aſſiduis et *injuſtis* et ſervilibus "maximè operibus attriti," etc. Lib. II. c. xviii. What this ſtrict diſcipline was, which Florus terms *injuſta opera*, we may learn from Livy's account of the ſame war. Epitome, lib. lvii. —— (Quaer. If Virgil, by his *injuſto ſub faſce*, does not refer to ſome remarkable campaign, about the time he was writing his Georgics, in which the ſame ſort of diſcipline was required? and uſes this epithet on purpoſe to ſhew the alluſion?)

VER. 349—351.

"At non, qua Scythiae gentes, *[1] Moeoticaque unda,
"Turbidus, et torquens flaventes *[2] Iſter arenas:
"Quaque redit medium Rhodope porrecta ſub axem."

*[1] Ovid, who was baniſhed to the mouth of the Danube, and lived there ſome years, writes an eſſay in his third book De Triſtibus, intitled, "Quibuscum gentibus vivat;" and deſcribes the country in which he then was in ſuch a manner, that he ſeems almoſt to have copied Virgil; which ſhews how exact Virgil was in deſcribing a country at that time ſo little known; and how much care he took to be well informed of what he wrote.

—"Jacet aggeribus niveis informis, et alto
"Terra gelu latè, ſeptemque aſſurgit in ulnas.
"Semper hiems, ſemper ſpirantes frigora cauri." Ver. 356.

"At cùm triſtis hiems ſqualentia protulit ora,
"Terraque marmoreo eſt candida facta gelu:
"Dum patet et Boreas, et nix jactata ſub arcto;
"Tum patet has gentes axe tremente premi.
"Nix jacet; et jactam nec ſol pluviaeque reſolvunt:
"Indurat Boreas, perpetuamque facit.
"Ergo, ubi delicuit nondùm prior, altera venit:
"Et ſolet in multis bima manere locis."

Ovid. De Triſt. lib. III. El. x.

The

✻[2] The Danubius; known formerly by both names, as Ovid teſtifies, when he calls it Binominis Iſtri, lib. I. De Ponto, Epiſt. ix. — And mentions Iſter by the name Danubius, lib. IV. De Pont. Ep. ix.

VER. 352—259.

" Illic clauſa tenent ſtabulis armenta: ✻[1] neque ullae
" Aut herbae campo apparent, aut arbore frondes;
" Sed jacet aggeribus niveis informis, et alto
" Terra gelu late, ſeptemque aſſurgit in ulnas.
" Semper ✻[2] hiems, ſemper ✻[3] ſpirantes frigora cauri.
" Tum ſol pallentes haud unquam diſcutit umbras:
" Nec cum invectus equis altum petit aethera; nec cum
" Praecipitem oceani rubro lavit aequore currum."

✻[1] Horace gives the like deſcription:

" Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
" Arbor aeſtivâ recreatur aurâ:
" Quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
" Jupiter urget." Lib. I. Od. xxii.

✻[3] Varro, ſpeaking of the advantageous ſituation of Italy, ſays; " Haec " temperatior pars eſt Europae, quam interior; nam intus pene ſempi- " ternae hiemes. Neque mirum, quod ſunt regiones inter circuitum ſep- " tentrionalem et inter cardinem caeli, ubi ſol etiam ſex menſibus continuis " non videtur: which Virgil deſcribes as follows,

" Tum ſol pallentes," etc. Lib. I. c. ii.

Virgil cannot here mean, that the winter in that country laſts the whole year; at leaſt with the ſeverity he deſcribes: that would be inconſiſtent with other paſſages of his account: but when the winter once begins, it continues uninterrupted, as it is known to do in the moſt northern countries: no zephyrs during the winter months; no thaws, as in Italy. So Ovid deſcribing the ſame country as Virgil does, calls the Snow there Perpetuam; and yet ſpeaking of that country at the time of the Vernal Equinox, he ſays:

" At mihi ſentitur nix verno ſole ſoluta,
" Quaeque lacu duro vix fodiantur aquae.
" Nec mare concreſcit glacie: nec, ut ante, per Iſtrum
" Stridula Sauromates plauſtra bubulcus agit."
Triſt. lib. III. El. xii.

Yet

Yet in another place he ſays of this country ;

——— " Nunquam ſine frigore caelum,
" Glebaque canenti ſemper aduſta gelu." Lib. V. c. 3.

And, again, ſpeaking of the ſame, he ſays ;

" Tu neque ver ſentis cinctum florente coronâ,
" Tu neque meſſorum corpora nuda vides.
" Nec tibi pampineas autumnus porrigit uvas :
" Cuncta ſed immodicum tempora frigus habent. —
" Rara nec hic felix in apertis eminet arvis
" Arbor ; et in terrâ eſt altera forma maris."
De Ponto, lib. III. Epiſt. i.

——— " Hiemi continuatur hiems." Lib. I. Ep. ii.

This is imitated by Silius in Hannibal's march.

" Nullum ver uſquam, nullique aeſtatis honores.
" Sola jugis habitat diris, ſedesque tuetur
" Perpetuas deformis hiems." ——— Lib. III.

*[3] The ſound of theſe words well ſuits a northern throat. A man ſeems hoarſe when he pronounces them.

VER. 360—366.

" *[1] Concreſcunt ſubitae currenti in flumine *[2] cruſtae :
" Undaque jam tergo ferratos ſuſtinet orbes,
" Puppibus illa prius patulis, nunc hoſpita plauſtris :
" Aeraque diſſiliunt vulgo, veſtesque rigeſcunt
" Indutae, *[3] caeduntque ſecuribus humida vina ;
" Et totae ſolidam in glaciem vertere lacunae ;
" Stiriaque impexis induruit horrida *[4] barbis.

" *[1] Quid loquar ut cuncti concreſcant frigore rivi, etc.
" Quaque rates ierant pedibus nunc itur, et undas
" Frigore concretas ungula pulſat equi :
" Perque novos pontes, ſubterlabentibus undis,
" Ducunt Sarmatici barbara plauſtra boves.

See more to this purpoſe, Ovid, De Ponto, lib. IV. Ep. vii. ad Veſtalem.

This Ovid ſuppoſes to be ſo ſtrange to the Romans that he adds ;

" Vix

" Vix equidem credar, ſed cum ſint praemia falſi
" Nulla, ratam debet teſtis habere fidem:
" Vidimus ingentem glacie conſiſtere pontum,
" Lubraque immotus teſta premebat aquas." Ovid.

*[2] What Virgil calls Cruſta, Ovid expreſſes by Teſta.

*[3] " Nudaque conſiſtunt formam ſervantia teſtae
" Vina; nec hauſta meri, ſed data fruſta bibunt." Ovid.

Again, he ſays;

" Ipſe vides gelido ſtantia vina gelu."
De Ponto, lib. IV. Ep. vii.

*[4] " Saepe ſonant moti glacie pendente capilli,
" Et nitet inducto candida barba gelu."
De Ponto, lib. IV. Ep. vii.

That they wore long beards. Lib. V. El. vii. Triſt.

" Non coma, non ullâ barba reſecta manu."

VER. 371, 372.

" Hos non immiſſis canibus, non caſſibus ullis,
" Puniceaeve agitant pavidos formidine * pennae."

* So Lucan;

——" Sic dum pavidos formidine cervos
" Claudat odoratae metuentes aëra pennae." Pharſ. IV. 437.

VER. 379, 380.

——" Noctem ludo ducunt, et pocula laeti
" * Fermento atque acidis imitantur vitea ſorbis."

* Motraye in his travels mentions a liquor called Boza, uſed in Crim Tartary; which he deſcribes as a thick white liquor, made of a certain quantity of millet flower and water, which ferments together, and will fuddle any one who drinks too much of it. Book II. c. ii. § 3.

VER. 381—383.

" Talis Hyperboreo ſeptem ſubjecta trioni
" Gens effraena virûm *[1] Riphaeo tunditur Euro;
" Et pecudum fulvis velantur corpora *[2] ſetis.

*[1] The

*1 The antients had a very confuſed and uncertain notion of the Riphaean mountains; as appears from Athenaeus, Stephanus, and others; but the moſt common opinion was, that they were the moſt diſtant ridge of mountains towards the north, or rather north eaſt, from Italy; the country of the Getae, and Sarmatae. — It was likewiſe believed that thoſe mountains were joined to Thrace, etc. and likewiſe to the Alps by a continued chain. This Virgil expreſsly declares a few lines before, in this ſame book;

" Quaque redit medium Rhodope porrecta ſub axem:"

And, again, in the fourth book, he hints the ſame in the ſtory of Orpheus, when he makes him ramble wildly over mountains and deſarts. He names, " Hyperboreas glacies, Tanaim nivalem, Riphaeas pruinas, " et Oeagrium Hebrum."

*2 " Pellibus hirſutis arcent mala frigora bracchis." Ovid.

Again:

" Pellibus et laxis arcent mala frigora bracchis."

Triſt. lib V. El. vii.

Of the cuſtom among the barbarous nations of covering themſelves with ſkins, ſee Tacitus De mor. Germ. — Caeſar, lib. VI. — Ammian, lib. XXXI. c. ii. — Juſtin, lib. II. — Senec. Epiſt. XC. — Arrian, lib. VIII. — and Strabo, lib. XVII. —— Several nations in America have ſtill no other habit: no more have the Laplanders.

VER. 386—389

——— " Greges villis lege mollibus albos.
" Illum autem, quamvis aries ſit candidus ipſe,
" * Nigra ſubeſt udo tantum cui lingua palato,
" Rejice, ne maculis infuſcet vellera pullis
" Naſcentum." ———

Varro, ſpeaking De Arietibus, ſays; " Animadvertendum quoque lin- " guâne nigrâ aut variâ ſit, quod fere qui ea habent, nigros aut varios " procreant agnos." Lib. II. c. ii.

VER. 394, 395.

——. " Cui lactis amor, cytiſum, * lotosque frequentes
" Ipſe manu, ſalſasque ferat praeſepibus herbas."

* The Lotus here meant is undoubtedly the Italian, which Pliny ſays was very common amongſt them, but different from the African: "Et "ipſam Italiae familiarem, ſed terrâ mutatam." Lib. XIII. c. xvii.

VER. 404—408.

"Nec tibi cura canum fuerit poſtrema: ſed unà
"Veloces *[1] Spartae catulos, acremque Moloſſum
"Paſce fero pingui: nunquam cuſtodibus illis
"Nocturnum ſtabulis furem, incurſusque luporum,
"Aut impacatos à tergo horrebis *[2] Iberos."

*[1] "Boni ſeminii canes à regionibus appellantur Lacones, Epirotici, "Sallentini." Varro, lib. II. c. ix. — In the ſame chapter giving directions to feed dogs with bread and milk, he gives this reaſon for it; "Quod eo conſueti cibo uti, à pecore non citò deſciſcunt."

*[2] "Cantabros, qui maximè hodiè latrocinia exercent, iisque vicinos "Caeſar Auguſtus ſubegit: et qui ante Romanorum ſocios populabantur, "nunc pro Romanis arma ferunt, ut Conſiaci et qui ad fontes Iberi amnis "accolunt," etc. Strabo, lib. III. —— As the Iberi were famous for robberies, Virgil well employs their names for common thieves.

By Impacatos Virgil reſtrains his meaning ſo, as to extend it only to ſuch wild Iberi as were not yet civilized by Auguſtus. Horace mentions the Cantaber on the coaſts conquered by Auguſtus:

"Servit Hiſpaniae vetus hoſtis orae
"Cantaber, ſerâ domitus catenâ." Lib. III. Od. viii.

"A tergo;" whilſt the ſhepherd is leading his flock, according to the cuſtom in Italy, the ſheep ſtealers might eaſily come behind and pick up a ſheep, were there not dogs to watch.

VER. 409, 413.

"Saepe etiam curſu timidos agitabis *[1] onagros;
"Et canibus leporem, canibus venabere damas.
"Saepe *[2] volutabris pulſos ſylveſtribus apros
"Latratu turbabis agens: montesque per altos
"Ingentem clamore premes ad retia cervum."

*[1] Varro ſays; "Aſinorum genera duo. Unum ferum, quos vocant "Onagros; in Phrygiâ et Lycaoniâ ſunt greges multi: alterum manſue-
"tum,

" tum, ut ſunt in Italiâ omnes. Ad ſeminationem onagrus idoneus, quod " è fero ſit manſuetus facilè, et è manſueto ferus nunquam." Lib. II. c. vi. ——— That the Romans uſed to eat the wild aſs appears from Pliny. — " Pullos aſinarum epulari Maecenas inſtituit, multum eo tempore prae- " latus onagris." Lib. VIII. c. 43. And in the following chapter he ſays; " Pullis onagrorum, ſeu praeſtantibus ſapore, Africa gloriatur."

*2 That is; " Loca ubi ſe volutant," where they wallow. Varro uſes the ſame word, ſpeaking of boars: " Admiſſuras cum faciunt, prodigunt " in lutoſos limites ac luſtra, ut volutentur in luto; quae eſt illorum re- " quies, ut lavatio hominis." Lib. II. c. iv.

VER. 414—415.

" Diſce et odoratam ſtabulis accendere cedrum,
" *1 Galbaneoque agitare graves nidore *2 chelydros."

*1 Columellâ mentions Galbanum being an antidote againſt ſerpents. — " Cavendum ne (pulli) à ſerpentibus adflentur, quarum odor tam peſtilens " eſt, ut interimat univerſos: id vitatur ſaepius incenſo galbano, etc. " Quorum omnium fere nidoribus praedicta peſtis ſubmovetur." Lib. VIII. c. v.

*2 A ſort of ſerpent, which Nicander, ver. 411. who otherwiſe calls it Δρῦϊναν, elegantly deſcribes as exhaling a ſmoaking ſtench.

Κῆρα δέ τοι δρυίναο πιφαύσκεο, τὸν δὲ χέλυδρον
Ἐξέτεροι καλέεσι. τὸ δ' ἀπὸ χροὸς ἐχθρὸν ἄηται
Οἷον ὅτε ϖλαδόωνται ϖερὶ σκύλα καὶ δέρη ἵππων
Γναμπτόμενοι μυδόωσιν ὑπ' ἀρβήλοισι λάθαργοι, etc.

Lucan, in his deſcription of the ſerpents of Africa, ſpeaking of the Chelydri, calls them, " tracti viâ fumante," i. e. taken from the high way, which ſmoaks with their ſteam. Pharſal. IX. 217. — By this it appears, that the diſtinguiſhing character of the Chelydri was, that they exhaled a ſmoaking noiſome ſtink, which Virgil certainly would not omit, and, therefore, as he has placed Nidore after Graves, ſo muſt it be joined with it in conſtruction. —— Ruaeus and other interpreters join Galbaneo with Nidore: and it may be ſo too, if Galbaneo cannot be uſed ſubſtantively, but then Nidore muſt be repeated.

VER. 445—451.

" Dulcibus ideirco fluviis pecus omne *[1] magiſtri
" Perfundunt; udisque aries in gurgite villis
" Merſatur, miſſusque ſecundo defluit amni:
" Aut tonſum triſti contingunt corpus *[2] amurcâ;
" Et ſpumas miſcent argenti, vivaque ſulfura,
" Idaeasque pices, et pingues unguine ceras,
" Scillamque helleborosque graves, nigrumque bitumen."

*[1] This was the proper title given to the bailiff, or ſuperintendant over the ſeveral ſhepherds or herdmen, who had the care of large flocks, or herds; his buſineſs was to govern the reſt, to ſee they did their duty, and to provide every thing neceſſary both for the ſhepherds and their flocks; as appears plainly from Varro, who obſerves, that ten or twelve ſhepherds were neceſſary to take care of a thouſand ſheep; and that the head perſon, who preſided over them, was called Magiſter. " Oportet " paſtores eſſe omnes ſub uno magiſtro pecoris; eum eſſe majorem natu " potius quam alios, et peritiorem quam reliquos; quod iis, qui aetate et " ſcientiâ praeſtant, animum aequiore reliqui parent. —— Magiſtrum pro- " videre oportet quae pecori et paſtoribus opus ſunt, maximè ad victum " hominum, et ad medicinam pecudum." Lib. II. c. x.

*[2] Varro preſcribes as follows — " Tonſas recentes eodem die perun- " gunt vino et oleo: non nemo admixtâ cerâ albâ, et adipe ſuillo. ——— " Siqua in tonſurâ plagam accepit, eum locum oblinunt pice liquidâ." Lib. II. c. xi.

VER. 457—463.

" Quin etiam ima dolor balantum lapſus ad oſſa
" Cum furit, atque artus depaſcitur arida febris;
" Profuit incenſos aeſtus avertere, et inter
" Ima ferire pedis ſalientem ſanguine venam:
" *[1] Biſaltae quo more ſolent; acerque *[2] Gelonus,
" Cum fugit in Rhodopen atque in deſerta *[3] Getarum,
" Et lac concretum cum *[4] ſanguine potat equino."

*[1] Livy, ſpeaking of Macedonia, ſays; " Pars prima Biſaltas habet for- " tiſſimos viros, trans Neſſum amnem incolunt, et circa Strymonem," lib.

lib. XLV. c. xxx. — And Pliny, " Amphipolis, liberum oppidum; gens, " Biſaltae," lib. IV. c. x.

*[2] " Longaque Sarmatici ſolvens jejunia belli
" Maſſagetes, quo fugit, equo, volucresque Geloni."
Lucan, lib. III. 282.

where he adds, " quo fugit," to ſhew that this was only done in time of diſtreſs and neceſſity.

" Et qui cornipedes in pocula vulnerat audax
" Maſſagetes." —— Claudian, lib. I. 311. in Rufinum.

" Sarmatarum quoque gentes aluntur crudâ farinâ, equino lacte vel ſan-
" guine è cruris venis admixto." Plin. lib. XVIII. c. x.

" Venit et epoto Sarmata paſtus equo."
Martial, De Spectac. Ep. iii.

—— " Laetum equino ſanguine Concanum."
Hor. lib. III. Od. iv.

*[3] Ovid, ſpeaking of the Getae (near neighbours to the place of his baniſhment, but on the north ſide of the Danube) ſays, that their chief ſecurity againſt the Romans was:

——— " Arcus plenaeque pharetrae,
" Quamque licet longis curſibus aptus equus:
" Quodque ſitim didicere diu tolerare, famemque,
" Quodque ſequens nullas hoſtis habebit aquas."
De Ponto, lib. I. Epiſt. iii.

Which account agrees perfectly well with the deſcription of the country by Motraye.

*[4] See Beauplan's account of people's eating the blood of horſes, in his deſcription of Ukraine. — See likewiſe an account of the Nagayans and Tartars eating horſes fleſh and drinking mares milk. Ant. Jenkenſon's Travels, in Hackluyt's Voyages.

——— " Solitosque cruentum
" Lac potare Getas ac pocula tingere venis.
Sid. Apoll. Carm. VII. de Getis.

——— Ἵππʊ
Αἱμαλὶ μίσγονλες λευκὸν γάλα δαῖτα τίθενλαι. Dionyſ. Perieg.

And

And Pliny: "Sarmatarum gentes hâc maxime pulte (ſcil. è milio) alun-
" tur, et crudâ etiam farinâ, equino lacte vel ſanguine è cruris venis ad-
" miſto." Lib. XVIII. c. x. Νομάδες καλούμενοι ζῶντες ἀπὸ θρεμμάτων γάλακτος, καὶ τυρῷ, καὶ μάλιστα ἵπποις, Strabo. And, likewiſe, Heſiod:

—— Γαλακτοφάγων εἰς γαῖαν ἀπώρους
Οἴκοι' ἐχόντων.

Motraye, in his Travels, tells us, that the people of Akerman Tartary, between the Neiſter and the Danube, formerly the Deſert of the Getes, and likewiſe ſeveral other herds of the Tartars, live ſtill in the ſame manner. — He likewiſe informs us that the Tartars lead commonly two or three ſpare horſes, to tranſport their plunder, or remount themſelves in caſe that thoſe they ride ſhould die. —— He likewiſe tells a ſtory that one of his guides, after having rambled a long time in one of theſe deſerts, let his horſe blood, and drank the blood. — He likewiſe tells us that they drink their mares milk fermented, Vol. II. c. ii. at the latter end.

VER. 470—473.

" Non tam * creber, agens hiemem, ruit aequore turbo;
" Quàm multae pecudum peſtes: nec ſingula morbi
" Corpora corripiunt; ſed tota aeſtiva repente
" Spemque gregemque ſimul, cunctamque ab origine gentem."

* I take *creber* in this place to ſignify quick, and that the meaning of the paſſage is, that a hurricane does not come on with more violence, than diſtempers or plagues incident to cattle, which is the reaſon of the advice juſt before given, ver. 468, 469. to kill any ſheep on the firſt ſuſpicion of any contagious diſtemper, to prevent its ſpreading. And this agrees with what follows; " nec ſingula," etc.

VER. 474—477.

" Tum ſciat aërias Alpes, et Norica ſi quis
" Caſtella in *[2] tumulis, et Iapidis arva Timavi,
" Nunc quoque poſt tanto videat, deſertaque regna
" Paſtorum, et longe ſaltus lateque vacantes."

*[1] Iſiodorus ſays; " Virgilius Alpes dicendo aërias verbum expreſſit à
" verbo, nam Gallorum linguâ Alpes, montes alti vocantur." Origin. Lib. XIV. c. viii. And Servius on the tenth Aeneid obſerves the ſame.

And

And it is true that, according to this etymology of the word, other high mountains were likewiſe called Alpes: as the Pyrenean, as appears from Procopius, lib. I. Rer. Goth. and Silius, lib. II. who calls the Alpes and Pyrenean, *Geminas Alpeis:* likewiſe the Carpathian mountains, to the north of Dacia, are called in the Tabula Itineraria, *Baſternicae Alpes.* But others of the antients derived the name "Alpes ab albo," as we are expreſsly told by Feſtus: "Alpes à candore nivium dictae ſunt, quia per-"petuis fere nivibus albeſcunt: Sabini enim alpum dixere, quod poſtea "Latini album; unde Alpium nomen." And Strabo, Euſtathius in Dionyſ. and Mela, all teſtify that theſe mountains were called indifferently *Albia*, as well as *Alpia juga*.

✻[2] This word ſeems to ſignify properly, not only a hillock, as commonly, but ſuch part of a hill or mountain as roſe to a head, or point, above the body. So, likewiſe, in the twelfth Aeneid, Virgil calls the ſummit or point of the mountain above "Albano, Albanus tumulus;" now, Monte Cavo. The Greeks called the Tumuli, λόφοι. See Appian, where he ſpeaks of Metulum, in Iapygia, taken by Auguſtus: the ſame country as Virgil is here ſpeaking of.

VER. 478—485.

"Hic quondam ✻[1] morbo caeli miſeranda coorta eſt
"Tempeſtas, ✻[2] totoque autumni incanduit aeſtu.
"Et genus omne neci pecudum dedit, omne ferarum,
"Corrupitque lacus, infecit pabula tabo.
"Nec via mortis erat ✻[3] ſimplex: ſed ubi ignea venis
"Omnibus acta ſitis miſeros adduxerat artus;
"Rurſus abundabat fluidus liquor; omniaque in ſe
"Oſſa minutatim morbo collapſa trahebat."

✻[1] Virgil, in this deſcription of the plague amongſt the cattle, had undoubtedly ſome view to the celebrated plague of Athens, deſcribed by Thucydides and Lucretius; and ſeveral of his obſervations and expreſſions are copied from thence: but it is not reaſonable to conclude (as ſome have done) that he means the ſame plague. He places his in a different country; and, beſides, the plague of Athens infected both man and beaſt, whereas in this of Virgil, though all other animals are infected, man only eſcapes. Dr. Martyn ſuppoſes, from the names Chiron and Melampus, that this peſtilence happened in their time, five hundred years before

before that of Athens; but, with ſubmiſſion, I think there is no neceſſity of going ſo far back.

* I think Dr. Trapp gives theſe words their plain and true meaning.

——— "With all the fire of Autumn burn'd."

* I take this to ſignify, that Death did not appear in one ſingle ſhape. The Poet explains himſelf by immediately adding two different ſymptoms of the ſame diſtemper, which ſeemed directly contrary one to the other. The cattle were parched with ſuch heat and drought as to contract their limbs, and again were ſwelled with humours as if dropſical. —— This explanation anſwers exactly to the obſervations of Dr. Bertrand, one of the phyſicians of Marſeilles in the time of their late plague. — His words are as follow: —— "Il ſeroit difficile de determiner la nature de ce venin "à la maniere dont il agit dans le ſang: accoutumés à tout raporter à "nos idées, et ne connoiſſant que deux manieres dont le ſang peut être "altéré et ſe corrompre, on demandera d'abord ſi ce venin diſſout le "ſang; ou bien, s'il le fige et le coagule. La bizarrerie des ſymptomes "a fait qu'on n'a pû s'aſſurer préciſément ni de l'un ni de l'autre, et "que même on a crû voir ces deux etats du ſang ſe ſuccéder ſouvent "dans le même malade; on n'a pas pû fonder aucun jugement ſolide ſur "la vûe du ſang dans la palette, ayant paru dans les uns d'une conſiſtance "naturelle, dans les autres peu lié et plus liquide, et dans d'autres tout-"à-fait coüeneux et inflammatoire; dans les uns tout-à-fait figé, en ſorte "qu'il n'en ſortoit pas une goute par l'ouverture de la veine; dans les "autres, entierement diſſous et fondu." See Obſervations ſur la maladie contagieuſe de Marſeilles, printed at the end of Relation Hiſtorique de la Peſte de Marſeilles en 1720.

Silius, ſpeaking in Hannibal's march of the beaſts falling in the ſnow, and leaving their legs behind them, expreſſes himſelf by a fooliſh imitation of Virgil:

"Nec peſtis lapſus ſimplex." Lib. III.

VER. 486—488.

"Saepe in honore Deûm medio ſtans hoſtia ad aram,
"Lanea dum niveâ circumdatur * infula vittâ,
"Inter cunctantes cecidit moribunda miniſtros."

* A broad

* A broad woollen ſwathe faſtened to the head of the victim, and likewiſe of the prieſt, being interlaced with a Vitta or ſmaller fillet:

"Infula cui ſacrâ redimibat tempora vittâ." Aen. X. 538.

The ends of the fillets probably hung down. See Lucretius, lib. I. 87. Lucan, deſcribing the dreſs of the prieſteſs of Delphi, gives different uſes to the Infula and Vitta:

——— "Torta priores
"Stringit vitta comas, crinesque in terga ſolutos
"Candida Phocaica complectitur infula lauro." Lib. V. 142.

VER. 531—533.

"Tempore non alio dicunt regionibus illis
"Quaeſitas ad ſacra boves Junonis, et * uris
"Imparibus ductos alta ad donaria currus."

* The wild bull, or cow; of which there were probably great numbers in the foreſts of Germany, as there ſtill are ſeveral towards the north parts: and called in German, *Urox*; which, it is not unlikely, was the antient name, ſoftened by the Latin termination into Urus. It is written, as I am informed, in high Dutch, *Urrocks*.

VER. 548—550.

——— "Nec jam mutari pabula refert,
"Quaeſitaeque nocent artes: ceſſere magiſtri,
"Phillyrides * Chiron, Amythaoniusque Melampus."

* Columella, enumerating ſuch as were moſt celebrated in their way in ſeveral ſciences, reckons "in pecoris cultu, doctrinam Chironis ac "Melampodis." Pref.

VER. 559, 560.

"Nam neque erat coriis uſus: nec viſcera quiſquam
"Aut * undis abolere poteſt, aut vincere flammâ."

* The two great purifiers are fire and water. Virgil in his purgatory ſuppoſes the ſpots of ſouls cleanſed, ſome by fire, and ſome by water:

——— "Sub gurgite vaſto
"Infectum eluitur ſcelus, aut exuritur igni." Aen. VI. 742.

GEORGIC THE FOURTH.

VER. 1—7.

" PROTINUS aërii mellis caeleſtia dona
" Exequar: hanc etiam, Maecenas, aſpice partem,
" Admiranda tibi levium ❋ ſpectacula rerum,
" Magnanimosque duces, totiusque ordine gentis
" Mores, et ſtudia, et populos, et praelia dicam.
" In tenui labor, at tenuis non gloria: ſi quem
" Numina laeva ſinunt; auditque vocatus Apollo."

❋ Spectacula here is very pretty; this book being, as it were, the repreſentation of the affairs of a buſy kingdom in miniature.

VER. 8—12.

" Principio ❋[1] ſedes apibus ſtatioque petenda,
" Quo neque ſit ventis aditus (nam pabula venti
" Ferre domum prohibent), neque oves haedique petulci
" Floribus inſultent; aut errans bucula campo
" Decutiat ❋[2] rorem, et ſurgentes atterat herbas."

❋[1] " Sedes apibus collocanda eſt, procul a tumultu, ac coetu hominum " ac pecudum; nec calido loco, nec frigido. Si villae ſitus ita competit, " non eſt dubitandum, quin aedificio junctum apiarium maceriâ circum- " demus; ſed in eâ parte, quae tetris latrinae ſterquiliniique et balinei " libera eſt odoribus." Col. lib. IX. c. v.

❋[2] Columella affirms from Celſus —— " Ex floribus ceras fieri: ex " matutino rore, mella." Lib. IX. c. xiv.

VER. 13—17.

" Abſint et picti ❋[1] ſqualentia terga ❋[2] lacerti
" Pinguibus à ſtabulis, ❋[3] meropesque aliaeque volucres,
" Et manibus Procne pectus ſignata cruentis.
" Omnia nam latè vaſtant, ipſasque volantes
" Ore ferunt, dulcem nidis immitibus eſcam."

❋[1] Both

*[1] Both here, and ver. 91. Squalens is uſed for glittering.

*[2] Columella directs; "Debebit ſuggeſtus lapideus diligenter opere "tectorio levigari; ita ne aſcenſus lacertis, aut anguibus, aliiſve noxiis "animalibus praebeatur." Lib. IX. c. vii.

*[3] Virgil ſeems to mean martins and ſuch birds ſhould be deſtroyed, as uſually build under the roofs of houſes, porticos, etc. becauſe, as appears from Varro, Columella, etc. their hives uſed commonly to be placed in niches made in the walls of their villas, or under porticos. "Quod ad locum pertinet, hoc genus potiſſimum eligendum juxta vil-"lam: non quo non in villae porticu quoque quidam (quo tutius eſſent) "alvearia collocarint." Var. lib. III. c. xvi. And a little before, in the ſame chapter: "Alnos ita collocant in mutulis parietis, ut ne agitentur, "neve inter ſe contingant." —— Columella, to the ſame purpoſe, in the beginning of the ninth book, "Apibus dabatur ſedes adhuc noſtrâ "memoriâ, vel ipſis villae parietibus exciſis, vel in protectis porticibus "ac pomariis." —— In the fourth chapter of the ſame book, treating De paſtionibus apum, he ſays; "Pabulationes ſint ſecretiſſimae, et, ut noſ-"ter praecepit Maro, viduae pecudibus, aprico, et minimè procelloſo "caeli ſtatu."

VER. 18—24.

"At *[1] liquidi fontes, et ſtagna virentia muſco
"Adſint, et tenuis fugiens per gramina rivus;
"*[2] Palmaque veſtibulum, aut ingens oleaſter inumbret;
"Ut, cum prima novi ducent examina reges
"Vere *[3] ſuo, ludetque favis emiſſa juventus;
"Vicina invitet decedere ripa calori,
"Obviaque hoſpitiis teneat frondentibus arbos."

*[1] "Potio apibus aqua liquida, unde bibant, eſſe oportet, eamque pro-"pinquam, quae praeterfluit, aut in aliquem locum influat, ita ut ne al-"titudine aſcendat duo aut tres digitos: in quâ aquâ jaceant teſtae aut "lapilli, ita ut extent paulum; ubi aſſidere et bibere poſſint. In quâ "diligenter habenda cura, ut aqua ſit pura, quod ad mellificium bonum "vehementer prodeſt." Var. lib. III. c. xvi.

*[2] Columella gives no inſtructions on this head; but he quotes this and the four following verſes, as a plain and ſufficient direction, without further authority. Lib. IX. c. v.

*[3] Suo is here very expreſſive: for the time here meant by the Poet is not properly that ſeaſon or quarter of the year allotted to the Spring, as is known to every body; for the Spring ended about the ſixth of the Ides of May; and, as Columella obſerves: "Cum ſit Vergiliarum "exortus circa v. id. Maias, incipiunt examina viribus et numero augeri." Lib. IX. c. xiv. —— Therefore it is here emphatically *their* Spring.— As the Spring of the year is the ſeaſon, when every thing begins to ſhoot, ſo the time, when the young begin to appear, is metaphorically their Spring: or it may be becauſe flowers, the ornament of the Spring, are their life.

VER. 25—32.

"In medium, ſeu ſtabit iners, ſeu profluet humor,
"Tranverſas ſalices et grandia conjice ſaxa:
"*[1] Pontibus ut crebris poſſint conſiſtere, et alas
"Pandere ad aeſtivum ſolem; ſi forte morantes
"Sparſerit, aut praeceps Neptuno immerſerit Eurus.
"Haec *[2] circum caſiae virides, et olentia late
"Serpylla, et graviter ſpirantis copia thymbrae
"Floreat: irriguumque bibant violaria fontem."

Columella gives the following direction. "Perennis aqua, ſi eſt fa-"cultas, inducatur, vel extructo canali manu detur; ſine quâ, neque favi, "neque mella, nec pulli denique figurari queunt. Sive igitur praeter-"fluens unda, vel putealis canalibus immiſſa fuerit, virgis ac lapidibus "aggeretur apum cauſâ." And then concludes with citing the three following verſes:

"Pontibus ut crebris," etc. Lib. IX. c. viii. (See ver. 18.)

*[2] Columella having ſaid, "Judaeam et Arabiam pretioſis odoribus il-"luſtrem haberi;" adds, "ſed nec noſtram civitatem praedictis egere ſtir-"pibus: quippe cum pluribus locis urbis, jam caſiam frondentem conſpi-"cimus," etc. Lib. III. c. viii. —— Quaer. If Virgil's Caſia?

*[3] Columella, having reckoned up a great number of ſhrubs, flowers and trees agreeable to bees, concludes; "Verum ex cunctis quae propo-"ſui, quaeque omiſi temporis compendia ſequens (nam inexputabilis erat "numerus), ſaporis praecipui mella reddit thymus. Thymo deinde proxi-ma thymbra, ſerpyllumque, et origanum." Lib. IX. c. iv.

VER.

VER. 33—41.

" Ipſa autem, ſeu corticibus tibi ſuta cavatis,
" Seu lento fuerint ❋[1] alvearia vimine texta,
" Anguſtos habeant aditus; nam frigore mella
" Cogit hiems, eademque calor liquefacta remittit:
" Utraque vis apibus pariter metuenda: neque illae
" Nequicquam in tectis certatim tenuia cerâ
" Spiramenta ❋[3] linunt, fucoque et floribus oras
" Explent: collectumque haec ipſa ad munera gluten,
" Et viſco et Phrygiae ſervant pice lentius Idae."

❋[1] " Alvearia fabricanda ſunt pro conditione regionis; ſive illa ferax " eſt ſuberis, haud dubitanter utiliſſimas alvos faciemus ex corticibus, " quia nec hieme rigent, nec candent aeſtate. Si ſuber non aderit, opere " textorio ſalicibus connectuntur." Col. lib. IX. c. vi.

❋[2] " Foramina, quibus exitus aut introitus datur, anguſtiſſima eſſe de- " bent, ut quam minimum frigoris admittant: eaque ſatis eſt ita forari, " ne poſſint capere plus unius apis incrementum. Sic nec venenatus " ſtellio, nec obſcenum ſcarabaei vel papilionis genus, lucifugaeque " blattae, ut ait Maro, per laxiora ſpatia januae favos populantur. At- " que utiliſſimum eſt pro frequentiâ domicilii duos vel tres aditus in " eodem operculo diſtantes inter ſe fieri contra fallaciam lacerti, qui velut " cuſtos veſtibuli prodeuntibus inhians apibus affert exitium, eaeque " pauciores intereunt, cùm licet vitare peſtis obſidia per aliud vadentibus " effugium." Col. lib. IX. c. vii.

❋[3] Extra oſtium alvei obturant omnia, quà venit, inter favos ſpiritus, " quam ἐριθάκην appellant Graeci." Var. lib. III. c. xvi. And in the ſame chapter afterwards; " Erithacen vocant, quo favos extremos inter ſe con- " glutinant," etc.

VER. 45, 46.

" Tu tamen et ❋[1] levi rimoſa cubilia limo
" Unge ❋[2] fovens circum, et raras ❋[3] ſuperinjice frondes."

❋[1] This epithet *levi* is very ſignificant. Varro directs, " Vitiles alvos " fimo bubulo oblinere intus, et extra; ne apes *aſperitate* abſterreantur." Lib. III. c. xvi.

Fovens

*[2] "Fovens circum," prettily expreſſes the plaiſterer's manner of working. —— As for the reſt, Columella directs thus; "Ora cavearum, "quae praebent apibus veſtibula, proniora ſint quam terga; ut ne in- "fluant imbres, et ſi forte tamen ingreſſi fuerint, non immorentur, ſed "per aditum effluant: propter quod convenit alvearia porticibus ſuper- "muniri: ſin aliter, luto Punico frondibus illinitis adumbrari; quod teg- "men cum frigora et pluvias, tum aeſtus arcet." Lib. IX. c. vii.

*[3] "Quamvis porticu protecta vaſa, nihilominus congeſtu culmorum "et frondium ſupertegemus; quantumque res patietur, a frigore et tem- "peſtatibus muniemus." Cap. xiv.

VER. 47—50.

"Neu propius tectis *[1] taxum ſine; neve rubentes
"Ure foco cancros: altae neu crede *[2] paludi:
"Aut ubi odor coeni gravis, aut ubi concava pulſu
"Saxa ſonant, vocisque offenſa reſultat *[3] imago."

*[1] Columella, ſpeaking of foreſt trees fit to be planted near apiaries, ſays; "Taxi repudiantur." Lib. IX. c. iv.

"Gravis et tetri odoris non ſolum virentia, ſed et quaelibet res prohi- "beantur; ſicuti cancri nidor, cum eſt ignibus aduſtus, aut odor palu- "ſtris coeni: nec minus vitentur cavae rupes, aut valles argutae; quas "Graeci ἠχὼς vocant." Ibid. c. v.

*[2] "Sequuntur omnia pura; itaque nulla harum affidit in loco inqui- "nato, aut eo qui malè oleat; neque etiam in eo qui bona olet un- "guenta; itaque his unctus qui acceſſit, pungunt." Var. lib. III. c. xvi.

*[3] Varro makes one of his interlocutors give the following inſtructions about chuſing the place for an apiary: "Primum, ſecundum villam; "potiſſimum ubi non reſonent imagines; hic enim ſonus harum fugae "cauſa exiſtimatur eſſe."

VER. 51—54.

"Quod ſupereſt, ubi pulſam hiemem ſol aureus egit
"Sub terras, caelumque aeſtiva luce recluſit:
"* Illae continuò ſaltus ſylvasque peragrant,
"Purpureosque metunt flores, et flumina libant
"Summa leves." ——

* This

* This obſervation, with what follows, ver. 61.

——— " Aquas dulces, et frondea ſemper
" Tecta petunt," etc.

is confirmed by ſeveral paſſages in Columella; but particularly, lib. IX. c. viii. which directs, " quemadmodum ſylveſtria examina capiantur;" where he ſays: " Ubicunque ſaltus ſunt idonei, mellifici: nihil anti-
" quius quam apes, quibus utantur, vicinos eligunt fontes: eos itaque
" convenit plerumque ab horâ ſecundâ obſideri, ſpecularique quae turba
" ſit aquantium. Nam ſi paucae admodum circumvolant (niſi tamen com-
" plura capita rivorum diductas faciunt rariores), intelligenda eſt earum
" penuria, propter quam locum quoque non eſſe mellificum ſuſpicabimur.
" At ſi commeant frequentes, ſpem quoque aucupandi examina majorem
" faciunt." —— Again, afterwards, in the ſame chapter: — " Sunt qui
" per initia veris apiaſtrum, atque (ut ille vates ait) trita meliphylla, et
" cerinthae ignobile gramen, aliasque colligant ſimiles herbas, quibus id
" genus animalium delectatur; et ita alvos perfricent, ut odor et ſuccus
" vaſi inhaereat; quae deinde mundata exiguo melle reſpergant, et per
" nemora non longè à fontibus diſponant; eaque cum repleta ſunt exa-
" minibus, domum referant."

VER. 58—64.

" Hinc ubi jam *[1] emiſſum caveis ad ſidera caeli
" Nare per aeſtatem liquidam ſuſpexeris agmen,
" Obſcuramque trahi vento mirabere nubem;
" Contemplator: aquas dulces et frondea ſemper
" Tecta petunt: huc tu juſſos aſperge ſapores,
" Trita meliphylla, et cerinthae ignobile gramen:
" Tinnitusque cie, et Matris quate * cymbala circum."

*[1] " Quia examen fugiens, et ſedem novam quaerens, ſe levat ſubli-
" mius," as Columella obſerves, lib. IX. c. xii. and as it is confirmed by common obſervation.

*[2] " Cum cauſâ Muſarum eſſe dicuntur volucres, quod et ſiquando diſ-
" plicatae ſunt, cymbalis et plauſibus numero reducunt in locum unum." Var. lib. III. c. xvi.

VER. 65—66.

" Ipſae *[1] conſident medicatis ſedibus: ipſae
" Intima *[2] more ſuo ſeſe in cunabula condent."

* Varro

*[1] Varro directs thus, when the bees are obſerved to ſwarm: — "Cum " a mellario id feciſſe animadverſae, jaciundo in eas pulverem, et circum- " tinniendo aere, perterritas quo voluerit perducet. Non longe inde obli- " nunt erithace atque apiaſtro, caeterisque rebus quibus delectantur. " Ubi conſederunt, afferunt alvum prope eiſdem illiciis illitam intus: et " prope appoſitâ, fumo leni circumeundo cogunt eas intrare. Varr. lib. III. c. xvi.

*[3] Quaer. If this (more ſuo) does not inſinuate an inſtruction; not to touch or force bees in their hiving, but to let them go on their own way?

VER. 67—72.

" Sin autem ad pugnam exierint (nam ſaepe duobus
" Regibus inceſſit magno diſcordia motu)
" Continuóque animus vulgi, et *trepidantia bello
" Corda licet longe praeſciſcere: namque morantes
" Martius ille *[2] aeris rauci canor increpat, et vox
" Auditur fractos ſonitus imitata tubarum."

*[1] Columella ſays; "Fere ante triduum, quam eruptionem facturae " ſint, velut militaria ſigna moventium tumultus ac murmur exoritur; ex " quo, ut veriſſime dicit Virgilius,

" Corda licet," etc. ——— Lib. IX. c. ix.

*[2] "Duces conficiunt quaedam ad vocem ut imitatione tubae: tum " id faciunt, cum inter ſe ſigna pacis et belli habeant." Var. lib. III. c. xvi.

VER. 86—90.

" Hi motus animorum, atque haec certamina tanta,
" Pulveris exigui *[1] jactu compreſſa quieſcent.
" Verum ubi ductores acie revocaveris ambos:
" *[2] Deterior qui viſus; eum, ne prodigus obſit,
" Dede neci: melior vacuâ ſine regnet in aulâ."

*[1] This is confirmed by Columella, who ſays; "Pugna quidem vel " unius examinis inter ſe diſſidentis, vel duorum diſcordantium, facile com- " peſcitur: nam, ut idem Virgilius ait,

" Pulveris exigui jactu compreſſa quieſcit;

" aut

" aut mulſo, paſſove, aut alio quovis liquore ſimili reſperſo ; videlicet fa-
" miliari dulcedine ſaevientium iras mitigante." Lib. IX. c. ix.

Varro directs the uſe of this ſtratagem, to make bees hive, when ſwarming (ſee ver. 65. note); but Virgil employs it better here: after having given a lofty deſcription of their engagement, the quelling them in ſo eaſy a manner makes a pretty contraſt.

❋[2] Virgil afterwards deſcribes the two ſorts of bees;

" Nam duò ſunt genera," etc. ——

Varro directs, " Animadvertat mellarius, nè reguli plures exiſtant; inutiles
" enim fiunt propter ſeditiones. Et, ut quidam dicunt, tria genera cùm
" ſint ducum in apibus, niger, ruber, varius; ut Menecrates ſcribit, duo,
" niger et varius; expediat mellario, cum duo ſint eâdem alvo, interficere
" nigrum," etc. And again; " De reliquis apibus optima eſt parva,
" varia, rotunda. Fur, qui vocatur ab aliis fucus, alter eſt lato ventre."
Lib. III. c. xvi.

VER. 95—99.

" Ut binae regum facies, ita corpora gentis:
" Namque aliae turpes horrent, ❋ ceu pulvere ab alto
" Cum venit, et terram ſicco ſpuit ore viator
" Aridus: elucent aliae, et fulgore coruſcant,
" Ardentes auro, et paribus lita corpora guttis."

❋ Varro remarks this of bees looking " pulverulentae, et horridae," when they are ſick. — " Minus valentium ſigna, ſi ſunt piloſae et horridae,
" ut pulverulentae, niſi opificii eas urget tempus. Tum enim propter la-
" borem aſperantur ac maceſcunt." Lib. III. c. xvi.

VER. 103—108.

" Cum incerta volant caeloque examina ludunt,
" Contemnuntque favos, et frigida tecta relinquunt,
" Inſtabiles animos ludo prohibebis inani.
" Nec magnus prohibere labor: tu regibus ❋ alas
" Eripe: non illis quiſquam cunctantibus altum
" Ire iter, aut caſtris audebit vellere ſigna."

❋ Columella, having mentioned the ſeveral ſorts of bees deſcribed by Ariſtotle, adds; " Ejus auctoritatem ſequens Virgilius maximè probat par-

" vulas, oblongas, leves, nitidas, ardentes auro, et paribus lita corpora " guttis." Lib. IX. c. iii. And again, chapter the tenth, which is entitled, " Quae ſit forma regis apum," he contents himſelf with quoting Virgil's deſcription with very little variation. — And at the end of that chapter he adds; " Rex tamen et ipſe ſpoliandus eſt alis, ubi ſaepius cum " examine ſuo conatur, eruptione factâ, profugere: nam velut quâdam " compede retinebimus erronem ducem detractis alis," etc. which confirms Virgil's precept: —— " regibus alas Eripe."

VER. 112—115.

" Ipſe thymum ✻ pinosque ferens de montibus altis,
" Tecta ſerat late circum, cui talia curae:
" Ipſe labore manum duro terat, ipſe feraces
" Figat humo plantas, et amicos irriget imbres."

✻ By joining theſe two together, Virgil plainly ſhews that he means wild thyme — In his inſtructions what ſhould be planted near the hives, and likewiſe in his deſcription of the garden of the Senex Corycius, this plant is not mentioned, though frequently in other places; being the plant which bees chiefly feed on, and are moſt fond of. — " Ut cytiſum " aptiſſimum ad ſanitatem apium, ſic ad mellificium thymum. Propter " quod Siculum mel fert palmam, quod ibi thymum bonum et frequens " eſt. Itaque quidam thymum contundunt in pilâ, et diluunt in aquâ " tepidâ; eo conſpergunt omnia ſeminaria conſita apium cauſâ." Var. lib. III. c. xvi.

VER. 120—124.

" Quôque modo potis gauderent intyba rivis,
" Et virides apio ✻ ripae, tortusque per herbam
" Creſceret in ventrem cucumis: nec ſera comantem
" Narciſſum, aut flexi tacuiſſem vimen ✻[2] acanthi,
" Pallentesque hederas, et amantes litora myrtos."

✻[1] Columella ſays; " Apium praecipuè aquâ laetatur, et ideo ſecun- " dum fontem commodiſſimè ponitur." Lib. II. c. iii.

✻[2] Pliny ſays of the Acanthos, " Eſt topiaria et urbana herba, elato " longoque folio, crepidines marginum aſſurgentiumque pulvinorum toros " veſtiens. Duo genera ejus ſunt, aculeatum et criſpum, quod brevius; " alterum,

" alterum, leve; quod aliqui Paederota vocant, alii Melamphyllum." Lib. XXII. c. xxii.

VER. 125—132.

——" Sub Oebaliae memini me turribus altis,
" Qua niger humectat flaventia culta *[1] Galesus,
" Corycium vidisse senem: cui pauca *[2] relicti
" Jugera ruris erant; nec fertilis illa juvencis,
" Nec pecori opportuna seges, nec commoda Baccho.
" Hic rarum tamen in dumis olus, albaque circum
" Lilia verbenasque premens, vescumque papaver,
" Regum aequabat opes animis."——

*[1] Now called, Galese. Livy says, that this river is five miles from Tarento. " Hannibal Tarenti reliquit modicum praesidium. Ipse pro-" fectus cum caeteris copiis ad Galesum flumen (quinque millia ab urbe " abest) posuit castra." Lib. XXV. c. xi. From Livy's whole account of Hannibal's taking Tarento, it is very manifest, that his camp was on the east side of the town, or towards Gallipoli; for as the entrance of the port, or Mare Piccolo, was commanded by the castle, which was still maintained against him, consequently he could enter Tarento by land no other way than by going quite round the Mare Piccolo, and his camp being within five miles of the town must of course be of the same side too: and therefore the Galesus must empty itself either into the Mare Piccolo on that side, or into the great sea between Tarento and Gallipoli.

This river, being in a country much inhabited by Graecians, took its name, as one may imagine, from Γάλα, Lac, being a milky stream; in allusion to which Martial calls it, Albus Galesus:

——" Albi quae superas oves Galesi."

But Virgil, considering the river in another view, as much shaded by trees on its banks, calls it Niger, by way of contrast to the etymology of its name.

The epithet Flaventia, given to Culta, adds a new beauty to the picture.

*[2] The " Spineta Galesi," mentioned by Propertius, are agreeable to Virgil's " relicti jugera ruris;" and his, " in dumis." It may perhaps be objected, that the " flaventia culta," mentioned by Virgil near the Galesus, and the description he gives of the garden of the Corycius senex, which he calls " relictum rus," and " in dumis," and which he places likewise near the

Galeſus, don't very well agree: but whoever ſees this country muſt be convinced of the juſtneſs of the Poet's deſcription; and will find the ſame oppoſite variety in the face of the whole country, as in the Poet; viz. a mixture of wild rough ground, and very rich land. And Strabo, in his deſcription of this country, gives us the like repreſentation of it: Τῶν Ἰαπυγίων χώρα παραδόξως ἐϛὶν ἀϛεία, &c. Lib. VI.

Relicti, not ploughed, or cultivated. Columella uſes this word in the ſame ſenſe, where he oppoſes Relictum to Tractatum: "Nullum de-
"terius habetur terreni genus quàm quod eſt ſiccum, pariter et denſum
"et macrum; quia cum difficulter tractetur, tum ne tractatum quidem
"gratiam refert, nec relictum (i. e. non tractatum, non cultum) pratis vel
"paſcuis abunde ſufficit." Lib. II. c. ii.

VER. 135, 141.

——"Cum triſtis hiems etiam nunc frigore ſaxa
"Rumperet, et glacie curſus frenaret aquarum;
"Ille comam mollis jam tum ✻[1] tondebat acanthi,
"Aeſtatem increpitans ſeram, Zephyrosque morantes.
"✻[2] Ergo apibus foetus idem atque examine multo
"Primus abundare, et ſpumantia cogere preſſis
"Mella favis: illi tiliae, atque uberrima pinus."

✻[1] The Romans uſed to trim their plants as we do now. Pliny ſpeaks of the "topiario opere buxus tonſilis," lib. XVI. c. xvi. and of the "tonſilis cupreſſus," c. xxxiii.

✻[2] Here the Poet ſhews that he had not wandered ſo far out of the way, but that he kept his ſubject ſtill in view.

Horace celebrates the honey of Tarentum, particularly on the banks of Galeſus:

"Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes
"Angulus ridet; ubi non Hymetto
"Mella decedunt."——— Lib. II. Od. vi.

✻[3] Notwithſtanding Virgil mentions the Tilia in a garden abounding with bees, Columella ſays, "Tiliae ſolae ex omnibus ſunt nocentes, Taxi
"repudiantur," lib. IX. c. iv. Again, Virgil ſays of his bees; "Paſ-
"cuntur — pinguem tiliam," ver. 183.

VER.

VER. 144—148.

" Ille etiam feras in verſum ❋[1] diſtulit ulmos,
" Eduramque pirum, et ſpinos jam pruna ferentes,
" Jamque miniſtrantem platanum potantibus umbras.
" Verum haec ipſe equidem, ſpatiis excluſus iniquis,
" Praetereo, atque ❋[2] aliis poſt commemoranda relinquo."

❋[1] This word Diſtulit expreſſes ſomething more than bare tranſplanting, as it is commonly tranſlated: It implies the diſtance, which was to be obſerved in planting tall elms.

❋[2] This verſe gave occaſion to Columella to write his tenth book in verſe, though all the reſt of his works was in proſe; as he teſtifies himſelf, Praef. in lib. X. " Cultus hortorum ſicut inſtitueram proſâ oratione " prioribus ſubnecteretur exordiis, niſi propoſitum meum expugnaſſet fre- " quens poſtulatio tua, Silvine; quae pervicit, ut poeticis numeris ex- " plerem Georgici carminis omiſſas partes, quas tamen et ipſe Virgilius " ſignificaverat poſteris poſt ſe memoranda relinquere. Neque enim aliter " iſtud nobis fuerat audendum, quàm ex voluntate vatis maximè venerandi. " Cujus quaſi numine inſtigante, aggreſſi ſumus tenuem admodum et penè " viduatam corpore materiam."—— And in the beginning of his poem, " Hortorum quoque te," etc. where obſerve he uſes, " Spatiis excluſus " iniquis;" not Diſcluſus.

VER. 149—152.

" Nunc age, naturas apibus quas ❋ Jupiter ipſe
" Addidit, expediam: pro qua mercede, canoros
" Curetum ſonitus crepitantiaque aera ſecutae,
" Dictaeo caeli regem pavere ſub antro."

❋ Columella obſerves, that Virgil has only modeſtly hinted at one of the fables of the origin of bees. And having mentioned ſeveral fabulous traditions from other authors, particularly, " Jovis extitiſſe nutrices, " easque pabula munere Dei ſortitas, quibus ipſae parvum educaverant " alumnum," he adds: " Iſta quamvis non dedeceant poetam, ſummatim " tamen, et uno tantummodo verſiculo leviter attigit Virgilius, cum ſic ait:

" Dictaeo caeli regem pavere ſub antro."

Perhaps the reaſon why the Poet touched ſo ſlightly on this fable was, becauſe

becauſe he had a long fable to tell at the latter end of this book; he knew how, " ſervare modum."

VER. 160.

——— " Pars intra ſepta domorum
" ✻[1] Narciſſi lacrymam, et lentum de cortice gluten,
" Prima favis ponunt fundamina."———

✻[1] Columella, amongſt the flowers proper for bees, mentions Gladiolum Narciſſi; and for the foreſt trees he ſays: " Sylveſtrium commodiſſime " faciunt glandifera robora, quin etiam terebinthus, nec diſſimilis huic " lentiſcus, et odorata cedrus." Lib. IX. c. iv. — The " Lentum de " cortice gluten" means gum, or the like ſweating out of trees.

VER. 165—169.

" Sunt quibus ad portas cecidit cuſtodia ſorti:
" Inque vicem ſpeculantur aquas et nubila caeli,
" Aut onera accipiunt venientum, aut agmine facto
" Ignavum ✻ fucos pecus à praeſepibus arcent.
" Fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella."

✻ Columella gives the following account of the Fucus: " Eſt genus " amplioris incrementi, ſimillimum apis, et, ut ait Virgilius, ignavum " pecus, et ſine induſtriâ favis aſſidens. Nam neque alimenta congerit, " et ab aliis invecta conſumit. Veruntamen ad procreationem ſobolis con- " ferre aliquid hi fuci videntur inſidentes feminibus, quibus apes figuran- " tur: itaque ad fovendam et educandam novam prolem familiariùs admit- " tuntur. Excluſis deinde pullis, extra tecta proturbantur; et, ut idem " ait, à praeſepibus arcent." Lib. IX. c. xv. See ver. 244.

VER. 180—183.

——" Feſſae multâ referunt ſe nocte minores,
" Crura thymo plenae: paſcuntur et ✻[1] arbuta paſſim,
" Et glaucas ſalices, caſiamque crocumque rubentem,
" Et pinguem tiliam, et ✻[2] ferrugineos hyacinthos."

✻[1] " Arbores ſunt probatiſſimae, Amygdalae, et Perſici, atque Pyri; " denique pomiferarum pleraeque, ne ſingulis immorer." Col. lib. IX. c. iv. In the ſame chapter afterwards: " Nec minus caeleſtis numinis

Hya-

" Hyacinthus, Corycius item, Siculusque bulbus croci deponitur; qui
" coloret, odoretque mella.

❋[2] Columella names — " Vel niveos, vel caeruleos hyacinthos, Narciſſi-
" que comas. In the ſame poem he calls hyacinthos, ferrugineos.

VER. 190.

—— " Ubi jam thalamis ſe compoſuere, ſiletur
" In noctem, feſſosque ſopor ❋ ſuus occupat artus."

❋ Acquired by their own labour.

VER. 197—202.

" Illum adeo placuiſſe apibus mirabere morem,
" Quod ❋[1] nec concubitu indulgent, nec corpora ſegnes
" In venerem ſolvunt, aut foetus nixibus edunt.
" Verùm ipſae è foliis natos et ſuavibus herbis
" Ore legunt: ipſae ❋[2] regem, parvosque Quirites
" Sufficiunt: aulasque et cerea regna refingunt."

❋[1] Columella mentions this as a diſpute among the naturaliſts: " Utrum
" examina, tanquam caetera videmus animalia, concubitu ſobolem procre-
" ent, an haeredem generis ſui floribus eligant; quod affirmat noſter
" Maro." Lib. IX. c. vii. —— Chapter the xivth, he remarks, that bees are ſo great enemies to venery, that he lays down this rule: " Maximè
" cuſtodiendum eſt curatori, qui apes nutrit, cum alnos tractare debebit,
" uti pridie caſtus ſit ab rebus venereis."

❋[2] As the king is of a larger ſize than the reſt of the bees, ſo it was believed among the antients that the cell where the royal race was formed was diſtinct from the reſt, and of a peculiar make, which Virgil ſeems to allude to. Columella has the following paſſage on this head: " Cera,
" in quâ regii generis proles animatur facilis conſpectu eſt, quoniam fere
" in ipſo fine cerarum velut papilla uberis apparet eminentior, et laxioris
" fiſtulae quam ſint reliqua foramina, quibus popularis notae pulli deti-
" nentur," etc. Lib. IX. c. xi.

VER. 215—218.

" Ille operum cuſtos, illum admirantur, et omnes
" Circumſtant fremitu denſo, ſtipantque frequentes,

" Et

" Et ſaepe ❋ attollunt humeris, et corpora bello
" Objectant, pulchramque petunt per vulnera mortem."

❋ " Regem ſuum ſequuntur quocunque it; et feſſum ſublevant, et ſi " nequit volare, ſuccollant; quòd eum ſervare volunt." Var. lib. III. c. xvi. " Apes ut hominum civitates, quod hìc eſt et rex, et imperium, et ſocietas." ibid.

VER. 219—222.

" His quidam ſignis, atque haec exempla ſecuti
" Eſſe apibus partem ❋ divinae mentis, et hauſtus
" Aethereos dixere: Deum namque ire per omnes
" Terrasque, tractusque maris, caelumque profundum."

❋ See Dr. Trapp's excellent diſſertation on Virgil's philoſophy, in his note on ver. 933. of his tranſlation of the Aeneid, book VIth.

VER. 231—235.

" ❋[1] Bis gravidos cogunt foetus ❋[2], duo tempora meſſis,
" Täygete ſimul os terris oſtendit honeſtum
" * Pleïas, et Oceani ſpretos pede reppulit amnes:
" Aut eadem ſidus fugiens ubi Piſcis aquoſi,
" Triſtior hibernas caelo deſcendit in undas."

❋[1] See Sir G. Wheeler's account of the manner of ordering bees at mount Hymettus near Athens, with the time of taking the honey, p. 412.

❋[2] " Eximendorum favorum primum putant eſſe tempus Vergiliarum " exortu: Secundum, aeſtate exactâ; antequam totus exoriatur Arcturus: " Tertium, poſt Vergiliarum occaſum. Et ita, ſi foecunda ſit alvus, ut " ne plus tertia pars eximatur mellis, reliquum hiemationi relinquatur: " ſi vero alvus non ſit fertilis, ubi quid eximatur, exemptio cum eſt major, " neque univerſam, neque palam facere oportet, ne deficiant animum." Var. lib. III. c. xvi. Who tells us expreſsly, that the Vergiliarum exortus is VI idus Mai. Vergiliarum occaſus, VI id. Novemb. lib. I. c. xxx. et xxxiv. — If Columella differs from Varro and Virgil in ſome reſpects as to the ſeaſons of taking the honey from the hives, yet he ſays twice expreſsly; " Mox vere tranſacto ſequitur mellis vindemia, propter quam " totius anni labor exercetur:" And preſently afterwards he gives his reaſons for difference of time: " Adapertas alvos inſpicies, ut ſive ſemi-

" pleni

" pleni favi ſint, differantur; ſive jam liquore completi, et ſuperpoſitis " ceris tanquam operculis obliti demetantur." Lib. IX. c. xv. And again, in the ſame chapter: " Priore meſſe, dum adhuc rura paſtionibus abun- " dant, quinta pars favorum; poſteriore, cum jam metuitur hiems, tertia " relinquenda eſt. Atque hic tamen modus non eſt in omnibus regioni- " bus certus, quoniam pro multitudine florum et ubertate pabuli apibus " conſulendum eſt."

* Virgil, in ſpeaking of the riſing of the Pleiades, ſpeaks of them in the ſingular number; and that perſonally. It is probable, that on ſome of the antient globes this was a diſtinct conſtellation from Taurus; and might be ſometimes repreſented by one of the Siſters only; that named by Virgil. Aratus and Eratoſthenes both ſpeak of it [the Pleiades] as diſtinct from Taurus; and the latter calls it Πλειὰς, and not Πλειάδες.

† The moderns fling the Pleiades into Taurus: in the antient ſpheres, it was a conſtellation by itſelf; and that probably of the Siſters, who repreſented all the reſt.

Aratus deſcribes it as a diſtinct conſtellation near Perſeus's left knee (ver. 254.), and ſpeaks of Taurus ſo far before (ver. 167.), that there are eight conſtellations in the interval. Accordingly Taurus makes the 14th article in Eratoſthenes, and the Pleiades the 23d.

Manilius indeed places them, with the Hyades, in Taurus (I. 371.): but this is not the only thing that would make one think his work leſs ancient, than it is pretended to be.

See the Farneſe globe in Polymetis, pl. xxxiv. Perhaps the hinder parts of Taurus were cut off in the old globes, on purpoſe to make room for this conſtellation. Eratoſthenes, ſpeaking of its place there, has theſe words: Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπολομῆς τῦ Ταύρυ, τῆς καλυμένης Ῥάχεως, Πλειάς ἐςι. Λέγυσιν εἶναι τῶν τῦ Ἄτλαντος Θυγατέρων· διὸ καὶ Ἑπτάςερον καλεῖται· ὀχ' ὁρῶνται δὲ αἱ ζ', ἀλλ' αἱ ς'. In art. Πλειάς.

Eratoſthenes always ſpeaks of her in the ſingular number; which, compared with this paſſage, may ſufficiently confirm that it was the figure of one of the Siſters only, with the Seven Stars repreſented on it; whence it was called Ἑπτάςερον.

VER. 241—250.

—— " *' Suffire thymo, cerasque recidere inanes
" Quis dubitet? nam ſaepe favos ignotus adedit
" Stellio, lucifugis congeſta cubilia blattis:

" Immunisque *[2] ſedens aliena ad pabula fucus,
" Aut aſper *[3] crabro imparibus ſe immiſcuit armis;
" Aut dirum tineae genus, aut inviſae Minervae
" In foribus laxos ſuſpendit aranea caſſes.
" Quo magis exhauſtae fuerint; hoc *[4] acrius omnes
" Incumbent generis lapſi ſarcire ruinas,
" Complebuntque fŏros, et floribus horrea texent."

*[1] Columella ſpeaks of frequent fumigations proper for bees; and directs, " ut ab ortu Caniculae uſque in Autumni aequinoctium decimo " quoque die alvi aperiendae ſint et fumigandae; quod cum ſit moleſtum " examinibus, ſaluberrimum tamen eſſe convenit." Lib. IX. c. xiv.

*[2] Sedens, properly uſed, being a lazy poſture.

*[3] Hornet; called now in Italian, Calabrone.

*[4] Columella, ſpeaking of the Fuci, ſays: " Ego Magoni conſentiens " non in totum exterminari fucos oportere cenſeo, ne apes inertiâ labo- " rent: Quae, cum fuci aliquam partem cibariorum abſumunt, ſarciendo " damna fiunt agiliores." Lib. IX. c. xv.

VER. 251—259.

" Si vero (quoniam *[1] caſus apibus quoque noſtros
" Vita tulit) triſti languebunt corpora morbo,
" Quod jam non dubiis poteris cognoſcere ſignis:
" Continuò eſt *[2] aegris alius color: horrida vultum
" Deformat macies: tum corpora luce carentum
" Exportant tectis, et triſtia funera ducunt:
" Aut illae pedibus connexae ad limina pendent,
" Aut intus clauſis cunctantur in aedibus omnes:
" Ignavaeque fame, et contracto frigore pigrae."

*[1] As the Poet has carried on a compariſon between bees and us through all parts of life almoſt, ſo he gives them our diſeaſes too.

*[2] Columella, in his chapter De morbis apum, has copied Virgil, and given us almoſt a literal tranſlation: " Ille morbus maximè eſt conſpicuus, " qui horridas contractasque carpit, cum frequenter aliae mortuarum cor- " pora domiciliis ſuis efferunt; aliae intra tecta, ut in publico luctu, moeſto " ſilentio torpent. Id cum accidit arundineis infuſi canalibus offeruntur " cibi, maxime decocti mellis, et cum Gallâ vel aridâ roſâ detriti. Gal-

" banum

" banum etiam, ut ejus odore medicentur, incendi convenit. Paſſoque et
" defruto vetere feſſas ſuſtinere. Optimè tamen facit amelli radix,
" cujus eſt frutex luteus, purpureus flos: Ea cum vetere Amineo vino
" decocta exprimitur, et ita liquatus ejus ſuccus datur." Lib. IX. c. xiii.

VER. 271.

" Eſt etiam flos in pratis, cui nomen ❋ amello
" Fecere agricolae."———

❋ Quaer. if the Aſter Atticus? Columella calls it Frutex, lib. IX. c. iv. where, treating " de paſtionibus apum," after having enumerated ſeveral plants, he ſays: " Mille praeterea ſemina vel crudo ceſpite virentia, vel
" ſubacta ſulco flores amiciſſimos apibus creant, ut ſunt in irriguo ſolo
" frutices amelli," etc. Yet Frutex is uſed by him for very ſmall plants; for in the next chapter he calls " Thymus frutex. Amelli frutex luteus,
" purpuresu flos." Col. lib. IX. c. 13.

VER. 275.

——— " ❋ Violae ſublucet purpura nigrae."

❋ Virgil is very exact and pictureſque in this expreſſion. He ſhews the ſame ſort of exactneſs, Georg. II. ver. 13; where he takes notice of the different colours of the upper and under ſide of the ſame leaf.

——— " Glaucâ canentia fronde ſalicta."

Purpureus is uſed by the botaniſts for the violet colour: See Camden's Britannia; Plants in Hampſhire.

VER. 281—285.

——— " Si quem proles ſubito defecerit omnis,
" Nec genus unde novae ſtirpis revocetur, habebit;
" Tempus et Arcadii memoranda inventa magiſtri
" Pandere; quoque modo caeſis jam ſaepe juvencis
" ❋ Inſincerus apes tulerit cruor."———

❋ Varro ſays: " Ex bove putrefacto ſcio naſci dulciſſimas apes mellis
" matres, à quo eas Graeci Βυγόνας appellant." Lib. II. c. v. — And again:
" Apes naſcuntur partim ex apibus, partim ex bubulo corpore putrefacto;

" itaque Archelaus in epigrammate ait eas esse — βοὸς φθιμένης περιληνέα " τέκνα." Lib. II. c. xvi. — Virgil, who does not easily give credit to such stories, lays the scene of his fable in the country of the Gypsies.—— Columella mentions Democritus and Mago to have asserted this generation: " Progenerari posse apes juvenco perempto Democritus et Mago, nec " minus Virgilius, prodiderunt." Lib. IX. c. xiv.

VER. 287—294.

——" *1 Quà Pellaei gens fortunata Canopi
" Accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum,
" Et circum pictis vehitur sua rara phaselis;
" Quaque *2 pharetratae vicinia Persidis urget
" † Et viridem *3 Aegyptum nigrâ foecundat arenâ,
" Et diversa *4 ruens *5 septem discurrit in ora.
" Usque *6 coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis;
" Omnis in hac certam regio jacit arte salutem."

*1 Virgil very properly lays this scene in Egypt, which always was, and is still, famous for witchcraft.

He describes the upper and lower Egypt; the three first verses relate to the lower Egypt, or the Delta; the two following to the upper Egypt; the two last to the course of the river: where in seven verses he comprehends what is most remarkable concerning that country, and its river, the Septemfluus Nilus.

*2 Claudian, in his Eidyl. de Nilo, mentions, among other inhabitants bordering on that river, " Gens compositis circumvallata sagittis."

† This passage has long sounded wrong to me. There seems to me to be something in the construction not Virgilian, and something puzzled in the sense.

I find since, that Huet and Segrais had a dispute about it. Segrais thought it faulty, and corrupted: " Ego contra (says Huet) integram esse " asseverarem; planumque et intellectu facile; si modo perspecta esset " veterum de ortu Nili opinio; qui in Indiâ oriri eum, et ex eâ in Aegyptum " profluere, falsò quidem, at pro certo et constanter arbitrati sunt." Huet. Com. p. 265.

The Florentine manuscript reads the passage differently, but does not take away the difficulty. It only transposes the two verses: " Et diversa," etc. is first in it; and " Et viridem," etc. second.

" Et

" Et viridem Aegyptum" is a repetition of what has been ſaid before, ver. 287—289. It is ſuſpicious, from its being placed differently in the Florentine manuſcript. If it was omitted, and the other line underſtood of the Ganges, would it not ſet all right? The Ganges has its ſeven ſtreams as well as the Nile; and is therefore joined with it again, Aen. IX. 20.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον Αιθιοπίᾳ ξυμβάλοιμεν (τῦτι δὲ ἡγέμεθα καὶ τὸν πολαμὸν (the Nile) πράτλειν) καὶ ἔπω ξυμμέτρῳ πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδῶν ἄμφω, τοσαύτη συνλεθεῖσα. Πολαμοὶ δὲ ἀμφοῖν ὅμοιοι, λογισαμένῳ τῦ Ινδῦ τε καὶ Νείλυ· περαινῦσί τε γὰρ τὰς ἠπείρυς ἐν ὥρᾳ ἔτυς, ὁπότε ἡ γὴ ἔρα τέτυ, etc. Philoſtr. de Vitâ Apol. lib. I. c. i.

✻3 Herodotus, lib. II, gives the following deſcription of Egypt: " Quum regionem ſupergreſſus eſt Nilus, ſolae urbes apparent, eatenus " extantes, ut inſulis Aegei maris fere aſſimiles eſſe videantur. Nam " caetera Aegypti pelagus efficiuntur; ipſaeque urbes ſolae extant: Quae " ſtationes navium faciunt. Nec jam, cum hoc contingit, per alveum " fluminis, ſed per medium campi navigatur," etc. p. 140. edit. H. Stephani, 1592.

In the ſame place, Herodotus, ſpeaking of a particular cuſtom uſed in Egypt, ſays: " Quod factum eſt, ex quo Aegyptus fuit ditionis Per- " ſarum."

Preſently after, ſpeaking of a tradition that the city of Memphis was built by Menes, who turned the courſe of the Nile thither, he ſays: " Supra Memphim centum circiter ſtadia meridiem verſus, aggeſtâ humo " ad anfractum fluminis arefeciſſe priſtinum alveum: ita flumen facto al- " veo per medium montium fluere. Adeo nunc quoque ſub Perſis iſte " anfractus Nili qui coërcitus fluit, magnis praeſidiis cuſtoditur, quotannis " obſeptus aggeribus; quos ſi refringens flumen velit eâ parte redundare, " omnis Memphis adibit periculum ne aquis operiatur." Pag. 141.

Again, immediately after, he ſays: " Eſt Memphis in anguſtiis Aegypti " ſita."

Again, enumerating the ſeveral tributes paid to Darius, he ſays: " Ab " Aegypto et Lybibus Aegypto conterminis, et Cyrenâ et Barcâ (in por- " tione namque Aegypti iſtae ordinantur) ſeptingenta proveniebant ta- " lenta, praeter pecuniam è piſcario proventu lacus Maerios. Exceptâ " hâc pecuniâ et certo frumenti numero, ſeptingenta talenta obveniebant. " Nam centum viginti millibus Perſarum, qui in Albo muro Memphitico " ſtationem habent, et eorum auxiliariis admetiuntur illi frumentum." Pag. 226.

A Ba-

A Babylon was built by the Perſians on a ſteep rock over the Nile, a little above the head of the Delta, as appears by Strabo; "Ulterius ſur-" ſum naviganti eſt Babylon caſtellum naturâ munitum, à Babyloniis qui-" buſdam conditum, qui huc ſecedentes, eo in loco habitationem à regibus " impetrarunt. Nunc in eâ collocata eſt una ex tribus legionibus quae " Aegyptum cuſtodiunt." Lib. XVII. —— Quaer. Whether, if part of Grand Cairo is not ſtill called Babylon?

Strabo gives the following account of Aegypt.—Of the Lower, he ſays; " Nilo exundante, tota regio undis tegitur praeter habitationes, quae aut " nativis collibus aut aggeribus factitiis impoſitae ſunt, non pagi modo, ſed " etiam urbes memorabiles; quae eminus conſpectae inſularum ſpeciem prae-bent." Lib. XVII. —Of the upper Aegypt, he ſays; " Simili modo regio " ſupra Delta irrigatur, niſi quod Nilus quatuor millibus ſtadiorum unico " alveo rectà delabitur, etc. Denique, ut verbo dicam, fluvio irrigua eſt ſola " ea pars Aegypti, quae jacet ad utramque Nili ripam, et raro uſquam " ccc ſtadiorum continuam latitudinem habitabilem obtinet. Orditur ab " Aethiopiae montibus et in ipſius Delta verticem deſinit: itaque ſimilis " eſt faſciae (as the tranſlator renders it) in longum explicatae."

As to the dykes or dams made on the ſide of the Nile, Strabo tells us, —— " Artificium autem, quod Nilo adhibetur, tanti eſt, quanti induſtria " naturam vincens," etc.

⁂4 Ruens is uſed by Virgil rather than Fluens on account of the ſeveral cataracts in the Nile. Pliny ſays of the Nile from its firſt riſe; " Poſtremò incluſus montibus, nec alibi torrentior, vectus aquis properan-" tibus ad locum Aethiopum, qui Catadupi vocantur, noviſſimo cataracte " inter occurſantes ſcopulos non fluere immenſo fragore creditur, ſed " ruere," lib. V. c. ix. where he manifeſtly only explains more at large the ſame thought which Virgil expreſſes in one word.

⁂5 As to the mouths of the Nile Pliny, ſays; " Undecim Nili oſtia re-" periuntur, quatuor quae ipſi falſa ora appellant: ſed celeberrima ſep-" tem;" which he names, lib. V. c. x.

And thus Strabo; " Nilus ab Aethiopiae finibus rectà fluit ad ſeptentrionem uſque ad eum locum qui Delta appellatur, ubi tanquam à vertice " quodam ſciſſus (ut Plato inquit) figuram conficit triangulam. Latera " trianguli alvei ſunt duo Nili utrinque ad mare deſcendentis, alter ad " dextram Peluſium uſque, alter ad ſiniſtram ad Canopum uſque. —— " Duo itaque haec oſtia Nili, alterum Peluſiacum vocatur, alterum Cano-" picum: inter haec alia quinque oſtia ſunt, quae quidem mentionem me-" reantur; multa alia tenuiora."

⁂5 Νεῖλος

*[5] Νεῖλος μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτῳ φερόμενος. Procopius lib. VI. περὶ Κτίσματος.

——Cuſtos Nili creſcentis in arva
" Memphis." —— Lucan, Lib. VIII. 477.

When Achoreus the Aegyptian prieſt is giving an account to Julius Caeſar of the courſe of the Nile, he ſays that after it has paſſed the cataracts:

" Hinc, Abaton quam noſtra vocat veneranda vetuſtas,
" Terra potens, primos ſentit percuſſa tumultus,
" Et ſcopuli, placuit fluvii quos dicere venas,
" Quod manifeſta novi primum dant ſigna tumoris.
" Hinc montes natura vagis circumdedit undis,
" Qui Libyae, te, Nile, negent: quos inter in altâ
" It convalle jacens jam molibus unda receptis." ——
Pharſal. lib. X. 323.

Quaer. Whether Molibus, in the laſt verſe, does not refer to the motes or dams at the Egyptian Babylon, made there on purpoſe to raiſe the water according to pleaſure?

VER. 317—320.

" †[1] Paſtor Ariſtaeus, fugiens †[2] Peneïa Tempe,
" Amiſſis, †[3] ut fama, apibus morboque fameque,
" Triſtis ad †[4] extremi ſacrum caput aſtitit amnis
" Multa querens; atque hac affatus †[5] voce parentem."

† Virgil ſeems here to uſe the name of grazier, or herdſman, in introducing the hero of his ſtory; with the ſame ſort of intent, that our dramatic writers formerly uſed to prefix the characters of their Dramatis Perſonae to their plays; and the character thus affixed to him is very well kept up through the whole ſtory. He appeared at firſt with his hair all rough and diſcompoſed (from ver. 417.)—Is in a violent paſſion (329, etc.)—Bawls loud enough to frighten his poor mother (357, ſee 333, ſonitum—349, impulit——et 353, gemitu tanto)——calls her names (as I fear, from 360); and hints at a ſcandalous aſperſion on her, and even on himſelf (323);—burſts into a loud halloo, when he runs at Proteus (438); and ſnaps him up ſhort, when he ſpeaks to him (447 et 450).

†[2] The

†2 The epithet here is no idle one. The Romans ſeems to me to have uſed the word Tempe, as the Greeks did Παράδεισοι (in general) for any very pleaſing place; or pleaſure-grounds, as our gardeners of late call them. Thus our own author:

——— "At latis otia fundis,
"Speluncae, vivique lacus; at frigida Tempe,
"Mugitusque boum, mollesque ſub arbore ſomni,
"Non abſunt." ——— Georg. II. 471.

Theſe Tempe's, or happy retirements, are (I think) always repreſented as cool and ſhady: thus Seneca, or whoever wrote the Troas, calls them, Opaca: and Statius, in one place, Umbroſa; in another, Tenebroſa. When they don't ſpeak of pleaſing places in general, they add the diſtinguiſhing name of the place: as Peneïa, here; Theſſala, for the ſame in Horace, (and Aelian); "Heliconia, et Tecmeſſia Tempe," in Ovid, etc.

†3 I am apt to think that the Romans looked on their old fables, and ſtories, in three different views; ſome as certain, ſome as doubtful, and ſome as falſe: and ſhould alſo think that they made uſe of the expreſſions, "ut fama, ut perhibent, ut fertur," and the like, for the middle ſort of the three: though, by the way, there is more authority for Ariſtaeus's method of procuring bees again, than one ſhould at firſt ſuppoſe. It was from this notion that the Greeks gave the epithet of Βυγενεῖς to bees; and one of their poets calls them,

——— Βοὸς φθιμένης πεπολημένα τέκνα.

Democritus, Aelian, and Heſychius, affirm it roundly, among their writers; and Varro and Columella make no doubt about it, among the Latin: not to ſpeak of an African author, quoted for the ſame opinion by the latter. Virgil, you know, ſays it was uſed with the greateſt aſſurance of ſucceſs by the moſt knowing people of Africa, and by ſome of the neighbouring nations more to the eaſt of them.

†3 Extremi ſignifies the extreme parts of any line, or thing; and, conſequently, the beginning as well as the end of either. Here it is uſed evidently for the beginning or ſource of the river Peneus: and ſo Virgil uſes it too in his firſt Georgic:

"Exercete, viri, tauros! ſerite hordea campis!
"Uſque ſub extremum brumae intractabilis imbrem."

that is, quite up to the borne (or beginning) of the Bruma; (about the middle

middle of December); when the great rains, and the great holidays in conſequence of them, would not allow them to work.

†[5] "Voce affari" (I ſhould think) is no more common in Latin, than *he hears with ears* (which gave ſo much offence to poor parſon Evans), is in Engliſh. It is ſaid here, *Hâc voce*; "with this vociferation," or, "in the following clamorous manner:" for which, ſee the ſpeech itſelf; and ver. 333, 349, 353, after.

VER. 333—335.

—"† Mater ſonitum thalamo ſub fluminis alti
"Senſit: eam circum Mileſia vellera Nymphae
"Carpebant, hyali ſaturo fucata colore."

† For the different ſorts of habitations for the water-deities, and ſeveral deſcriptions of them, ſee Pol. XIV. 63.

VER. 345—347.

"Inter quas curam Clymene ❋ narrabat inanem
"Vulcani, Martisque dolos, et dulcia furta,
"Atque Chao denſos Divûm numerabat amores."

❋ The Poet ſeems here to intimate, that when ladies meet, the common topic of diſcourſe amongſt them is love-intrigue: at leaſt, that it was ſo in former days.

† Virgil mentions this, as the moſt noted among all the ſtories, told by the water-nymphs in Cyrene's grotto.

The water-nymphs, telling this kind of ſtories together, was ſo known a thing, that it was a ſubject even for ſtatuary too:

"Illic adſpicias ſcopulis haerere ſorores;
"Et canere antiqui dulcia furta Jovis:
"Ut Semele eſt combuſtus, ut eſt deperditus Iö;
"Denique ut ad Trojae tecta volarit avis."

Propertius, lib. II. xxiii. ver. 20.

Leuconoë and her ſiſters divert themſelves in the ſame manner whilſt they are at work; and Leuconoë, in particular, tells this very ſtory of Mars and Venus. Ovid often calls it "the moſt trite ſtory among the "Gods." Met. IV. ver. 189. — Art. Am. II. ver. 563. — Amor. lib. I. El. ix. ver. 40.

Both Virgil and Propertius call the ſubjects of theſe ſtories, Dulcia: and the latter uſes the word, Canere, for the manner of telling them; as the former ſays, "Carmine quo captae." The ſubjects in general agree with thoſe moſt uſed in our novels and romances: and they were told, either in verſe, or in an affected poetical kind of proſe; for Carmen is uſed indifferently for the one or the other. Propertius might have an eye to this affected ſtyle, in thoſe expreſſions of his relating to Jupiter's amours:

"Ut Semele eſt combuſtus, ut eſt deperditus Iö."

Apuleius makes uſe of this affected, lulling ſtyle, in his romance: as one may ſee, by his very propoſition itſelf; which ought to be plain and eaſy, even in a poem. He begins thus: "At ego tibi, ſermone iſto "Mileſio, varias fabulas conſeram; auresque tuas benevolas lepido ſu- "ſurro permulceam: mox, ſi papyrum Aegyptiam argutiâ Nilotici calami "inſcriptam non ſpreveris inſpicere, figuras fortunasque hominum in alias "imagines converſas, et in ſe rurſum mutuo nexu refectas, ut mireris, "exordior." Exord. to his Aſinus Aureus.

VER. 358—362.

"Duc, age, duc ad nos; fas illi limina Divûm
"Tangere, ait. Simul alta † jubet diſcedere late
"Flumina, quà juvenis greſſus inferret: at illum
"Curvata in montis faciem circumſtetit unda;
"Accepitque ſinu vaſto, miſitque ſub amnem."

† Thus Ovid ſays, very ſtrongly, of another river-god:

"Cedere juſſit aquam; juſſa receſſit aqua."
Lib. III. El. vi. ver. 44.

This is repreſented ſometimes in antiques; as particularly on a gem in Maffei's collection (Vol. II. pl. 34.), where you ſee Neptune beneath the water; which hangs ſuſpended, in a ſort of arch, over his head.

VER. 363—373.

"Jamque domum mirans genetricis et humida regna,
"Speluncisque ❋[1] lacus clauſos, lucosque ❋[2] ſonantes,
"Ibat; et ingenti motu ſtupefactus aquarum,
"Omnia ſub magnâ labentia flumina terrâ

"Spectabat

" Spectabat diverſa locis; Phaſimqne, Lycumque ❋[3],
" Et caput, unde altus primum ſe erumpit Enipeus;
" Unde pater Tiberinus, et unde Aniena fluenta,
" Saxoſumque ſonans Hypanis, Myſusque ❋[4] Caïcus;
" Et gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu
" ❋[5] Eridanus, quo non alius * per pinguia culta
" In mare purpureum ❋[6] violentior influit amnis."

❋[1] Virgil does not mean here rivers in general, but ſuch only as run under ground and hide themſelves part of their courſe.

❋[2] Ruaeus's interpretation of this paſſage ſeems very forced: Virgil certainly means groves, echoing with falls of water; his nymphs being partly wood, and partly water nymphs, as appears both by their names, and by the following verſes:

——— " Nymphasque ſorores,
" Centum quae ſylvas, centum quae flumina ſervant."
Ver. 383.

❋[3] Pliny, ſpeaking of rivers which run partly under ground, and burſt forth again, names firſt the Lycus in Aſia. Nat. Hiſt. lib. II. c. 103.

— " Ubi terreno Lycus eſt epotus hiatu
" Exiſtit procul hinc, alioque renaſcitur ore."
Ovid Met. lib. XV. 273.

❋[4] " Et Myſum capitisque ſui ripaeque prioris
" Poenituiſſe ferunt, aliâ nunc ire, Caïcum."
Ovid, ibid. ver. 277.

❋[5] " Padus è gremio Veſuli montis celſiſſimum in cacumen elati, finibus " Ligurum Vagiennorum viſendo fonte profluens, condensque ſeſe cuniculo, " et in Forovibienſium agro iterum exoriens, nulli amnium claritate infe- " rior. Graecis dictus Eridanus." Pliny, lib. III. c. xvi.

* See Pol. p. 232.

❋[6] This may be underſtood of the Po emptying itſelf by very ſtrong currents into the ſea. I was aſſured by boatmen, as I ſailed before the mouths of the Po, that the water continues freſh three or four miles into the ſea; and, I obſerved, as I ſailed by the embouchures, that the water looked white and muddy (as the Po is), as far as I could ſee. But without reſtraining it to this ſenſe, Virgil may be underſtood by Violentior to mean the damages done by the overflowing of the Po all along its courſe, of which he himſelf muſt frequently have been an eye wit-

neſs. Pliny, lib. III. c. xvi. ſpeaking of the overflowing of the Po, ſays, that it is "Agris quàm navigiis torrentior;" meaning, I ſuppoſe, in his *outré* ſtile, that it carries countries and fields with it rather than ſhips.

† I have, on another occaſion, formerly (Eſſay on the Odyſſey, Dial. V. p. 309.) taken notice of the beautiful contraſt in the run of that couplet,

"Unde pater Tiberinus," etc.

the former line of which is one of the moſt ſoft-flowing verſes, and the latter one of the rougheſt and moſt embarraſſed, of any in the Georgics.

I have ſince been ſometimes apt to imagine, that Virgil inſerted the ſecond of theſe lines, after the firſt writing of this paſſage, on purpoſe to make this contraſt: becauſe, if you leave out that line in the reading of it, the whole paſſage would be much more regular and exact than it is.

As it ſtands now, all the rivers ſeem to be named in diſorder; but, omitting it, they will each follow the other, in an exact geographical order, from eaſt to weſt: the firſt mentioned being the fartheſt eaſt, in Armenia; the ſecond, another Aſiatic river, but nearer Greece; the third, in Greece; and the three others all in Italy, each lying farther and farther weſt, the Tiber, the Anio, and the Po.

VER. 374.

"Poſtquam eſt in thalami pendentia † pumice tecta
"Perventum." ———

† The roofs of the great apartments in the old Thermae (as appears in thoſe of Caracalla at Rome at this day) were chiefly compoſed of Pumice ſtone, for lightneſs.

They were uſed too for grottos: —— "Eroſa ſaxa (pumices) in aedi-"ficiis, quae Muſea vocant, dependentia; ad imaginem ſpecus arte red-"dendam." Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. XXXVI. c. 21. p. 503.

"Antra ſubit tophis laqueata et pumice vivo."
Ov. Faſt. II. 313. (Herc.)

VER. 382, 383.

——— "Simul ipſe precatur
"† Oceanumque patrem rerum, nymphasque ſorores,
"Centum quae ſylvas, centum que flumina ſervant."

† Virgil

† Virgil calls Oceanus, *Pater rerum*, "Lord of all the watery world;" whereas Juvenal calls Neptune only *Pater Aegei*, or, "Lord of all the "in-land ſeas." Sat. XIII. ver. 81.

VER. 425—429.

"Jam † rapidus torrens ſitientes Sirius Indos
"Ardebat caelo, et medium ſol igneus orbem
"Hauſerat: arebant herbae, et ❋[1] cava flumina ſiccis
"❋[2] Faucibus ad limum radii tepefacta coquebant:
"Cum Proteus conſueta petens è fluctibus antra
"Ibat." ———

† So Manilius:

"Subſequitur rapido contenta Canicula curſu." I. ver. 386.

He is repreſented as running rapidly after the hare, in the Farneſe globe; Pol. pl. xxiv. and with rays of fire on his head.

❋[1] Shallow, low within the banks, almoſt dry.

❋[2] In alluſion to throats parched with thirſt.

VER. 465, 466.

"† Te, dulcis conjux, te ſolo in litore ſecum,
"Te, veniente die, te decedente canebat."

† Mr. Benſon, that ſtudied verſification ſo particularly, uſed to call this, "The ſofteſt couplet that ever was writ."

VER. 471, 472.

"At cantu commotae † Erebi de ſedibus imis
"Umbrae ibant tenues, ſimulacraque luce carentum."

† The artiſt who deſigned the pictures for the famous manuſcript Virgil in the Vatican, probably miſtook the word Erebus here, if Erebus properly means the firſt region in Hades. He repreſents Ixion on his wheel, as drawn out of Tartarus, quite to the inner bank of Styx, by the muſic of Orpheus.

VER. 511—515.

"Qualis populeâ moerens Philomela ſub † umbra
"Amiſſos queritur foetus, quos durus arator

"Obſervans

" Obſervans nido implumes detraxit; at illa
" Flet noctem, ramoque ſedens miſerabile carmen
" Integrat, et moeſtis late loca queſtibus implet.

† Monſ. Huet makes a very indifferent objection to this paſſage. " Com-
" ment," ſays he, " peuvent ſe rencontrer enſemble la nuit et l'ombre du
" peuplier?" Huetiana, § xlv.

——— " Tectae fronde queruntur aves." Ov. Ep. X.

VER. 563, 564.

" Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat
" † Parthenope, ſtudiis florentem ignobilis otî."

† There may be a propriety in this that is not generally remarked. Naples was a place of pleaſure and indolence: and it was therefore (as ſome ſuppoſe; Addiſon's Travels, p. 128.) ſaid to have been founded by Parthenope, one of the Sirens; who were Goddeſſes of Indolence and Pleaſure.

——— " Improba Siren
" Deſidia."——— Hor. lib. II. Sat. iii.
——— " Otioſa Neapolis." Id. Epod. v.

Statius agrees with Virgil, in the character of his own city Naples. Sylv. lib. III. Eleg. ult.

" Pax ſecura locis, et deſidis otia vitae." Ver. 85. etc.

And Silius Italicus:

——" Molles urbi ritus, atque hoſpita muſis
" Otia."——— L. XII. 31.

See the other quotations in Mr. Addiſon, ibid.

This idea too makes the contraſt here, between Auguſtus and Virgil, the ſtronger.

* Pauſanias, ſpeaking of Troezen, ſays; " Muſarum templum eſt;
" et prope templum ara perantiqua viſitur. Ad hanc Muſis immolant, et
" Somno. Somnum etenim ex Diis maxime Muſis charum eſſe dicunt." —
Upon which place there is a note, obſerving very juſtly; " Per ſomnum
" non deſidiam et torporem, ſed honeſtum otium animique tranquillitatem
intelligi."

This

This is a pretty antitheſis, and a compliment to his patrons. As different countries have a different manner of agriculture, and indeed the difference of climates requires different methods, therefore it was proper that Virgil ſhould ſignify where he was when he wrote his Georgics: for we are thereby informed, that the rules he gives particularly reſpect the place where he wrote, and are ſuch as were practiſed chiefly in that country. I ſay chiefly, becauſe he ſometimes launches out into other countries; and gives more general rules. It is certain, that moſt of Virgil's inſtructions, and the cuſtoms he deſcribes, are ſtill chiefly uſed in the kingdom of Naples.

NOTES.

NOTES

ON THE

AENEIDS.

AENEID THE FIRST†.

VER. 5—7.

" ARMA virumque cano, Trojae qui *[1] primus ab oris
" *[2] Italiam, fato profugus, Lavinaque venit
" Litora."———

† That Virgil wrote this excellent poem with a deſign of aſſiſting and confirming Auguſtus's uſurpation of the ſole government of the Roman ſtate, is proved at large in Polymetis, D. III. notes 6 to 13. One muſt uſe ſo hard a name for it, when one looks back upon his proſcription; but one cannot uſe it without pain, when we look onward to the mildneſs of his adminiſtration, and his patronage of the moſt deſerving in all works of genius or art.

*[1] It has been objected, that Antenor came *firſt* to Italy, that is, to Padua; but Padua was not formerly reckoned in Italy, but in Gaul. Dion Caſſius expreſsly tells us, that even in Julius Caeſar's time it was reckoned in Gaul: for, ſpeaking of a prodigy, which happened there on the day of the battle of Pharſalia, he ſays: Ἐν Παλαιῷ, τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας, τότε δὲ ἔτι Γαλατίας, ὄρνιθάς τινας, etc.—But ſuppoſing it had been properly in Italy, what

what would it ſignify? Aeneas was the firſt, who came to that part of Italy (Lavina litora) where the foundation was laid of the Roman future greatneſs, in which Antenor was not any ways concerned.

*[2] That is, to that part of Italy, where the foundation of the Roman empire was to be laid; and therefore Virgil adds "Lavinaque litora" to confine his meaning. In the third Aeneid, ver. 381, Virgil uſes Italiam in the ſame confined ſenſe, in the prophecy of Helenus:

"Principio Italiam, quam tu jam rere propinquam,
"Vicinosque, ignare, paras invadere portus,
"Longa procul longis via dividit invia terris:"

i. e. The whole body of Italy ſeparates you from Italy; that is, that part of Italy, to which you are to go.

VER. 16—21.

"Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere coloni,
"Carthago, Italiam contra, Tiberinaque longe
"Oſtia; dives opum, ſtudiisque aſperrima belli:
"Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
"Poſthabitâ coluiſſe Samo: hic illius † arma,
"Hic currus fuit."———

† This is not ſpoken of the Roman, but the Carthaginian Juno. Thus Ovid of the latter:

"Poeniteat quod non foveo Carthaginis arces,
"Cum mea ſint illo currus et arma loco."
Faſt. lib. VI. ver. 46.

One would think from this, compared with what Apuleius ſays in his prayer of Pyſché, that the Carthaginians repreſented their Juno ſometimes in a chariot drawn by lions: "Magni Jovis germana et conjuga! Sive tu "Sami, quae querulo partu vagituque et alimoniâ tuâ gloriatur, tenes "vetuſta delubra! Sive celſae Carthaginis, quae te virginem vectura leo-"nis caelo commeantem percolit, beatas ſedes frequentas! Sive prope "ripas Inachi, qui te jam nuptam Tonantis, et reginam Dearum memo-"rat!" etc. Aſ. Aur. lib. VI.

VER. 25—26.

" Hinc populum late regem belloque † ſuperbum,
" Venturum excidio Libyae: ſic volvere Parcas."

† Superbus is uſed in Latin, and moſt of the languages derived from it, in a good ſenſe, as well as a bad.—" Superbae virtute et factis animae." Sil. Ital. X. 573.—" Superbi Tarchontis domus." Id. VIII. 474. The houſe of the Great Tarchon, or Tarchon the Great.

VER. 40—49.

" Cum Juno, aeternum ſervans ſub pectore vulnus,
" Haec ſecum: Mene incepto deſiſtere victam,
" Nec poſſe Italiâ Teucrorum avertere regem?
" Quippe vetor fatis. Pallasne exurere claſſem
" Argivûm, atque ipſos potuit ſubmergere ponto,
" Unius ob noxam et furias Ajacis Oïlei?
" Ipſa, Jovis †[1] rapidum jaculata è nubibus ignem,
" Disjecitque rates, evertitque aequora ventis:
" †[2] Illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammas
" Turbine corripuit, ſcopuloque infixit acuto."

†[1] The moſt diſtinguiſhed three among the twelve great Gods, as they were called, to wit, Jupiter, Minerva, and Juno, were allowed to thunder; and no others. How cloſely theſe three were ſuppoſed by ſome to be connected, ſee Pol. VI. 80, 81, et 82.

†[2] To this, Flac. Argonaut. I. 372.

The ſtory is told more at large in Agamem. Act. III. Sc. i.

Virgil might have an eye here to ſome celebrated picture of this Ajax. —" (Apollodori eſt) Ajax fulmine incenſus, qui Pergami ſpectatur hodie." Plin. lib. XXXV. c. ix. p. 249. ed. Elz.

Neptune purſued him ſtill farther; which alſo was the ſubject of another noble picture, deſcribed by Philoſtratus in his Icones, II. 13.

VER. 86—95.

——— " † Venti, velut agmine facto,
" Quà data porta, ruunt, et terras turbine perflant.

Incu-

" Incubuere mari, totumque à ſedibus imis
" Unà Eurusque Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
" Africus: et vaſtos volvunt ad litora fluctus.
" Inſequitur clamorque virûm, ſtridorque rudentum.
" Eripiunt ſubito nubes caelumque diemque
" Teucrorum ex oculis: ponto nox incubat atra.
" Intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus aether:
" Praeſentemque viris intentant omnia mortem."

† This ſtorm of Virgil's probably contributed towards ſetting all the Roman poets almoſt after him a ſtorm-painting. —— In Agamemnon, we have a puerile imitation of it. Lucan has another, carried to exceſs. Ovid (according to his manner) has ſeveral: and Flaccus one (Arg. I. 641.), which was certainly taken from this, unleſs both that and this were originally copied from Apollonius Rhodius. —— Juvenal ſeems to ridicule their overcharging their pieces; where, ſpeaking of a real ſtorm, he ſays, it was as bad as a poetical one, Sat. XII. 24.

* The deſcription of a ſtorm was a common topic of the poets; and in which they frequently miſcarried by too great exaggerations. Juvenal, deſcribing what his friend Catullus ſuffered in a ſtorm, ſays:

——— " Omnia fiunt
" Talia, tam graviter, ſi quando Poëtica ſurgit
" Tempeſtas."——— Sat. XII. 22.

VER. 128—131.

" Interea magno miſceri murmure pontum,
" Emiſſamque hiemem ſenſit Neptunus, et imis
" Stagna refuſa vadis: graviter commotus, et alto
" Proſpiciens, ſummâ † placidum caput extulit undâ."

† The aſpect of Neptune, in all the good antiques I have ſeen of him, is majeſtic and ſerene. The lower ſort of artiſts repreſent him ſometimes with an angry and diſturbed air; and one may obſerve the ſame difference in this particular between the greater and leſs poets, as there is between the bad and the good artiſts. Thus Ovid deſcribes Neptune with a ſullen look:

" Ter Neptunus aquis cum torvo brachia vultu
" Exſerere auſus erat; ter non tulit aëris aeſtus."

Met. II. ver. 271.

whereas Virgil expreſsly tells us, that he has a mild face, even where he is repreſenting him in a paſſion.

VER. 163—172.

" + Eſt in ſeceſſu longo locus: inſula portum
" Efficit objectu laterum; quibus omnis ab alto
" Frangitur, inque ſinus ſcindit ſeſe unda reductos.
" Hinc atque hinc vaſtae rupes, geminique minantur
" In caelum ſcopuli: quorum ſub vertice latè
" Aequora tuta ſilent: tum ſylvis ſcena coruſcis
" Deſuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra.
" Fronte ſub adverſa ſcopulis pendentibus antrum:
" Intus aquae dulces, vivoque ſedilia ſaxo;
" Nympharum domus."———

+ There is a place in the kingdom of Tunis, under the promontory of Mercury (now called Cape Bon), a few miles eaſt of Carthage, that exactly anſwers Virgil's deſcription of the grotto, where Aeneas anchored on his firſt coming to Africa. This hollow goes in 20 or 30 fathoms under the rock; and thoſe who took out the ſtone from it (for it ſeems to have been a quarry), left a ſort of pillars, at proper diſtances, to ſupport the weight at top from falling in. The arches, which theſe pillars help to form, lye open to the ſea; there are little ſtreams perpetually draining from the rocks, and ſeats of ſtone formed within, probably for the uſe of thoſe who worked in that quarry. There is a cliff on each ſide, and the brow of the mountain is overſhaded with trees. From Dr. Shaw (then at Florence, in his return from the ſpot).

VER. 181—183.

" Tum Cererem corruptam undis, Cerealiaque arma
" Expediunt feſſi rerum: frugesque receptas
" Et * torrere parant flammis, et frangere ſaxo."

* Ruaeus is miſtaken in his obſervation on this paſſage. " Torrere " flammis Cererem" ſignifies, to dry their corn, as the ancients uſed to do before they ground it.—See Georg. I. 267.

VER.

VER. 188—190.

" Navem in conſpectu nullam, tres litore * cervos
" Proſpicit errantes: hos tota armenta ſequuntur
" A tergo, et longum per valles paſcitur agmen."

* Salluſt, in his Jugurthine war, giving an account of the firſt inhabitants of Africa, ſays, that they lived chiefly upon veniſon: " Africam " initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyci, aſperi, incultique; queis cibus erat " caro ferina."

VER. 199—213.

" † Vina (*a*) bonus quae deinde cadis onerârat Aceſtes
" Litore Trinacrio, dederatque abeuntibus heros,
" Dividit; et dictis (*b*) moerentia pectora mulcet:
" O (*c*) ſocii (neque enim ignari ſumus ante malorum),
" O paſſi (*d*) graviora; dabit Deus (*e*) his quoque finem.
" Vos et Scyllaeam rabiem, penitusque ſonantes
" Accêſtis ſcopulos; vos et Cyclopea ſaxa
" Experti: (*f*) revocate animos, moeſtumque timorem
" Mittite: forſan et haec olim meminiſſe juvabit.
" Per (*g*) varios caſus, per tot diſcrimina rerum,
" Tendimus in Latium: (*h*) ſedes ubi fata quietas
" Oſtendunt: illic fas regna (*i*) reſurgere Trojae.
" Durate, et voſmet rebus ſervate ſecundis.
" Talia voce refert: (*k*) curisque ingentibus aeger,
" Spem vultu ſimulat, premit altum corde dolorem."

† This ſpeech has a good deal of the gay air that is in Teucer's in Horace: It is a gayety, mixed with concern. The occaſions too were a good deal alike.——It is not eaſy to determine, which of the two might copy the other in this caſe: but from the ſubject, and turn of it, I ſhould rather imagine that Horace's is the original. It is true, Virgil was the elder of the two; but the difference between their ages is ſo ſmall, that it is ſcarce to be taken into the queſtion: for the people, who have writ their lives, make Virgil but four years older than Horace. On the other ſide, this ſpeech of Aeneas is in Virgil's laſt work; and that of Teucer was probably among Horace's earlier pieces: for it ſeems likely that his Odes

in

in general (eſpecially his drinking and love Odes) were writ in the gayer part of his life; and his diſcourſes and moral pieces, when he grew more advanced in years, and conſequently more ſerious.——I ſhall ſubjoin Horace's ſpeech at full length, with marks to ſhew where they agree: by which it will appear, that it is in no leſs than ten particulars, in the compaſs of ſo few lines: and yet the different characters of the Epic and Lyric Poet are preſerved; and ſomething of the different tempers of the writers is viſible in each: for Horace's mirth is (of the two) the more gay and jovial; and Virgil's the more modeſt and ſedate.

——" Teucer Salamina patremque
" Cum fugeret (*k*); tamen (*a*) uda Lyaeo
" Tempora populeâ fertur vinxiſſe coronâ,
" Sic (*b*) triſtes affatus amicos.
" Quò nos cumque feret melior Fortuna parente,
" Ibimus, ô (*c*) ſocii, comitesque.
" Nil (*e*) deſperandum, Teucro duce, et auſpice Teucro:
" Certus enim (*b*) promiſit Apollo,
" (*g*) Ambiguam tellure novâ (*i*) Salamina futuram.
" O fortes, (*d*) pejoraque paſſi
" Mecum ſaepe viri, nunc (*a*) vino (*f*) pellite curas!
" Cras ingens iterabimus aequor.

Lib. I. Od. vii. 32.

VER. 246—252.

" Antenor potuit, mediis elapſus Achivis,
" Illyricos ✱[1] penetrare ſinus, atque intima tutus
" Regna Liburnorum, et fontem ſuperare * Timavi:
" Unde per ora novem vaſto cum murmure montis
" It mare proruptum, et pelago premit arva ſonanti.
" Hic tamen ille urbem ✱[2] Patavi ſedesque locavit
" Teucrorum; et genti nomen dedit, armaque fixit
" Troïa."——

✱[1] " Satis conſtat — Antenorem cum multitudine Henetûm veniſſe in " intimum maris Adriatici ſinum: Euganeisque (qui inter mare Alpesque " incolebant) pulſis, Henetos Trojanosque eas tenuiſſe terras: et in quem " primùm egreſſi ſunt locum, Troja vocatur; pagoque inde Trojano no- " men eſt: gens univerſa Veneti appellati." Liv. lib. I. § i.

De

" De Venetis duplex fertur ſententia. Quidam enim eos quoque Gal-
" los faciunt, Gallorum Venetorum qui ad occaſum habitant Gentiles.
" Alii è bello Trojano cum Antenore eò locorum evaſiſſe tradunt Vene-
" torum Paphlagonum quoſdam." Strabo, lib. V.

* The river Timavus burſts out all at once from the bottom of a mountain, and divides itſelf into nine different ſtreams before it runs on for the Adriatic ſea. It is ſo large itſelf, that Virgil calls it a ſea; and as it is at the head of the Gulph of Venice, the Italians now call it, La Madre del Mare: as if they thought all that ſea was ſupplied from it.

*[2] Virgil very properly makes Antenor paſs the Timavus; it was the boundary of the Veneti, as we are told by Strabo: " Quae trans Padum
" ſunt Veneti incolunt et Hiſtri, uſque ad Polam;" and more expreſsly, that the Timavus was the boundary between the Hiſtri and Veneti;
" Poſt Timavum Hiſtrorum eſt ora maritima uſque ad Polam."— And in another place he ſays; " Diomedi in Venetis apud Timavum honores et
" templum fuiſſe conſtitutum." —— Livy deſcribes very well the country of the Veneti, when he ſays; " Venetos ſinum circumcolere Maris Ha-
" driatici." Lib. V. —— " In ipſo autem intimo ſinûs Adriatici, Tima-
" vum eſt Diomedis templum memorabile. Habet enim portum, et ele-
" gantem lucum, et fontes ſeptem potabilis aquae ſtatim in mare alto et
" lato excidentes amne. Polybius dicit incolas locum hunc Fontem et
" Matrem Maris appellare." Strabo, lib. V.

VER. 267—278.

" Bellum ingens geret Italiâ, populosque feroces.
" Contundet, moresque viris et moenia ponet:
" † Tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aeſtas,
" Ternaque tranſierint Rutulis hiberna ſubactis.
" At puer Aſcanius, cui nunc cognomen Iülo
" Additur, (Ilus erat, dum res ſtetit Ilia regno)
" † Triginta magnos volvendis menſibus orbes
" Imperio explebit, regnumque ab ſede Lavini
" Transferet, et Longam multâ vi muniet Albam.
" Hic jam † tercentum totos regnabitur annos
" Gente ſub Hectoreâ, donec regina ſacerdos,
" Marte gravis, geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem."

† This diviſion of 3, 30, and 300, ſeems too regular for any hiſtory, but a fabulous one; as the Roman was, perhaps, even long after this.

VER.

VER. 279—286.

" Inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus
" Romulus excipiet gentem, et Mavortia condet
" Moenia, Romanosque ſuo de nomine dicet.
" His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono:
" Imperium ſine fine dedi. Quin aſpera Juno,
" Quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
" Conſilia in melius referet; mecumque fovebit
" Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam."

† The ſtatue of Juno Regina was brought from Veii to Rome; and fixed in a temple built to her on the Aventine Hill; about the year 359, U. C. Livy, lib. V. § xxi. etc. Plutarch, in Camillo, ſeems to think, that ſhe favoured the Romans at leaſt from that time. Others make it much later. " Bello Punico ſecundo, ut ait Ennius, placata Juno coeperit fa-
" vere Romanis." Serv. in loc.

VER. 292.

" ✻ Julius, à magno demiſſum nomen Iülo.

✻ " Iülum eundem (ſcil. Aeneae et Creuſae filium) Julia gens auctorem
" nominis ſui nuncupat." Liv. lib. I.

VER. 298—300.

" Claudentur Belli portae: Furor impius intus
" Saeva ſedens ſuper arma, et centum vinctus ✻ ahenis
" Poſt tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento."

† This ſeems to have been copied from ſome picture. Junius quotes Servius on this place for a picture of Bellum, and Furor, as here deſcribed; which hung in the entrance of Auguſtus's Forum, lib. II. c. viii. § x.

Virgil calls it Furor, or the party that oppoſed the Caeſarean line, with the ſeverity of one that had liſted himſelf on the other ſide.

✻ Ruaeus in his note ſays; " Alludit, juxta Turnebum, ad imaginem
" Belli, hoc habitu pictam ab Apelle, et ab Auguſto dedicatam in foro
" ſuo; ut eſt apud Plin. lib. XXXV. x. Sed nondum hoc tempore Fo-
" rum dedicatum erat." On the contrary, I ſhould think, that this was a juſt obſervation of Turnebus, and that the objection made to it is idle;

idle; for notwithſtanding that Auguſtus had not yet dedicated his Forum when Virgil wrote this, yet it was ſufficient, if the picture was then in Rome: for its being placed afterwards in a ſolemn manner by Auguſtus in his Forum, was a plain proof of his value for the piece; and Virgil's alluſion to it in this place was a compliment to Auguſtus's taſte. The paſſage in Pliny is thus. Speaking of the famous pictures by Apelles renowned in ſeveral places, he adds: "Romae Caſtorem et Pollucem cum "Victoriâ et Alexandro Magno mirantur: item Belli imaginem, reſtrictis à "tergo manibus; Alexandro in curru triumphante. Quas utrasque ta-"bulas Divus Auguſtus in Fori ſui partibus celeberrimis dicaverat."

VER. 318—321.

"Cui mater mediâ ſeſe tulit obvia ſylvâ,
"Virginis os habitumque gerens, et virginis arma
"Spartanae: vel qualis equos Threïſſa fatigat
"Harpalyce, volucremque fugâ praevertitur † Hebrum."

† Monſ. Huet thinks it ſhould be Eurum: See his reaſons, Huetiana, § 64. which ſeem to be approved of by Ruaeus.

VER. 406—409.

"Dixit: et † avertens roſeâ cervice refulſit,
"Ambroſiaeque comae divinum vertice odorem
"Spiravere: pedes veſtis defluxit ad imos,
"Et vera inceſſu patuit Dea."

† Here are four ſigns of a divinity:

1. That beautiful Rubor in the Carnazione of Venus; expreſſed by Apelles, and deſcribed by Cicero (De Nat. Deor. lib. I. p. 16. Ed. Ald.)
2. A fine Smell proceeding from them.
3. The Veſt of Dignity, down the feet. And,
4. A Motion, not like that of mortals.

There were ſeveral others:

——"Divini ſigna decoris,
"Ardentesque notate oculos; qui ſpiritus illi;
"Qui voltus, vocisque ſonus, vel greſſus eunti."
Aen. V. 650.

It is to this *Odour of Sanctity*, perhaps, that Virgil refers in his IVth Georgic, ver. 415; and Ovid certainly in his Faſti:

——— " Tenues feceſſit in auras:
" Manſit odor; poſſes ſcire fuiſſe Deam."

Other ſignals:

" Os humerosque Deo ſimilis: namque ipſa decoram
" Caeſariem gnato genetrix, lumenque juventae
" Purpureum, et laetos oculis afflârat honores."
Aen. I. ver. 591.

—— " Ego, quae Divûm incedo regina."—— Ver. 46.

" Non ambulamus, ſed incedimus," ſays Seneca.

Stukely ſays, the walking of the Gods is deſcribed by the antients as a ſwift, ſmooth, gliding motion; like the motions of a ſerpent. Heliodorus ſpeaks of the wavy motions of the Gods, not by opening their feet, but with a certain aërial force. Sanchoniathon (in Euſebio, p. e. I. 7.) imagines that the ſerpent performs its motion by its ſpirit, and not by corporeal organs: and Pherecydes Syrus, where he ſays, the Gods have ſnakes feet, means that their motion was ſmooth and ſweeping, without the alternate uſe of legs: It was called, Inceſſus. — Stukely, Aburg. p. 1. 57.

Virgil, deſcribing the motion of a ſerpent, ſays, it was " Attactu nullo," Aen. VII. 354.

VER. 450—453.

" Hic templum Junoni ingens Sidonia Dido
" Condebat, donis opulentum et numine Divae:
" Aerea cui gradibus ſurgebant limina †, nexaeque
" Aere trabes: foribus cardo ſtridebat ahenis."

† This was not uncommon in the temples of the antients. The doors to the Rotonda at Rome are covered with braſs, and turn on braſs hinges. The Portico was covered with the ſame formerly; and it reſted on braſs beams, faſtened with vaſt nails of the ſame metal. There is one of theſe very nails, which I have ſeen in the Great Duke's gallery, ſo large that it weighs 46 pound.

* " Priſci limina etiam ac valvas ex aere in templis factitavere." Plin. lib. XXXIV. c. iii. —— The paſſage above was certainly intended as a compliment

compliment to Auguſtus; who in his third Conſulſhip, that is, in the time that Virgil was writing his Aeneis, finiſhed the Pantheon, and beautified it in the manner as Virgil here deſcribes the temple of Juno. The braſs doors are ſtill there. The "trabes nexae aere," Nardini aſſures us, were likewiſe remaining in his time: "I travi pur di bronzo maëſtrevolmente "fatti ciaſcheduno con tre groſſe tavole da chiodi pur di bronzo conneſſe "ſi ſon veduti a noſtro tempo; finche Urbano VIII, l'anno 1627. le levò, "per farne all' altar maggiore della chieſa di S. Pietro colonne, et a "Caſtel S. Angelo artiglerie, ponendove in loro luogo travi di legno." See Nardini, lib. VI. c. xvi.——Nardini likewiſe ſays; "Affermano il "Fulvio ed il Marliano haver veduto ſcoperto l'antico piano avanti al "tempio, da cui tanto ſi ſaliva quanto ora ſi ſcende.

"Aerea cui gradibus ſurgebant limina."

Deſgodetz, in his Edifices antiques de Rome, Planche 13, gives us an elevation of one of the braſs doors of the Pantheon, with its pilaſter and corniche (or limen), which, as well as the doors and pilaſters, was formerly covered with braſs, as Deſgodetz aſſures us, Planche 5. "La fer-"meture de la porte eſt de bronze Corinthien appliqué ſur du bois; les "bazes et les chapiteaux des pilaſtres et la corniche de cette fermeture "qui etoient auſſi de bronze ont été emportés, et il ne reſte plus que le "bois qui étoit deſſous; le treillis qui eſt par le haut eſt de bronze "fondu, de l'epaiſſeur d'un pouce."

Deſgodetz ſuppoſes likewiſe very juſtly, that the Pediment of the Portico was faced with braſs in bas-relief: "Dans le Timpan de deſſous on "voit pluſieurs trous, qui font conjecturer qu'il y avoit un bas-relief de "bronze attaché dans ces trous par des crampons." And further he ſays: "Les inſcriptions qui ſont dans la frize et dans les bandes de l'architrave "ſont gravées dans le marbre, en ſorte qu'il y a lieu de croire que dans ces "graveures il y avoit des lettres de bronze, parceque les graveures ſont "percées fort avant en quelques endroits, comme pour y ſceller les cram-"pons qui tenoient les lettres attachées." See Planche 3.

VER. 468, 469.

——"Animum picturâ paſcit inani,
"Multa gemens *; largoque humectat flumine vultum."

* We ſhall find (as Mr. Dryden obſerves, in his Dedication to the Aeneis), that the tears of Aeneas were always on a laudable occaſion.

VER. 494—497.

" Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
" Penthesilea furens, mediisque in millibus ardet;
" Aurea subnectens * exertae cingula mammae
" Bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo."

* Q. whether Exerta signifies cut off, as is commonly understood? or not rather at liberty, being naked and exposed. Claudian, in his Paneg. de Consulatu Prob. et Olyb. describing Rome in the habit of an Amazon, says:

" Dextrum nuda latus, niveos exerta lacertos,
" Audacem retegit mammam."———

The Poet here fully represents the right side, particularly the breast, naked, and exposed; and though he endeavours so much to vary his expressions, yet he says nothing directly of the breast being cut off. He applies the word Exerta to the Lacerti, which cannot be supposed to be cut off. He must therefore mean only, " having the right arm at liberty, " and prepared for action." Had the breast been really cut off, it is not probable that a poet, who was always so fond of expatiating, would have lost an opportunity of enlarging on such a topic.

† In all the figures of Amazons by the antient artists that I have ever observed (and I have observed a great number in statues, reliefs, gems, and medals), I never saw any one that had either breast cut off. There is one generally naked (or exerted), and the other is generally covered with part of the thin vest, that falls down toward their knees. Their legs are naked; and they are generally represented with a bow or ax, and the moony-shield; just as they are described by Virgil, and the other Roman poets:

" At medias inter caedes exultat Amazon,
" Unum exerta latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla;
" Et nunc lenta manu surgens hastilia pensat,
" Nunc validam dextrâ rapit indefessa bipennem:
" Aureus ex humero sonat arcus et arma Dianae."

Aen. XI. 652.

———" Nihil ipsa neque aurae,
" Nec sonitûs memor, aut venientis ab aethere teli:

" Hasta

" Haſta ſub exertam donec perlata papillam
" Haeſit."——— Aen. XI. 803.

———" Amazonidum nudatis bellica mammis
" Turba."——— Prop. lib. III. El. xiv.

" Felix Hippolyte nudâ tulit arma papillâ." Id. lib. IV. El. iii.

——" Inde Lycen ferit ad confine papillae ;
" Inde Thoën, quà pelta vacat."——— Flac. VI. 375.

VER. 534—537.

" Eſt locus, Heſperiam Graii cognomine dicunt :
" Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebae :
" Oenotrii ❋ coluere viri ; nunc fama, minores
" Italiam dixiſſe, ducis de nomine, gentem."

❋ " Priſci Oenotriam vocârunt Italiam, quicquid terrae à Siculo freto " uſque ad ſinum Tarentinum et Poſidoniatem tendit ; quod nomen deinde " ita obtinuit, ut uſque ad Alpium radices proferretur.—— Probabile eſt " eos, qui primùm Itali ſunt appellati, ob res ſecundas nomen cum finiti- " mis communicâſſe ; idque deinde ita auctum, tantiſper dum ad Romanos " ſumma rerum pervenit." Strabo, lib. V. initio.

VER. 707—710.

" Quinquaginta intus ❋[1] famulae, quibus ordine ❋[2] longo
" Cura penum ſtruere, et flammis adolere Penates :
" Centum aliae, totidemque pares aetate miniſtri,
" Qui dapibus menſas onerent et pocula ponant."

❋[1] Houſekeepers, and their attendants ; it appearing by a diſcourſe in A. Gellius on the word Penus, that it ſignified all ſorts of proviſion laid up in ſtore for a family either for eating or drinking. Lib. IV. c. i.

❋[2] It is diſputed in the ſame place whether this ought to be read *longo* to agree with Ordine, or *longam* to agree with Penum : " Meminiſti " enim credo quaeri ſolitum quid Virgilius dixerit ? Penum inſtruere, vel " longam, vel longo ordine. Utrumque enim profectò ſcis legi ſolitum." Gellius, ibid.—If *longam* is the true reading, it means a great ſtock, or magazines to ſerve a great while : for we find by the ſame author, that the daily proviſions for the table did not properly come under the word Penus.

Penus. " Nam quae ad edendum bibendumque in dies ſingulos prandii " aut coenae cauſâ parantur, Penus non ſunt; ſed ea potiùs quae hujuſce " generis, longae uſionis gratiâ, contrahuntur et reconduntur." Gellius, ibid.

VER. 744, 745.

——— " Citharâ † crinitus Iöpas
" Perſonat auratâ." ———

† The bards of old were in the higheſt eſteem. They ſang to their golden harps, at the feaſts of kings and princes; were uſually dreſt (among the Aſiatics at leaſt) in a long embroidered robe, which reached the ground; and had their hair finely dreſt out, and flowing all down their ſhoulders. This latter therefore was one of their known characteriſtics; and Virgil, by his giving the epithet of Crinitus to Iöpas on this occaſion, meant (in his uſual ſhort way) to intimate all the finery and dignity of his appearance. — Had the author of a piece publiſhed a few years ago (under a name that would make every body fond of reading it) been aware of this, methinks he could never have called Crinitus here, " an " epithet ſo wholly foreign to the purpoſe." See Diſc. on antient and modern learning, by Mr. Addiſon, p. 6.

VER. 760.

——— " Te jam * ſeptima portat
" Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aeſtas."

* The beginning of the ſeventh year, or rather ſummer. — This appears from Aen. III. ver. 8.

——— " Vix prima inceperat aeſtas,
" Et pater Anchiſes dare fatis vela jubebat."

AENEID THE SECOND.

VER. 8, 9.

——— " Et jam ❋ nox humida caelo
" Praecipitat, ſuadentque cadentia ſidera ſomnos."

❋ If the interpretation of Ruaeus is right, that Aeneas does not begin his ſtory till towards break of day (die proximè imminente), then, as it is long, and takes up the two following books, it could not poſſibly be finiſhed till broad day; which is utterly inconſiſtent with the beginning of the IVth book.

VER. 21—24.

" Eſt in conſpectu ❋ Tenedos, notiſſima famâ
" Inſula; dives opum, Priami dum regna manebant:
" Nunc tantum ſinus, et ſtatio malefida carinis.
" Huc ſe profecti deſerto in littore condunt."

❋ " The iſland Tenedos is about four or five miles from the ſhore of Aſia; is about twenty miles in circuit; and hath a town and caſtle, which lieth on the north end of it, regarding the promontory of Sigeum towards the eaſt. Sir G. Wheeler, p. 66.

VER. 76—80.

" † Ille haec, depoſitâ tandem formidine, fatur:
" Cuncta equidem tibi, Rex, fuerint quaecunque, fatebor
" Vera, inquit; neque me Argolicâ de gente negabo;
" Hoc primum; nec, ſi miſerum fortuna ❋ Sinonem
" Finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget."

† This verſe is omitted in the old Florentine manuſcript; and has been added (with a different ink, and another hand) at the bottom of the page. Whoever added it ſeems to have overlooked the *Inquit*, in the very next line but one.

❋ Sinon

* Sinon was no inconſiderable perſon; a relation of the ingenious Palamedes, ver. 86; and ſo ingenious himſelf as to have been the inventor of the watch-tower, built during the time of the ſiege of Troy. "Spe-" cularum ſignificationem Trojano bello invenit Sinon." Plin. lib. VII. c. lvi.

VER. 152—157.

——" Ille dolis inſtructus et arte Pelaſgâ,
" Suſtulit exuras vinclis ad ſidera palmas.
" Vos, aeterni ignes, et non violabile * veſtrum
" Teſtor numen, ait: vos arae enſesque nefandi,
" Quos fugi; vittaeque Deûm, quas hoſtia geſſi:
" Fas mihi Graiorum ſacrata reſolvere jura."

* Markland reads here, Veſtae; ſee his notes on Statius, Sylv. I. ver. 35. and concludes his note with this juſt obſervation: " Vide autem quàm " artificioſè Sinonem inducit Virgilius ingredientem orationem ejus à men-" tione et invocatione Veſtae; ut ſcilicet gratiam Trojanorum captaret: " Veſta enim ab iis maximè colebatur.

VER. 201—222.

" * Laocoon, ductus Neptuno ſorte ſacerdos,
" Solemnes taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras.
" Ecce autem gemini à Tenedo tranquilla per alta
" (Horreſco referens) immenſis orbibus angues
" Incumbunt pelago, pariterque ad litora tendunt:
" Pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta, jubaeque
" Sanguineae exuperant undas; pars caetera pontum
" Pone legit, ſinuatque immenſa volumine terga.
" Fit ſonitus ſpumante ſalo: jamque arva tenebant,
" Ardentesque oculos ſuffecti ſanguine et igni,
" Sibila lambebant linguis vibrantibus ora.
" Diffugimus viſu exangues: illi agmine certo
" Laocoonta petunt; et primum parva duorum
" Corpora natorum ſerpens amplexus uterque
" Implicat, et miſeros morſu depaſcitur artus.
" Poſt, ipſum auxilio ſubeuntem ac tela ferentem
" Corripiunt, ſpirisque ligant ingentibus: et jam

" Bis

" Bis medium amplexi, bis collo ſquamea circum
" Terga dati, ſuperant capite et cervicibus altis.
" Ille ſimul manibus tendit divellere nodos,
" Perfuſus ſanie vittas atroque veneno ;
" Clamores ſimul horrendos ad ſidera tollit."

* This ſtory of Laocoon, ſo elegantly deſcribed by Virgil, alludes to a famous Grecian ſtatue, which was eſteemed one of the greateſt maſterpieces of the antient ſculpture; and which was undoubtedly well known to the Romans in Virgil's time, if not already brought thither. I know it is diſputed by the virtuoſi whether the ſtatue was copied from Virgil, or Virgil's deſcription taken from the ſtatue. The latter is pretty manifeſt: For Pliny tells us expreſsly, lib. XXXVI. c. v. that this groupe was made by three eminent artiſts together, viz. Ageſander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus: And, lib. XXXIV. c. viii. though he does not tell the time when they all lived, yet he tells us that Athenodorus was one of the ſcholars of Polycletus, who flouriſhed about the 87th Olympiad, or near the 320th year of Rome, between the times of Phideas and Praxiteles: therefore we muſt ſuppoſe that this groupe was made near 400 years before Virgil wrote this. Pliny likewiſe in the ſame chapter tells us, that after the 120th Olympiad, this art declined: and though it revived again about the 155th, yet it never arrived to its former glory. And therefore, as this groupe was celebrated as one of the beſt pieces that ever was made, we may ſuppoſe reaſonably that it was the work of the age when this art was in its greateſt perfection. That this is the ſame ſtatue, which is ſtill preſerved at the Belvidere in the Vatican, cannot be doubted; the whole groupe being of one piece of marble as Pliny deſcribes it, and being found in or near the place where he ſays it ſtood in his time. Speaking of the works of the moſt famous ſtatuaries, he ſays: " Multorum obſcurior fama eſt, quorundam claritati in operibus
" eximiis obſtante numero artificum; quoniam nec unus occupat gloriam,
" nec plures pariter nuncupari poſſunt. Sicut in Laocoonte, qui eſt in
" Titi Imperatoris domo, opus omnibus et picturae et ſtatuariae artis
" praeferendum. Ex uno lapide eum et liberos draconumque mirabiles
" nexus de conſilii ſententiâ fecere ſummi artifices, Ageſander et Polydorus et Athenodorus Rhodii." Lib. XXXVI. c. v. — Donatus, ſpeaking of the baths of Titus, ſays: " In vineis loci ſtatuam Laocoontis laudatam à Plinio, conſervatamque in hortis Vaticani Pontificiis, inventam
" viderunt tempora vix inchoata prioris ſeculi." Lib. III. c. x. —— And

Nardini confirms the ſame: " La ſtatua belliſſima del Laocoonte con " duoi figli attorniati da ſerpi retrovata nel tempo di Leone X. preſſo a " S. Lucia in Selce, e le Sette Sale, e traſportata in Belvedere, dove hoggi " ſtà." Lib. III. c. x. —— Though it cannot well be doubted but Virgil had the famous ſtatue of Laocoon in view when he wrote this ſtory, yet it is obſerved that he has varied from it in many particulars; and that, perhaps, for the following reaſon. In the ſtatue the father and ſons are repreſented entangled by the ſerpents in one groupe; which the ſtatuaries were under a neceſſity of doing, becauſe they could not repreſent ſucceſſion of actions in the ſame ſtone: but the Poet not being under the ſame reſtriction, relates the ſtory as it may more naturally be ſuppoſed to have happened. He firſt makes the ſerpents ſeize the children, each of them one; and when they had diſpatched them, then they ſeize the father coming to their aſſiſtance. A leſs judicious author would probably have endeavoured to have followed the ſtatue as ſervilely as poſſible; but Virgil choſe rather to copy the moſt maſterly ſtrokes of it; the ſerpents twiſting themſelves about and entangling their bodies; Laocoon " tendentem manibus divellere nodos," and " clamores horrendos ad ſidera " tollentem :" and where it was proper, he varies from the original.

† As ſtatuary is confined to one ſingle point of time, in the famous groupe of the Laocoon, in the Vatican, you ſee the ſerpents killing him and his two ſons together. Poetry has a larger ſcope; and can deſcribe each ſtep of any action diſtinctly. Virgil therefore, in his deſcription of the ſame thing, gives the whole courſe of it, and every part of it ſucceſſively. ——You firſt ſee the ſerpents on the ſea; then on the ſhore; then killing the ſons of Laocoon; and laſtly killing Laocoon himſelf. This muſt make that figure and his deſcription differ in moſt particulars; and indeed there is ſcarce any thing in which they agree, except the attitude of Laocoon himſelf, and the air of his head: in which Virgil ſeems to have copied that ſtatue very ſtrongly.

VER. 264.

——" Primusque Machaon,
" Et Menelaus; et, ipſe doli fabricator, ❋ Epeus."

❋ That there was a tradition in Italy, that Epeus was the builder of the Trojan horſe, is manifeſt from Juſtin: " Metapontini in templo Mi- " nervae ferramenta quibus Epeus, à quo conditi ſunt, Equum Trojanum fabri-

" fabricavit, oſtentant. Lib. XX. c. ii. —— Pliny ſeems to ſpeak of this horſe, as if it was the ſame with the battering-ram: " Equum, qui nunc " Aries appellatur, in muralibus machinis Epeum ad Trojam inveniſſe di- " cunt." Nat. Hiſt. VII. 56.

VER. 293—297.

" ❋ Sacra, ſuosque tibi commendat Troja Penates:
" Hos cape fatorum comites: his moenia quaere,
" Magna pererrato ſtatues quae denique ponto.
" Sic ait, et manibus vittas, Veſtamque potentem,
" Aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem."

❋ Dryden, in his dedication to the Aeneis, remarks very judiciouſly, that a compliment is here paid to Auguſtus: and that Virgil plainly touches at the office of high-prieſthood with which Auguſtus was inveſted; and which made his perſon more ſacred and inviolable, than even the Tribunitial power: and that it was not for nothing that this moſt judicious Poet made that office vacant by the death of Pantheus, ver. 429, for his hero to ſucceed in it.

VER. 351.

" Exceſſere omnes adytis ❋ arisque relictis
" Dii, quibus imperium hoc ſteterat."———

❋ This was a general ſuperſtitious thought among the old Heathens.—See Curtius, lib. IV, of Apollo's preparing to quit the Tyrians.—See alſo Macrob. Sat. lib. III. c. ix.—Plin. lib. XXVIII. c. ii.—Liv. lib. V.

VER. 396—401.

" Vadimus immixti Danais, haud numine noſtro:
" Multaque per caecam congreſſi praelia noctem
" Conſerimus, multos Danaûm demittimus Orco.
" Diffugiunt alii ad naves, et littora curſu
" Fida petunt: pars ingentem formidine turpi
" Scandunt ❋ rurſus equum, et notâ conduntur in alvo."

❋ This is more outré, than any thing I know of in all the Aeneid. It may be a pretty thought, but it would perhaps better become Lucan

than the gravity of Virgil. After the diſcovery of the trick, the horſe was a very improper place to hide in; but indeed Virgil repreſents them ſeized, " formidine turpi;" and in ſuch a caſe people ſeldom know what they do.

VER. 416—418.

" Adverſi rupto ceu quondam turbine venti
" Confligunt, Zephyrusque Notusque, et laetus Eois
" Eurus † equis."———

† The author of Polymetis ſuſpects, from this paſſage, that Eurus might be ſometimes repreſented by the antient artiſts, either on horſeback, or perhaps in a chariot whirling through the air: The Roman poets, ſays he, ſometimes uſing the expreſſion *in equis*, to ſignify a perſon's being in a chariot; and ſo may poſſibly uſe Equitare for the ſame. Flaccus uſes an expreſſion of another wind (the north), which ſeems to imply his being in a chariot:

———" Fundunt ſe carcere laeti
" Thraces equi; Zephyrusque."——— Arg. I. ver. 611.

See Pol. XIII. 10.——Horace uſes Equitavit of Eurus:

" Dirus per urbes Afer ut Italas,
" Ceu flamma per taedas, vel Eurus
" Per Siculas equitavit undas."
Lib. IV. Od. iv. ver. 44.

VER. 431—436.

" Iliaci cineres, et flamma extrema meorum,
" Teſtor, in occaſu veſtro, nec tela, nec ullas
" Vitaviſſe vices Danaûm; et, ſi fata fuiſſent
" Ut caderem, meruiſſe manu. Divellimur inde,
" Iphitus et Pelias mecum: quorum Iphitus aevo
" Jam gravior ❋, Pelias et vulnere tardus Ulyſſei."

❋ Theſe circumſtances are added very properly. That Dido might not ſuſpect that Aeneas deſerted his friends, who were engaged in the ſame party with him, and ran away, he ſays:

———" Si fata fuiſſent
" Ut caderem, meruiſſe manu."———

And

And to prove that it was purely Fate or Providence which protected him, he adds, that the two friends preſerved with him were Iphitus and Pelias; the one very old, the other lame; perſons very unlikely to eſcape by flight. We muſt farther obſerve, that Divellimur expreſſes violence, and by it Aeneas declares that, after the loſs of ſo many friends, it was with difficulty and reluctance that he was obliged to retire. " Divellimur " inde."

VER. 567.

" † Jamque adeo ſuper unus eram," etc.

† All this paſſage (from " Jamque adeo ſuper unus eram," to " furiatâ " mente ferebar, ver. 588.) is omitted in the Florentine manuſcript; and no manner of notice taken of it in the margin.

✻ There is a little treatiſe written by one Franciſcus Campanus in the year 1536, and printed at Milan 1540, relating to the 22 diſputed verſes here, " Jamque adeo ſuper unus eram," etc. where Aeneas tells Dido, that whilſt Troy was in flames he diſcovered Helen at the altar of Veſta; and was ſo far enraged againſt her, that in his paſſion he had thoughts of killing her, had he not been prevented by Venus. Theſe verſes are left out of many manuſcripts and editions of Virgil; and it is pretended they were ſtruck out by Tucca and Varus, as being inconſiſtent with the account which Deïphobus gives of Helen in the VIth book.

——— " Me fata mea et ſcelus exitiale Lacaenae
" His merſere malis," etc.———

This author ſhews plainly, that by leaving out thoſe 22 verſes, the ſenſe and connexion of that part of the poem muſt utterly be deſtroyed; and thinks it would be more pardonable to ſtrike out the ſpeech of Deïphobus in the VIth, than thoſe verſes in the IId, ſuppoſing it neceſſary to ſtrike out either: but he apprehends no neceſſity of doing either; both paſſages, as he thinks, being reconcileable.

The account Aeneas gives of Helen being real according to the ſituation in which he ſays he himſelf ſaw her; and the account Deïphobus gives of her only conjectural, and what he had good reaſon to ſuſpect, but the truth of which he could not be ſure of, being, as he himſelf declares, faſt aſleep when the enemy broke in upon him.

VER.

VER. 681—693.

——" Manus inter moeſtorumque ora parentum,
" Ecce levis ſummo de vertice viſus Iüli
" Fundere lumen apex †[1]; tractuque innoxia molli
" Lambere flamma comas, et circum tempora paſci:
" Nos pavidi trepidare metu, crinemque flagrantem
" Excutere, et ſanctos reſtinguere fontibus ignes.
" At pater Anchiſes oculos ad ſidera laetus
" Extulit, et caelo †[2] palmas cum voce tetendit.
" Jupiter omnipotens, precibus ſi flecteris ullis,
" Aſpice nos, hoc tantum: et, ſi pietate meremur,
" Da deinde auxilium, pater, atque haec omina firma.
" Vix ea fatus erat ſenior, ſubitoque fragore
" Intonuit ✵ laevum."———

†[1] This is not a poetical ornament, any more than the account of the light ſeen on Lavinia's hair (Aen. VII. 71—101. poſth.)—It was looked on as a great omen, and even to portend the regal dignity to thoſe on whom it appeared. Livy records a like phaenomenon's happening to Servius Tullius, while yet a boy in Tarquinius Priſcus's family, (lib. I. § 39. See ib. § 41.)—" Hominum quoque capita veſpertinis horis magno " praeſagio circumfulgent:" Pliny, of the lambent lights called Caſtor and Pollux, lib. II. c. xxxvi.

†[2] This was an attitude uſed by the Romans of old when they prayed, and is ſaid to be uſed among the Africans to this day. Virgil repeats it in other places.

——" Duplices tendens ad ſidera palmas,
" Talia voce refert."——— Aen. I. 97.

" Ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina fruſtra;
" Lumina, nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas."
Ib. II. 406. of Caſſandra.

——" Amens animi, et rumore accenſus amaro
" Dicitur ante aras, media inter numina Divûm,
" Multa Jovem manibus ſupplex oraſſe ſupinis."
Ib. IV. 205. of Iarbas.

And

And ſo Horace, to his ſervant in the country:

" Caelo ſupinas ſi tuleris manus,
" Naſcente lunâ, ruſtica Phidile," etc. Lib. III. Od. xxiii.

❋ Thunder on the left hand was a fortunate and confirming omen. When the prophet Amphiaraus in Statius, by order of Adraſtus king of Argos, conſults the heavens, whether the people of Argos ought to make war with Thebes in favour of Polynices againſt his brother Eteocles, or not: He prays to Jupiter, that, if they were to march on, and attack Thebes, he would thunder on the left; but if they ought to ſtay at home, he would then give a ſignal to the right.

" Si datur, et duris ſedet haec ſententia Parcis
" Solvere Echionias Lernaeâ cuſpide portas;
" Signa feras, laevusque tones.———
" Si prohibes, hic necte moras; dextrisque profundum
" Alitibus praetexe diem."——— Statius, Theb. lib. III. 491.

VER. 707—710.

——" Age, chare pater, cervici imponere noſtrae:
" Ipſe ❋ ſubibo humeris: nec me labor iſte gravabit.
" Quo res cunque cadent, unum et commune periclum,
" Una ſalus ambobus erit."———

❋ " Qualis Aeneas patrem geſtans pingitur, reverendus et hoſtibus." Appian. lib. IV. 986.——† There is a figure of this in Polymetis, p. 64.

VER. 745, 746.

" ❋ Quem non incuſavi amens hominumque Deorumque?
" Aut quid in everſâ vidi crudelius urbe?

❋ Mr. Dryden, very juſtly, takes notice of the addreſs of Virgil, in ſpeaking of the loſs of Creüſa here. " It was not for nothing," ſays he, " that this paſſage was related with all theſe tender circumſtances: Aeneas " told it, Dido heard it." Dedication to his Tranſl. of Virgil.

AENEID

AENEID THE THIRD.

VER. 4—7.

" Diverſa exilia, et *[1] deſertas quaerere terras,
" Auguriis agimur Divûm: claſſemque ſub ipſa
" Antandro, et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae:
" *[2] Incerti quo fata ferant; ubi ſiſtere detur."

*[1] Father Catrou has here altered the text, and reads Diverſas; and thinks the repetition a beauty: but certainly there is no reaſon for the alteration; Deſertae, or Vacuae terrae, were the moſt proper to plant colonies in, and exiles to look for: and one may obſerve that Virgil uſes the ſame word Deſerta (ver. 112. " Deſertaque litore Crete") where it is particularly urged as an inducement to go and ſettle in Crete.

*[2] Ruaeus has the following note on this paſſage: " Tamen Creüſa " monuerat, Aen. II. 781. in Heſperiâ ad ripas Tybris ſedes eſſe futuras. " Ergo, vel non credidit inani Creüſae ſimulacro; vel illud Creüſae vati- " cinium ex iis eſt locis, quos Virgilius emendare debuiſſet."—— Virgil, a few verſes after (viz. 186.), gives a good reaſon why Aeneas did not entirely depend upon what was told him by Creüſa; when he makes Anchiſes, on the like occaſion, (viz.) on reflecting on Caſſandra's propheſies, cry out,

" Quis ad Heſperiae venturos littora Teucros
" Crederet?"———

See other reaſons given by Father Catrou, in his remarks on this place: to which one may add, that this critic does not conſider that, among other things, Creüſa foretold " longa exilia;" and therefore, ſuppoſing Aeneas gave entire credit to the viſion, he could not expect to find an immediate ſettlement in Italy on his firſt landing, without taking proper meaſures to effect it. And if ſo, in what country could he hope to find the firſt reception and aſſiſtance ſooner, than Thrace? " Hoſpitium antiquum " Trojae."

VER.

VER. 11—18.

——— " ❋[1] Feror exul in altum,
" Cum ſociis, natoque, Penatibus, et magnis Diis.
" Terra procul vaſtis colitur Mavortia campis,
" Thraces arant, acri quondam regnata Lycurgo:
" Hoſpitium antiquum Trojae, ſociique Penates,
" Dum fortuna fuit. ❋[1] Feror huc, et litore curvo
" ❋[2] Moenia prima loco, fatis ingreſſus ❋[3] iniquis;
" Aeneadasque meo nomen de nomine fingo."

❋[1] Feror, twice repeated here. Obſerve the expreſſion. He ſeems to be forced in by fate, not to go by choice: yet " Hoſpitium antiquum" was reaſon ſufficient for going thither.

❋[2] The city of Aenos; where Caepio, Cato's brother, died, and was there buried by him; and a ſtately monument of Thaſſian marble erected over him: Plutarch, Life of Cato the younger. It is now called Eno. See Ruaeus.

❋[3] The Poet ſeems here, by a ſpirit of propheſy, to foretel that this country would be fatal to the deſcendants of Aeneas; as Conſtantinople afterwards proved.

VER. 22—29.

" † Forte fuit juxtà tumulus, quo cornea ſummo
" Virgulta, et denſis haſtilibus horrida myrtus.
" Acceſſi, viridemque ab humo convellere ſylvam
" Conatus, ramis tegerem ut frondentibus aras,
" Horrendum et dictu video miſerabile monſtrum.
" Nam, quae prima ſolo ruptis radicibus arbos
" Vellitur, huic atro liquuntur ſanguine guttae,
" Et terram tabo maculant," etc.———

† The only way to judge truly of the ancients, in points that are purely ancient, is to imagine ourſelves in their places; in the ſame circumſtances, and with the ſame ſort of ideas they had. As we can very ſeldom do this, we are very often miſtaken about them.

I can't ſay that I approve this paſſage; but is not the fault in myſelf? Would it have ſhocked me, had I been born a Roman, in the time of Auguſtus, and had read it ſoon after the Aeneid was publiſhed?

They ſtocked every thing with Divinities and Intelligences: there was not a river, a lake, a grot, or a grove, without them. Theſe were not poetical ornaments; but the real object of the belief and religion of the common people; and the profeſſed religion of the great.

When they believed every grove and every tuft of trees to have ſome particular Divinities belonging to it; it was but one ſtep farther to entertain the notion of Intelligences vitally annexed to a tree, which was their received notion of the Hamadryades. (See Bayle, Art. HAMAD.)

Thoſe ſtories of Daphne, Phaëton's ſiſters, and the like, were known ſtories too; and tolerably well received by the moſt believing part of mankind, the vulgar.

There is even an Embaſſador in Livy, that treats a conſecrated tree in general as an intelligent being, and as a Deity. " Tum ex legatis unus " abiens; " Et haec (inquit) ſacrata quercus, et quicquid Deorum eſt, " audiant foedus à vobis ruptum." Lib. III. § xxv.

VER. 73—77.

" Sacra mari colitur medio gratiſſima tellus
" Nereïdum matri et Neptuno Aegeo:
" Quam pius Arcitenens oras et littora circum
" Errantem, ❋ Mycone celsâ Gyaroque revinxit;
" Immotamque coli dedit, et contemnere ventos."

❋ Delos being reputed the birth-place of Apollo, the circumjacent iſlands (therefore called the Cyclades), to make it the more famous, ſent thither by public order prieſts, ſacrifices, etc. inſtituting there public ſolemnities: Sir G. Wheeler, p. 53. He was on the ſpot; and tells us, that the iſland is but ſmall, not exceeding five or ſix miles about; that it hath the iſland Rheucia weſtward, from which it is parted by a channel of about half a mile over; the ſouthern parts of Mycone eaſt; and the channel between Mycone and Tino to the north. It is now utterly diſinhabited; but the ruins of its former glory ſtill remaining, of which Sir George gives a deſcription, with a draught of the iſland. He ſays, the iſland lieth low in reſpect of the circumjacent iſles, which are beyond proportion higher, p. 58.

By Mycone and Gyarus, the Poet probably means all the Cyclades, though he names only two inſtead of the whole. He adds, Celsâ, with reſpect to what is obſerved above by Sir George Wheeler. — Mycone is

is not ſo far diſtant from Delos, as Ferrarius in his Dictionary aſſureth; it being but four miles at the moſt. It may have 25 or 30 miles in circumference. Sir G. W. p. 62.

Statius, in deſcribing a ſtorm in the Aegean ſea, ſays:

——— " Dubiae motis radicibus obſtant
" Cyclades: ipſa tuâ Mycone Gyaroque revelli,
" Dele, times; magnique fidem teſtaris alumni."
Thebaid. lib. III. ver. 438.

VER. 94—98.

" ❋ Dardanidae duri, quae vos à ſtirpe parentum
" Prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto
" Accipiet reduces: antiquam exquirite matrem.
" Hic domus † Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris,
" Et nati natorum, et qui naſcentur ab illis."

❋ Obſerve, the oracle ſpeaks to the Trojans by this name, not Teucri, to intimate their deſcent from Dardanus; but this circumſtance Anchiſes might eaſily overlook.

† Homer had ſaid long before,

——— Αἰνείαο βιὴ Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,
Καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τοί κεν μεθόπισθε γένωνται. Il. Υ. 308.

It was not uncommon of old, to have nations entertain prophecies of their being deſigned by Heaven to be maſters of all the world. Such were pretended among the Romans, from the very infancy of their ſtate; and was confirmed on the building of the old Capitol; to which Virgil alludes in another place:

" Dum domus Aeneae Capitolî immobile ſaxum
" Accolet, imperiumque Pater Romanus habebit."
Aen. IX. 449.

See this proved more at large, in Pol. III. 11.

VER. 102—113.

" Tum genitor, veterum [1] volvens monumenta virorum:
" Audite, ô proceres, ait, et ſpes diſcite veſtras.
" Creta Jovis magni medio jacet inſula ponto;
" Mons [2] Idaeus ubi, et gentis cunabula noſtrae:
" Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna.
" Maximus unde pater, ſi rite audita recordor,
" Teucrus Rhaeteas primum eſt advectus in oras,
" Optavitque locum regno: nondum Ilium et arces
" Pergameae ſteterant; habitabant vallibus imis.
" Hinc mater cultrix Cybele [3], Corybantiaque aera,
" Idaeumque nemus: hinc fida ſilentia ſacris;
" Et juncti currum dominae ſubiere leones."

[1] See Dr. Trapp's note on Ruaeus's remark on this paſſage. The Doctor obſerves, that Ruaeus gives no anſwer to the charge: and the Doctor's anſwer is very ſhort. I think, much more may be ſaid in favour both of Anchiſes and his ſon. Anchiſes gives many arguments to juſtify his interpretation of the oracle; (viz.) their origin from Crete by Teucer, from whom they were deſcended; their mount Ida; their great Goddeſs Cybele, and all the ceremonies uſed in her worſhip: all Cretan. Beſides, for their greater encouragement to go thither, they had reaſon to believe that they ſhould find no oppoſition to their ſettling there:

" Fama volat pulſum regnis ceſſiſſe." Ver. 121, etc.

Afterwards, when Anchiſes was convinced of his miſtake, he acknowledges that Caſſandra had often foretold that Italy was the country deſtined to them:

" Et ſaepe Heſperiam, ſaepe Itala regna vocare."

But, for his excuſe, he ſays;

" Quis ad Heſperiae venturos littora Teucros
" Crederet? aut quem tum vates Caſſandra moveret?"

Now when Anchiſes was ſo fully perſuaded that all the foregoing circumſtances concurred evidently in favour of Crete; that he had not any regard to Caſſandra's prophecy, nor in the leaſt thought of Italy; to what purpoſe ſhould Aeneas at ſuch a time advertiſe his father of Creüſa's prophecy,

prophecy, in oppoſition to an oracle, that ſeem'd ſo clear for Crete: or how indeed could he be ſuppoſed to underſtand a prediction, which was in itſelf very obſcure? It was this:

" Ad terram Heſperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva
" Inter opima virûm leni fluit agmine Tybris." Aen. II. 781.

Here we muſt obſerve, ſhe does not name Italy, but Terram Heſperiam, a weſtern country; ſo the Greeks called not only Italy but Spain too, as lying weſt from them; and the ſame name might be applied by a Trojan to any country lying weſt from Troy. What follows, viz.

——— " Ubi Lydius arva," etc.

could give no light in aſcertaining Italy: for the epithet Lydius given to Tybris required a long hiſtorical explanation, and Tybris was then unknown (for this was a new name given to the river, the old one, Albula, being changed, as we find, Aen. VIII. 330.); and Aeneas himſelf hints in the fifth book, ver. 83, that this name was unknown, when, addreſſing himſelf to his father's ghoſt, he ſays;

" Non licuit fines Italos, fataliaque arva,
" Nec tecum Auſonium, quicunque eſt, quaerere Tybrim."

The " quicunque eſt" ſeems to be added on purpoſe to ſhew that the Tyber, as famous as it became afterwards, was then utterly unknown to them. But ſuppoſing Aeneas to have an imperfect idea that by Heſperia Creüſa meant Italy, we muſt allow him the ſame excuſe as Anchiſes makes for himſelf;

" Quis ad Heſperiae venturos littora Teucros
" Crederet?" ———

It was a country they were ſtrangers too; and therefore how ſhould it enter into their heads to think of ſettling there? When the Penates afterwards appear to Aeneas, and explain the oracle of Apollo expreſsly in favour of Italy, they deſcribe it as any one would do a country before unknown:

" Eſt locus, Heſperiam Graii cognomine dicunt;
" Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebae.
" Oenotrii coluere viri." ——— Ver. 163.

and when they name Italy they mention it only as reported to be called by that name.

— " Nunc

——— " Nunc fama minores
" Italiam dixiſſe." ———

And after this particular deſcription of Italy by the Penates, yet ſtill Aeneas was at a loſs what part of the country they were to go to, and what courſe to take thither (notwithſtanding Creüſa had named Tybris) till Helenus afterwards informs him at large, ver. 381, etc.

*[2] " In medio inſulae (Cretae) quà latiſſima eſt, mons eſt Ida altiſſimus " omnium qui in eâ ſunt." Strab. lib. X.

*[3] Strabo, ſpeaking of the Curetes, or Corybantes, ſays; " Ingens " eſt diverſitas iſtarum narrationum," etc. Lib. X. And, a little afterwards, he adds, — " Sceptius ait, in Cretâ honores Rheae (i. e. Cybeles) " non eſſe in uſu, neque receptos ibi ritus ejus, ſed in Phrygiâ tantum " ac Troade; qui aliter affirment eos fabulam potius quam hiſtoriam tra- " dere; ad quam rem eos fortaſſis nomina locorum ambigua induxerunt. " Ida enim mons eſt et Trojae et Cretae.

VER. 124—127.

" Linquimus *[1] Ortygiae portus, pelagoque volamus:
" Bacchatamque jugis Naxon, viridemque Donyſam,
" Olearon, niveamque Paron, ſparſasque per aequor
" Cycladas, et crebris legimus freta *[2] conſita terris."

*[1] " Delos olim dicta fuit Ortygia." Strab. lib. X. ——" Delon ita " appellatam prodidit Ariſtoteles quoniam repente apparuerit enata." Plin. lib. IV. c. 12.

*[2] The moſt proper word that could be uſed, alluding to the Sporades. —— Having mentioned the Cyclades by name, Virgil, for variety, expreſſes the latter by a periphraſis.

VER. 131—133.

—— " Tandem antiquis Curetum allabimur oris.
" Ergo avidus muros optatae molior urbis,
" * Pergameamque voco." ———

* Pliny reckons Pergamum amongſt the cities of Crete. L. IV. c. xii.

VER. 142—146.

" Arebant herbae, et victum ſeges aegra negabat.
" Rurſus ad * orac'lum Ortygiae Phoebumque remenſo

VER.

" Hortatur pater ire mari, veniamque precari:
" Quem feſſis finem rebus ferat, unde laborum
" Tentare auxilium jubeat, quo vertere curſus."

✻ This advice of Anchiſes was very proper: what other expedient could be thought of in their diſtreſs? But yet ſuppoſing Aeneas had returned to Delos; what muſt have been the conſequence without the particular interceſſion of ſome Deity? Oracles were not uſed to explain themſelves: and therefore, without that, the ſecond anſwer muſt have been as dubious as the firſt; and Aeneas left in the ſame uncertainty as before. To avoid this difficulty, Virgil very opportunely introduces the apparition of the Penates, etc.

VER. 147—152.

" Nox erat, et terris animalia ſomnus habebat.
" Effigies ſacra Divûm, Phrygiique Penates,
" Quos mecum à Trojâ mediisque ex ignibus urbis
" Extuleram, viſi ✻[2] ante oculos aſtare jacentis
" In ſomnis, multo manifeſti lumine: quà ſe
" Plena per inſertas fundebat Luna feneſtras."

✻[1] Plutarch, in the life of Julius Caeſar, relates a dream or viſion of Calpurnia, Caeſar's wife, the night preceding his murder; which he introduces in the following manner. " As Caeſar was in bed with his wife, all " the doors and windows of the houſe flew open together; he was ſtartled " at the noiſe, and at the light which broke into the room, and ſat upon " his bed, where, by the moonſhine, he perceived Calpurnia faſt aſleep," etc. Virgil was probably well acquainted with the ſtory, being about twenty-ſeven years of age at Caeſar's death. If he may be ſuppoſed to allude to ſome of the aforeſaid circumſtances of that viſion, he has very judiciouſly choſen only ſuch as were proper to enforce the clearneſs of it; (viz.)

——— " Multo manifeſti lumine: quà ſe
" Luna," etc. ———

and has omitted the other circumſtances of all the doors and windows of the houſe flying open together, and the ſtartling at the noiſe; which were proper preludes to the butchery of Caeſar, but not to his ſtory.

✻[2] See Dr. Trapp's Tranſlation and note on this paſſage.

VER.

VER. 163—168.

" Eſt locus, Heſperiam Graii cognomine dicunt ;
" Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebae ;
" Oenotrii coluere viri : nunc fama minores
" Italiam dixiſſe, ducis de nomine, gentem.
" Hae nobis propriae ſedes : hinc Dardanus ortus,
" ✻[1] Iäſiusque ✻[1] pater, genus à quo principe noſtrum."

✻[1] Marianus de Etruriâ metropoli, aſſerts ; " Dardani fratrem Jaſium, " qui Cybelem uxorem duxit, in Etruriae agro manſiſſe, atque inde pe- " tiiſſe Arcadiam, Samothraciam, et Phrygiam, cum Curetibus et magnis " Diis. Ea ſacrificia antiquiſſima renovata demum ab Jaſio Corybantis " patre tradit Diodorus Siculus. Homerus Odyſſ. V. et ipſe Diodorus " Cererem ipſam narrant Jaſio nuptam, quod Cybelem et Cererem ean- " dem eſſe argumento eſt," etc. Marianus, cap. v.

✻[2] Some interpreters give a very ſtrange ungrammatical conſtruction of this place, which may be ſolved by ſuppoſing that Virgil artfully gives the title of Pater, to ſignify old Jaſius, meaning that he lived till he was old; and joins them very lovingly together, on purpoſe to diſcredit and ſhew his diſbelief of the ſtory of Dardanus's having murdered Jaſius, not thinking it to their honour, or a thing to be boaſted of, to be deſcended from one who was baniſhed from his own country for the murder of his brother. I am the more inclined to believe that this was Virgil's intention, from obſerving that he has uſed the like caution with reſpect to Romulus and Remus, which is almoſt a parallel caſe ; and though that ſtory of Romulus's murdering Remus was a common tradition at Rome, Virgil never gives the leaſt hint of it ; on the contrary he joins them both together very honourably in two ſeveral places (viz.) ;

" Hanc Remus et frater." Georg. II. ver. 533.

and, again, Aen. I. ver. 296.

" Remo cum fratre Quirinus."

VER. 172—179.

" ✻ Talibus attonitus viſis ac voce Deorum
" (Nec ſopor illud erat ; ſed coram agnoſcere vultus,
" Velatasque comas, praeſentiaque ora videbar ;

" Tum

" Tum gelidus toto manabat corpore ſudor),
" Corripio è ſtratis corpus, tendoque ſupinas
" Ad caelum cum voce manus, et munera libo
" Intemerata focis: perfecto laetus honore
" Anchiſen facio certum, remque ordine pando."

❋ Compare this with the appearance of Mercury to Hannibal, Sil. Ital. lib. III. from ver. 168 to 216. (particularly, " neque enim ſopor " ille," ver. 198.), and Iſis's appearance in a dream to Telethuſa, Ovid. Met. lib. IX. Fab. xii.

VER. 210—212.

——— " ❋[1] Strophades Graio ſtant nomine dictae
" Inſulae ❋[2] Ionio in magno: quas dira Celaeno,
" Harpyiaeque colunt aliae." ———

❋[1] Sir G. Wheeler tells us that the Strophades, called now Strovadi or Strivalli, are judged about 50 miles from Zant, and 30 from the Morea; very low, and the biggeſt not above 5 miles in circuit, p. 45.

❋[2] See Georg. I. ver. 281.

VER. 255—257.

" Sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem,
" Quàm vos dira fames, noſtraeque injuria caedis,
" Ambeſas ſubigat ❋ malis abſumere menſas."

❋ See Georg. III. ver. 268.

VER. 270—276.

" Jam medio apparet fluctu nemoroſa †[1] Zacynthos ❋[1],
" ❋[2] Dulichiumque ❋[3] Sameque, et Neritos ardua ſaxis;
" Effugimus ſcopulos ❋[4] Ithacae, Laërtia regna,
" Et terram altricem ſaevi execramur Ulyſſis:
" Mox et Leucatae nimboſa cacumina montis,
" Et formidatus nautis aperitur † Apollo;
" Hunc petimus feſſi, et parvae ſuccedimus urbi."

† Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus (after having ſpoken of the various ſtories relating to Aeneas's voyage; where he is giving that which may be moſt depended upon) ſays; Ἐκεῖθεν (from Zacynthos) πελάγιον ποιησάμενοι τὸν πλοῦν εἰς Λευκάδα καλάγουσι, καλεχόντων ἔτι τὸ χώριον Ἀκαρνανῶν· κὴ ταύτῃ πάλιν ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἱδρύονται. Τοῦτο ὁ νῦν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ νησίδι τῇ μεταξὺ τοῦ Διορύκτου τε κὴ τῆς πόλεως· καλεῖται δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Αἰνειάδος. Ἄρασι δὲ αὐτόθεν, κὴ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον ἐλθόντες, ὁρμίζονται τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ Κόλπου πρὸς τὸ ἀκρωτήριον· κακεῖθεν εἰς Ἀμβρακίαν ἀφικνοῦνται πόλιν. Lib. I. p. 40.

Virgil perhaps makes them ſtay at Actium, to celebrate the games there, in compliment to Auguſtus; who inſtituted the Actian Games, three years after his victory off this ſhore; in gratitude to the Actian Apollo, who was ſaid perſonally to aſſiſt him in that victory.

Ovid, who deſcribes this voyage of Aeneas ſo much in haſte, does not omit his compliment on the ſame occaſion:

——— "Verſique vident ſub imagine ſaxum
"Judicis, Actiaco quae nunc ab Apolline nota eſt."

* Zacynthos, now Zant, one of the famous Currant Iſlands, ſubject to the ſtate of Venice. Sir G. Wheeler tells us, that it is about thirty miles in circuit; and is one of the moſt fruitful and pleaſant places he ever ſaw. It lyeth, he ſays, about thirty miles diſtant from the Morea, and about ten miles or more ſouth from Cephalonia or Samè. Pag. 39.

*[2] Over againſt Peſcarda (which is a harbour on the eaſt ſide of Cephalonia), is the Iſle Thiaki, ſeparated from Cephalonia only by a ſtreight of three or four miles over; for which reaſon ſome call it, Little Cephalonia. The likeneſs of its name hath made it be taken for Ithaca, one of the principal iſles of Ulyſſes's kingdom; and is placed there by Sanſon and Sophianus. But they may be deceived: for Strabo ſpeaking of Ithaca, gives it but eighty ſtadia about, which maketh ten Italian miles; and this iſland is at the leaſt double. Therefore I believe that Ithaca is another little iſland, ſeven or eight miles from hence, called yet Ithaca: which is much leſs than this; which Sir George Wheeler believes was anciently called Dulichium, becauſe it hath on the eaſt ſide a port with the ruins of a town called yet Dolichia. In a wood there are to be ſeen the ruins of an old caſtle, which the iſlanders tell you was the palace of Ulyſſes. Sir G. Wheeler, p. 35, etc.

*[3] The iſle of Cephalonia in Homer's time was called Samos; it was the greateſt iſland of Ulyſſes's kingdom. And I wonder (ſays Sir G. Wheeler) that Strabo maketh it not above 300 ſtadia in circuit, which amount

amount but to 38 Italian miles; and Pliny no more than 44 miles; although indeed it hath more than 120 miles in compaſs, p. 36.

✻[4] As to the Iſle Ithaca, it is deſert; and thoſe of Thiaki go thither to till it, in its ſeaſons, p. 35.

✻[5] The iſland of St. Mauro was antiently called Leucada; and the modern Greeks call it ſo yet: for the caſtle only is properly called St. Mauro, from a convent which ſtood there, whilſt it was under the Venetians. Strabo ſays, that it was antiently joined to the land; and that the ſtreight was dug to ſeparate it; which is likely enough; for in the ſtreighteſt part it doth not much exceed fifty paces over, and almoſt every where three or four feet of water. It is in this narroweſt part of the ſtreight that the ancient city Leucada had its ſituation, upon an eminence a mile from the ſea; of which ſome remains are yet to be ſeen. Sir G. Wheeler, p. 36.

†[2] This is meant of the famous ſtatue of Apollo, placed on the promontory of Actium: which, as it ſtood ſo high, was viſible to the mariners a good way out at ſea; and was much revered by them. Pol. VIII. 64 and 65.

VER. 283—288.

" Interea ✻[1] magnum ſol circumvolvitur annum;
" Et glacialis hiems Aquilonibus aſperat undas.
" Aere ✻[2] cavo clypeum, magni geſtamen Abantis,
" Poſtibus adverſis figo, et rem carmine ſigno;
" *Aeneas haec de Danais victoribus arma.*"

Quaer. If, by "Magnum annum" here, Virgil does not mean Quinquennium; the uſual time for celebrating theſe times? If ſo, we are hereby informed of the time ſince Aeneas left Troy.

✻[2] This alludes to the dedication made by Auguſtus at the place after the battle of Actium, as Aeneas's celebrating the games there does to his ſports. Strabo tells us that, "De praedâ ex hoſtibus captâ Caeſar "dedicavit decem naves, ab uno remorum ordine acta ad deciremem uſque, "primitias ſpoliorum." Lib. VII.

VER. 339—341.

" Quid puer Aſcanius? ſuperatne, et veſcitur aurâ?
" Quem tibi jam Troja ✻[1] ———
" Ecquae jam puero eſt amiſſae cura ✻[2] parentis?"

 ✻[1] This

*[1] This break was certainly intended, and is a great beauty. Virgil through this whole paſſage makes Andromache expreſs her paſſionate enquiries in broken ſobs. ——— What if we ſuppoſe that Aeneas, perceiving by this beginning that Andromache was going to enquire after Creüſa, ſtops her, to prevent her naming her name; and, by ſome ſign, ſignifies that ſhe was dead? It is very common among the Italians to this day to expreſs their meaning by ſigns; and ſuppoſing this to be the caſe, the enquiry in the next verſe follows very properly.

*[2] Some commentators explain Parentis (Patriae), the ſenſe of which would be very good, and be very properly followed by the two enſuing verſes; but as it would be unmannerly and inexcuſable in Andromache, if ſhe had not known Creüſa's fate, not to make the leaſt mention of or enquiry after her, therefore we muſt ſuppoſe that ſhe did not know it; and her condoling compliment to be paid here; and the word here uſed (viz.) Amiſſae, is the moſt proper that could be uſed on the occaſion; and ſhews plainly that Andromache condoles the loſs of Creüſa, and that tenderly without mentioning her name. Ruaeus tells us how Andromache might be informed of the ſtory: but ſuppoſing that ſhe could not know it before this interview with Aeneas, would theſe critics have Virgil introduce her enquiring of Aeneas where his wife was? That could not be without obliging Aeneas at the ſame time to relate again in form the whole ſtory of the loſs of her, which would have been abſurd. Therefore, allowing ſhe was told by Aeneas, it was neceſſary that it ſhould be in private, and not related here. As we muſt ſuppoſe many things to have paſſed in their diſcourſe touching this long voyage, which could not properly be related here: and this is agreeable to Horace's rule:

——— "In medias res,
"Non ſecus ac notas, auditorem rapit; et quae
"Deſperat tractata niteſcere poſſe, relinquit."

It is ſufficient that ſhe hints by the word Amiſſae, that ſhe knew the ſtory. We muſt ſuppoſe that Aeneas anſwered Andromache's queſtions; "Tibi qui curſum venti," etc. "Quid puer Aſcanius," etc. though Virgil does not ſay it. We muſt likewiſe ſuppoſe that enquiry was made after Anchiſes, though not aſſerted here; for we find afterwards preſents ſent to him:

——— "Sunt et ſua dona parenti."

If

If all had been related in form, in queſtions and anſwers, this pathetic interview muſt have proved a very inſipid one.

VER. 377—383.

" Pauca tibi è multis, quo tutior hoſpita luſtres
" Aequora, et Auſonio poſſis conſidere portu,
" Expediam dictis: prohibent nam caetera Parcae
" Scire Helenum, † farique vetat Saturnia Juno.
" Principio Italiam, quam tu jam rere propinquam,
" Vicinosque, ignare, paras invadere portus,
" ❋ Longa procul longis via dividit invia terris."

† Virgil repreſents the prophet Helenus, as reſtrained in his diſcoveries of what was to happen to Aeneas, in his going for Italy. The great point in which he was thus reſtrained, was Aeneas's delay at Carthage; and the danger that aroſe from it, of his quite breaking off his voyage, and ſettling in that city. Hence he ſays afterwards, ver. 440. " If Juno does not prevent it, you ſhall go from Sicily to Italy;" and it is true, he did ſo; but that was after the ſecond time of his being in Sicily: and the whole affair of his being driven to the coaſt of Afric, and his ſtaying ſo long at Carthage (which happened after his firſt leaving Sicily), is totally dropped by Helenus. All he does tell him, is; how he may eſcape the other dangers in his voyage; and what he is to do, and where to fix, when he is got to Italy.

❋ This verſe hints at the form of Italy; which is extended in length like a leg, and has one ſide divided from the other by a craggy ridge of mountains.

VER. 389—393.

" Cum tibi ſolicito ſecreti ad fluminis undam
" Litoreis ingens inventa ſub ilicibus † ſus
" Triginta capitum foetus enixa jacebit,
" Alba, ſolo recubans, albi circum ubera nati;
" Is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum."

† " Quod portenderit factum 30 annis ut Lavinienſes condiderint op-
" pidum Albam. Hujus ſuis ac porcorum etiam nunc veſtigia apparent
" Lavinii; quod et ſimulacra eorum ahenea etiam nunc in publico poſita,
" et

" et corpus matris, quod in ſalſurâ fuerit, demonſtratur." Varro, De re ruſt. l. II. c. iv. § 18.

VER. 399—402.

" Hic et Narycii poſuerunt moenia Locri,
" Et Salentinos obſedit milite campos
" Lyctius Idomeneus: hic illa ducis Meliboei
" Parva * Philoctetae ſubnixa Petilia muro."

* " Thurinorum urbem condidiſſe Philocteten ferunt, ibique adhuc Monumentum ejus viſitur." Juſtin. lib. XX. c. i.

VER. 410—413.

" Aſt, ubi digreſſum Siculae te admoverit orae
" Ventus, et anguſti *[1] rareſcent clauſtra Pelori;
" Laeva tibi tellus et longo laeva petantur
" Aequora circuitu: dextrum *[2] fuge littus et undas."

*[1] Dr. Trapp has tranſlated this very juſtly: " And ſtrait Pelorus " ſhews its narrow paſſage." But in his notes he ſays; " One would " think the word Rareſcent ſhould ſignify the direct contrary," etc.—— Any one who only looks on the map will obſerve, that Italy and Sicily muſt appear at ſome diſtance to ſailors as one land, till they come in a direct line with the Straights; and then the Clauſtra Pelori muſt open and diſcover its narrow paſſage. In this point of view Virgil ſhould be underſtood.

*[2] See the account of Octavius's ſufferings in the ſtreights of Meſſina. Appian, from p. 1142 to 1148. edit. Toll.

VER. 433—439.

" * Praeterea, ſi qua eſt Heleno prudentia vati,
" Si qua fides, animum ſi veris implet Apollo;
" Unum illud tibi, nate Dea, praeque omnibus unum
" Praedicam, et repetens iterumque iterumque monebo;
" Junonis magnae primum prece numen adora;
" Junoni cane vota libens, dominamque potentem
" Supplicibus ſupera donis."———

* Obſerve

✻ Obſerve with how much earneſtneſs Helenus gives this admonition; he repeats it over and over, and inſiſts upon it as his principal inſtruction; as Aeneas himſelf obſerves afterwards, ver. 546, "Dederat quae maxima." The occaſion, I ſuppoſe, was; the Poet hereby pays a compliment to Auguſtus for the temples he built in honour of Juno, notwithſtanding her former hatred to the Trojans. Compare this with book XII. 840.

VER. 456, 457.

" Quin adeas vatem, precibusque oracula poſcas:
" ✻ Ipſa canat, vocemque volens atque ora reſolvat."

✻ Emphatically, Sibylla herſelf. See lib. VI. ver. 76.

VER. 521, 522.

" Jamque rubeſcebat ſtellis Aurora fugatis:
" Cum procul ✻ obſcuros colles, humilemque videmus
" Italiam."———

✻ At ſuch a diſtance that one ſcarce diſtinguiſhes whether they are mountains, or not. Lucan expreſſes this thought very prettily:

——— " Dubios vaneſcere montes." Pharſ. lib. III. ver. 7.

VER. 564—567.

" Tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite, et îdem
" Subductâ ad manes imos deſcendimus undâ.
" Ter ſcopuli clamorem inter cava ſaxa dedere;
" † Ter ſpumam eliſam et rorantia vidimus aſtra."

† Mr. Holdſworth thinks this line may poſſibly mean, " the foam " daſhed from the rocks, and falling in ſparkling drops." I wiſh it would fairly admit of his meaning; becauſe otherwiſe the ſenſe draws too far toward the extravagant; though not ſo much as Lucan's, in his ſtorm, where he ſays, that their ſails ſometimes touched the clouds, and their keel the bottom of the ſea:

" Nubila tanguntur velis, et terra carinâ." Pharſ. V. 642.

VER.

VER. 630—636.

—— " Simul expletus dapibus, vinoque ſepultus
" Cervicem inflexam poſuit, jacuitque per antrum
" Immenſus, ſaniem * eructans, ac fruſtra cruento
" Per ſomnum commixta mero; nos, magna precati
" Numina, ſortitique vices, unà undique circum
" Fundimur, et telo lumen terebramus acuto
" Ingens, quod torvâ ſolum ſub fronte latebat."

* This is a very natural deſcription, and well ſuited to ſuch a brute as Polypheme; but would be too groſs for the ears of a Queen, if we don't conſider the ſtory as related by Aeneas, " totidem verbis," from Achemenides. However, I think it was well that ſupper was over.

VER. 682—688.

" Praecipites metus acer agit quocunque rudentes
" Excutere, et ventis intendere vela ſecundis.
" Contrà, * juſſa monent Heleni Scyllam atque Charybdim
" Inter utramque viam, leti diſcrimine parvo,
" Ni teneant curſus: certum eſt dare lintea retro.
" Ecce autem Boreas anguſta à ſede Pelori
" Miſſus adeſt."———

* Aeneas is here in ſuch difficulty from the danger of being driven on Scylla and Charybdis to avoid the Cyclops, that methinks he ſeems ſomewhat embarraſſed even in his account; till a northerly gale ſprings up, and ſets him clear.

AENEID

AENEID THE FOURTH.

VER. 24—27.

" SED mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiſcat ;
" Vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
" Pallentes umbras †[1] Erebi, noctemque profundam,
" †[2] Ante Pudor quam te violo, aut tua jura reſolvo."

†[1] For the ſituation of Erebus in the ſuppoſed ſubterraneous world, and the propriety of Virgil's deſcription of it in this line, ſee Pol. XVI. 4 and 13.

†[2] Prius, ver. 24, makes this Ante a needleſs, or rather a faulty, repetition.—It was probably, according to Markland's conjecture, SANTE, or SANCTE PUDOR, in the old manuſcript.

VER. 40, 41.

" Hinc Getulae urbes, genus inſuperabile bello,
" Et Numidae ❋ infraeni cingunt, et inhoſpita Syrtis."

❋ Infraeni here is very improperly interpreted Indomiti, by Ruaeus. Virgil certainly means their governing their horſes without a bridle, by a wand only. See Lucan, lib. IV.

———" Gens fraenorum neſcia," etc.———

Martial, lib. IX. Ep. xxiii.

" Et Maſſylaeum virga gubernet equum."

Claudian, De bello Gildon.

——— " Sonipes ignarus habenae ;
" Virga regit."———

Silius Italicus deſcribes this horſemanſhip of the Numidae moſt particularly :

" Hic paſſim exultant Numidae, gens inſcia fraeni ;
" Queis inter geminas per ludum mobilis aures
" Quadrupedem flectit non cedens virga lupatis." Lib. I. 215.

VER. 120—122.

" His ego nigrantem commiſta grandine nimbum,
" Dum trepidant alae, ſaltusque indagine cingunt,
" Deſuper infundam, et tonitu † caelum omne ciebo."

† That Juno and Minerva ſhared the high privilege of managing the thunder, with Jupiter, is proved at large in Pol. VI. 80.

VER. 141—150.

——— " Ipſe ante alios † pulcherrimus omnes
" Infert ſe ſocium Aeneas, atque agmine jungit.
" Qualis, ubi hybernam Lyciam, Xanthique fluenta
" Deſerit, ac Delum maternam inviſit Apollo,
" Inſtauratque choros: mixtique altaria circum
" Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt, pictique Agathyrſi:
" Ipſe jugis Cynthi graditur, mollique fluentem
" Fronde premit crinem fingens, atque implicat auro:
" Tela ſonant humeris. Haud illo ſegnior ibat
" Aeneas: tantum egregio decus enitet ore."

† Virgil, in ſpeaking of Aeneas, has often an eye toward Auguſtus: how particularly ſo in this compariſon of Aeneas to Apollo, ſee Pol. VIII. 1, and 10 to 22. — The Apollo here deſcribed has a great reſemblance to the famous Belvedere Apollo. Ib. 23.

VER. 165.

" Speluncam Dido †, dux et Trojanus eandem
" Deveniunt." ———

† Mr. Addiſon uſed to obſerve, " that Virgil was more judicious in " the uſe of his epithets than Homer. Homer's uſual epithet for his " hero (ſaid he) is ποδας ωκυς, or ποδαρκης; and is uſed by him of Achilles " whether he is fighting, ſtanding, ſitting, or lying down. Virgil's moſt com- " mon epithet for his hero, is Pius, or Pater; and I have conſidered what " paſſage there is in any part of the Aeneid, where either of theſe ap- " pellations would be the moſt improper for him: and this, I think, is " his meeting with Dido in the cave; where *Pius Aeneas* would have " been abſurd, and *Pater Aeneas* a burleſque. The Poet has therefore " judiciouſly

" judiciouſly dropped them both for *Dux Trojanus:* which he has re-
" peated twice; in Juno's ſpeech, and in his own narration: for he very
" well knew, a looſe action might be conſiſtent enough with the uſual
" manners of a ſoldier; though it became neither the chaſtity of a pious
" man, nor the gravity of the father of a people." From the Tatler, N° VI. It was this obſervation of his, which he had communicated before to his ſchool-fellow Steel, which diſcovered to the former who was the author of the Tatlers; and, in about half a year after, engaged him to join in the work: and ſo, at the long run, was the occaſion of all his fine Spectators, etc.

VER. 181—183.

" Monſtrum horrendum, ingens; cui quot ſunt corpore plumae,
" Tot vigiles oculi ſubter (mirabile dictu),
" Tot linguae, totidem ora ſonant, tot ſubrigit aures."

† In Pol. (pl. XXIX.) is a figure of Fame, the under ſide of whoſe wings is all ſtudded with eyes. —— I am apt to imagine, that ſome of the lower painters of old uſed to repreſent Fame (as ſome of the moderns have done of late) with eyes and ears all over her body; even to her fingers ends: for which, in particular, Lucian ſeems to ridicule them in the following paſſage. Πολυωπον σεαυτον αναπεφηνας, τοσαυτα ακηκοως· ως και καλα το τερατωδες, και Δια των ονυχων ηκηκοεις. Tom. II. p. 756. ed. Blaeu. Lucan here calls Fame, το τερατωδες, as Virgil calls her Monſtrum.

VER. 246, 247.

——" Jamque volans apicem et latera ardua cernit
" Atlantis duri, caelum qui † vertice fulcit."

† In another place Virgil ſays, that he ſupports it with his ſhoulder (Aen. VIII. 137.); and Ovid ſays in one place, he ſupports it with his ſhoulders (Faſt. V. 169.); and in another, with his neck (Met. VI. 175.) Theſe ſeeming contrarieties are reconciled by the Farneſe Atlas: in which figure he is repreſented as ſupporting the globe of the heavens, at the ſame time, with his head, neck, and ſhoulders. See Pol. pl. XXXIV.

VER. 345—361.

—— " Italiam magnam Grynaeus Apollo,
Italiam Lyciae † juſſere capeſſere ſortes:

" Hic amor, haec patria eſt. Si te Carthaginis arces
" Phoeniſſam, Libycaeque aſpectus detinet urbis:
" Quae tandem Auſoniâ Teucros conſidere terrâ
" Invidia eſt? et nos fas extera quaerere regna.
" Me patris Anchiſae, quoties humentibus umbris
" Nox operit terras, quoties aſtra ignea ſurgunt,
" Admonet in ſomnis et turbida terret imago:
" Me puer Aſcanius, capitisque injuria chari,
" Quem regno Heſperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis.
" Nunc etiam interpres Divûm, Jove miſſus ab ipſo
" (Teſtor utrumque caput), celeres mandata per auras
" Detulit: ipſe Deum manifeſto in lumine vidi
" Intrantem muros, vocemque his auribus hauſi.
" Deſine, meque tuis incendere, teque querelis:
" Italiam non ſponte ſequor." ——

† Aeneas's reaſon for leaving Dido is the very ſtrongeſt that could have been given, to an Heathen. "He had repeated commands from " the Gods to leave her; and therefore could not ſtay."

The reaſon why it ſounds ſo weak to many of the modern critics muſt be; either from thoſe who were then looked upon as Gods being now ſeen in a ridiculous light; or from our critics not having ſo ſtrong a notion of the interpoſition of Providence as the Heathens had.

I do not remember that any one of theſe critics has ever obſerved that this ſpeech is left unfiniſhed by Virgil: and yet a good natured critic, that was not ſatisfied with the reaſons given, might well ſay, " that Vir- " gil probably had others in reſerve, had he lived to compleat his " work."

VER. 402—405.

" Ac veluti ingentem formicae farris acervum
" Cum populant, hiemis memores, tectoque reponunt:
" It * nigrum campis agmen, praedamque per herbas
" Convectant calle anguſto." ———

* Jodicus Badius Aſcenſius, in his notes on Horace, lib. I. Sat. vii. obſerves, that this verſe is taken from Ennius, who ſpeaks it de Barris, i. e. Nigris Elephantis; from whence Virgil very beautifully applies it to ants.

VER.

VER. 435—440.

" Extremam hanc ora veniam ; miſerere ſororis :
" Quam mihi cum dederit, cumulatum ❋[1] morte remittam.
" Talibus orabat, talesque miſerrima fletus
" Fertque refertque ſoror : ſed nullis ille movetur
" Fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit.
" Fata obſtant : ❋[2] placidasque viri Deus obſtruit aures."

❋[1] Quaer. If this muſt not be ſuppoſed to be ſpoken aſide, ſo as not to be overheard by her ſiſter ? Otherwiſe it contradicts what follows.

❋[2] Aeneas in his ſpeech to Dido's ſhade, lib. VI. 460, ſpeaks to the ſame purpoſe, and owns that he loved her :

" Invitus, Regina, tuo de littore ceſſi :" etc.

And Anchiſes's ghoſt declares as much to Aeneas :

" Quàm metui, ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent !"

Lib. VI. 694.

The greateſt ſouls are ſubject to this paſſion.

VER. 509—511.

" Stant arae circum : et crines effuſa ſacerdos
" Tercentum tonat ore Deos ; Erebumque Chaosque,
" † Tergeminamque Hecaten tria virginis ora Dianae."

" † Ora vides Hecates, in tres vertentia partes."

Ovid. Faſt. I. ver. 141.

" Diana interim eſt altè ſuccincta, venatrix ; et Epheſia, mammis multis, " et veribus extructa ; et Trivia, multis capitibus et multis manibus hor- " rifica." Minutius Felix, § XXI. p. 108. ed. Davis.

Her own proper name, under this appearance, was Hecate. Trivia is only an accidental one ; from her ſtatues being uſually placed where three ſtreets (or ways) met together.

VER. 560—562.

" Nate Deâ, potes hoc ſub caſu ducere ſomnos ?
" Nec, quae circumſtent te deinde pericula, cernis ?
" Demens ! nec ❋ Zephyros audis ſpirare ſecundos ?

❋ How

✻ How does this agree with the beginning of the fifth book? Unleſs by Zephyros is meant only fine weather? — But ſuppoſing we take it for the ſouth-weſterly winds; we muſt conſider this only as a viſion to haſten Aeneas's departure; and, therefore, in this place, when Mercury is hurrying him to be gone inſtantly, it would have been ridiculous to have made him dream that the wind was contrary; it was neceſſary to repreſent it as favourable as it could blow, yet I ſee no neceſſity of his finding it ſo when awake: it was then (we will ſuppoſe) northerly; yet he obeys the admonition, and rows out of the harbour. Compare this with the ſecond verſe of the fifth book:

——— "Fluctusque atros Aquilone ſecabat."

VER. 569, 570.

"Eia age, rumpe moras: ✻ varium et mutabile ſemper
"Femina." ———

✻ Dryden, in his dedication to the Aeneis, obſerves, that this is the ſharpeſt ſatire, in the feweſt words, that ever was made on womankind; for both the adjectives are neuter, and Animal muſt be underſtood to make them grammar. Virgil, ſays he, does well to put thoſe words into the mouth of Mercury, etc.

VER. 581, 582.

"Idem omnes ſimul ardor habet: rapiuntque, ruuntque;
"Litora deſeruere; ✻ latet ſub claſſibus aequor."

✻ From their going cloſe and compact together.

VER. 600—612.

"Non potui abreptum divellere corpus, et undis
"Spargere? non ſocios, non ipſum abſumere ferro
"Aſcanium, patriisque epulandum apponere menſis?
"Verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna! fuiſſet.
"Quem metui moritura? faces in caſtra tuliſſem,
"Implêſſemque foros flammis; natumque patremque
"Cum genere extinxem, memet ſuper ipſa dediſſem.
"✻ Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia luſtras:
"Tuque harum interpres curarum, et conſcia Juno,
"Nocturnisque

" Nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes,
" Et Dirae ultrices, et Dii morientis Eliſae,
" Accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen,
" Et noſtras audite preces." ———

* Dr. Trapp here remarks that after all the rage and madneſs, and variety of paſſion, expreſſed in the moſt rapid ſtyle, with ſhort quick ſentences, queſtions, exclamations, etc. in Dido's foregoing ſpeech; ſhe here, in the very next words (between which and the foregoing ſhe muſt be imagined to have pauſed, and panted, and taken breath), cools, and ſettles, falls into the long, and ſlow ſtyle, and prays for plagues upon the head of her falſe lover, with ſuch religious formality, and ſolemnity of horror, as is enough to chill one's blood, while one reads it. See his Introductory Remarks on the fourth book, part II. —— At the concluſion of this excellent remark he has the following obſervation: " I much " queſtion whether Virgil did not leave the laſt verſe imperfect at,

" Imprecor, arma armis." ——— Ver. 629.

" And whether ſome editor did not fill it up with,

— " pugnent ipſique nepotes;"

" Which ſeems (ſays he) to be a very flat and bald hemiſtich (more like " one of Ovid's than of Virgil's), eſpecially at the very concluſion of ſo " noble a ſpeech; and yet more eſpecially ſince it is a tautology with,

" Tum vos, O Tyrii, ſtirpem, et genus omne futurum
" Exercete odiis," etc.

I muſt beg leave to differ from this excellent critic. Let us conſider then the whole drift of theſe twenty-three lines: Dido having invoked all the Gods and Goddeſſes, proper to be applied to on this occaſion, to revenge her on Aeneas, is by them inſpired with a kind of prophetic ſpirit, to call down ſuch judgments upon him, and his poſterity, as were afterwards in ſome meaſure fulfilled. The firſt part of her imprecation is levelled at Aeneas. And here we muſt obſerve, that Virgil takes this opportunity, which he has not elſewhere done, of hinting at the latter part of Aeneas's hiſtory, after he had killed Turnus (viz.); his ſhort reign, and the manner of his death: Ver. 618, etc. It is true, indeed, that ſcarce any of theſe curſes againſt Aeneas were compleated according to the full import of the words, or, as we may ſuppoſe Dido wiſhed. But we know by a parallel caſe that the terrible curſe of the Harpy was accompliſhed

pliſhed in a joke: and even the predictions of oracles, which were ſeemingly moſt dreadful, often ended in trifles. The latter part of Dido's imprecation relates to the poſterity of Aeneas. And this we find actually fulfilled in Hannibal, in the frequent breach of leagues; and the perpetual enmity between the Romans and Carthaginians, till the latter were certainly deſtroyed. Dido, not contented to ſtop here, entails the completion of her curſes upon all the deſcendants of the Carthaginians:

—— "pugnent ipſique nepotes."

This ſeems to take in Juba more particularly, who deſcended, as it is ſaid, from a ſiſter of Hannibal; and ſo the imprecation is continued to Virgil's own time. There is a paſſage in Lucan to this purpoſe, which ſuppoſes Juba derived a natural hatred to the Romans from this very cauſe, his deſcent from the Carthaginians. When Pompey, after the battle of Pharſalia, was conſulting with his friends what courſe to take, and ſome of them propoſed to fly for ſuccour to Juba, Pompey oppoſed it and ſaid;

—— "Anceps dubii terret ſolertia Mauri:
"Namque memor generis, Carthaginis impia proles
"Imminet Heſperiae, multusque in pectore vano eſt
"Hannibal, obliquo maculat qui ſangine regnum,
"Et Numidas contingit avos." —— Pharſ. lib. VIII. 283.

Plutarch likewiſe tells us, that when Cato was for defending Utica againſt Caeſar, his friends oppoſed his ſhutting himſelf up there, becauſe they ſuſpected the Uticenſes, as being of the race of the Carthaginians. In ſhort, it was the general opinion of the Romans, that Hannibal and the Carthaginians had tainted the whole country.

VER. 612—629.

—— "Si tangere portus
"Infandum caput, ac terris adnare neceſſe eſt;
"Et ſic fata Jovis poſcunt, hic terminus haeret:
"At ✻[1] bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,
"Finibus extorris, complexu avulſus Iüli,
"Auxilium imploret, videatque indigna ſuorum
"Funera: nec, cum ſe ſub leges pacis ✻[2] iniquae
"Tradiderit,

" Tradiderit, regno aut optatâ luce fruatur ;
" Sed ✻[3] cadat ante diem, mediâque ✻[4] inhumatus arenâ.
" Haec precor ; hanc vocem extremam cum ſanguine fundo.
" Tum vos, ô Tyrii, ſtirpem et genus omne futurum
" Exercete odiis ; cinerique haec mittite noſtro
" Munera : nullus amor populis, nec foedera ſunto.
" Exoriare aliquis noſtris ex oſſibus ultor,
" Qui face Dardanios ferroque ſequare colonos ;
" Nunc, olim, quocunque dabunt ſe tempore vires,
" Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
" Imprecor, arma armis : pugnent ipſique nepotes."

✻[2] " Quaſi has inferias ſibi Saguntinorum ultimae dirae in illo publico " parricidio incendioque mandaſſent ; ita manibus eorum, vaſtatione Italiae, " captivitate Africae, ducum et regum, qui id geſsêre bellum, exitio pa- " rentatum eſt." Florus, lib. II. c. vi. To which Minellius has this note ; " Non leve momentum habere putabantur pereuntium imprecationes, ad- " verſus eos qui ſalutem eorum injuſtè impugnaverant," etc. See likewiſe the curſe of Eumenes, Juſtin. XIV. iv.

✻[2] Iniquae may here ſignify unequal, as it often does : and ſo be fulfilled by the peace with Latinus, notwithſtanding Aeneas had the advantage of the conditions. The ambiguity of the word makes it ſuit better with the prophetic ſtile.

✻[3] Aeneas lived to be old, as Anchiſes aſſures, lib. VI. 764. " Quem " tibi longaevo," etc. therefore this curſe of Dido was accompliſhed by fame only, or vulgar opinion.

✻[4] Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus ſays ; " Commiſſo acri praelio, multisque " utrinque caeſis, Aeneae corpus nuſquam apparuit : alii in Deos tranſla- " tum putârunt, alii merſum fluvio juxta quem proelium fuerat. Latini " templum Aeneae condiderunt, cum inſcriptione, Jovi Indigeti, ſeu Patri " Divo terreſtri, qui fluvii Numici undas gubernat." Lib. I. Juvenal hints at this tradition ; when ſpeaking of Hercules and Aeneas, he ſays ;

" Alter aquis, alter flammis ad *ſidera* miſſus." Sat. XI. 63.

Silius Italicus agrees with Virgil that Aeneas had quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Latinus ; and enjoyed it for ſome time. At the beginning

of his eighth book, when Anna, Dido's ſiſter, is relating the ſtory of her being driven on the coaſt of Laurentum, ſhe ſays;

" Ecce autem Aeneas ſacro comitatus Iülo,
" Jam regni compos, noto ſeſe ore ferebat." Lib. VIII. 71.

And a few verſes before ſhe ſays, this was two years after the death of Dido:

" Aſt ea dum flavas bis tondet meſſor ariſtas
" Servata interea ſedes; nec longius uti
" His opibus Battoque fuit". ———

VER. 659, 660.

" Dixit, et os impreſſa toro, moriemur inultae?
" Sed moriemur, ait: ſic, † ſic, juvat ire ſub umbras."

† It is at this inſtant that ſhe ſtabs herſelf (like the tyrants in our tragedies — *Thus, thus, I thank thee!* — when they give two or three repeated ſtrokes of the poniard). Her laſt reſolution is taken immediately before this; and ſhe has given the blow before ver. 663.

❋ Methinks, ſays Dr. Trapp, I ſee her ſtrike two ſtrokes while ſhe pronounces theſe words: and I am confident Virgil intended by that repetition to convey that image to the mind. As in another place;

——— " Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
" Immolat." ———

See his Introductory Remarks to this Book; part II.

AENEID THE FIFTH.

VER. 1—4.

" INterea medium Aeneas jam claſſe tenebat
" Certus iter, fluctusque atros ❋ Aquilone ſecabat:
" Moenia reſpiciens, quae jam infelicis Eliſae
" Collucent flammis." ———

* I cannot agree with Ruaeus that Virgil means by Aquilone the wind in general: at leaſt I think he would not in this place have expreſſed himſelf by Aquilone, if he meant a contrary ſoutherly wind, though not favourable, to ſhew his hero's reſolution: and this thought is ſtill heightened by "fluctus atros;" he was determined to be gone, though the wind was contrary and the ſea black, and rough weather. This explanation correſponds exactly with Dido's ſpeech to Aeneas, upon her firſt diſcovery of his intention to leave her:

"Quin etiam hiberno moliris ſidere claſſem,
"Et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum;
"Crudelis!" —— Lib. IV. 310.

And when Dido finds Aeneas deaf to her entreaties, and determined to be gone, ſhe then deſires her ſiſter Anna to prevail on him, only to defer his voyage till he might go more eaſily, when the winds were favourable:

"Quò ruit? extremum hoc miſerae det munus amanti;
"Expectet facilemque fugam, ventosque ferentes." Lib. IV. 429.

VER. 10—21.

"Olli caeruleus ſupra caput aſtitit imber,
"Noctem hiememque ferens; et inhorruit unda tenebris.
"Ipſe gubernator puppi Palinurus ab altâ:
"Heu! quianam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi?
"Quidve, pater Nuptune, paras? Sic deinde locutus,
"Colligere arma jubet, validisque incumbere remis;
"Obliquatque ſinus in ventum, ac talia fatur:
"Magnanime Aenea, non, ſi mihi Jupiter auctor
"Spondeat, hoc ſperem Italiam contingere caelo.
"* Mutati tranſverſa fremunt, et veſpere ab atro
"Conſurgunt venti; atque in nubem cogitur aër.
"Nec nos obniti contra, nec tendere tantum
"Sufficimus." ——

* It might here be objected, that as Aeneas, verſe 2, ſet out from Carthage with a contrary wind, its ſhifting to the weſt was rather an advantage to him and ought to have made Palinurus rejoice rather than complain. But to this we may anſwer; that although the northerly wind is far from

being favourable from Carthage to Italy; yet ſuppoſing it regular and ſteady, as it commonly is from that quarter, they might ſail out with it and row; whereas upon the wind changing, it immediately threatened a ſtorm:

——— "Supra caput aſtitit imber
"Noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris." Ver. 11.

This obliged them to take to their oars; "Colligere arma, validisque "incumbere remis;" the ſtorm increaſing and blowing a hurricane acroſs them, "tranſverſa fremunt," they could no longer make uſe of their oars, "nec obniti contra nec tendere ſufficimus." Upon this they are forced, "flectere viam velis," to hoiſt their ſails; and go directly before the wind, which drove them to the coaſt of Sicily, as fortune and the Gods directed.

VER. 116—122.

"Velocem Mneſtheus agit acri remige Priſtin,
"Mox Italus Mneſtheus, genus à quo nomine Memmî:
"Ingentemque Gyas ingenti mole Chimaeram,
"Urbis opus; triplici pubes quam Dardana verſu
"Impellunt, terno conſurgunt ordine remi.
"* Sergeſtusque, domus tenet à quo Sergia nomen,
"Centauro invehitur magnâ." ———

* See an account of Sergius, Appian, lib. IV. 989. There is a triumphal arch ſtill remaining at Pola in honour of the family.

VER. 129—131.

"Hic viridem Aeneas † frondenti ex ilice metam
"Conſtituit, ſignum nautis, pater; unde reverti
"Scirent, et longos ubi circumflectere curſus."

† This was in the winter (from IV. 309 anteh.): but the Ilex is an ever-green. They are very frequent in Italy, where they call them Ilce: and begin to be not uncommon in England: we call them Ever-green Oaks.

Horace ſpeaks of the Quercus and Ilices together, lib. III. Od. 33. 10. — Ep. I. xvi. 9. — and Virgil, G. III. 332.

The

The leaf of the Ilex is like that of Holly; only of a darker dirtier green: "Ilice ſub nigrâ." Ecl. VI. 54.

"Duris ut ilex tonſa bipennibus
"Nigrae feraci frondis in Algido." Hor. lib. IV. Od. iv. 58.

VER. 144—147.

"Non tam praecipites bijugo certamine campum
"Corripuere, ruuntque effuſi carcere currus;
"Nec ſic immiſſis aurigae undantia lora
"Concuſſere jugis, pronique in verbera pendent."

* See Pope's Odyſſey book XIII. note on verſe 98.

VER. 235—238.

"Dii, quibus imperium eſt pelagi, quorum aequora curro;
"Vobis laetus ego hoc candentem in litore taurum
"Conſtituam ante aras voti reus, extaque ſalſos
"* Porriciam in fluctus, et vina liquentia fundam."

* "Exta Deis cum dabant, Porricere dicebant." Varro De Re Ruſt. lib. I. c. xxix.

VER. 250, 251.

——Chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum
"Purpura * Maeandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit."

* "Maeandrus genus picturae dictum a ſimilitudine flexûs amnis qui "appellatur Maeandrus."——"Solevano adornare e guarnire l'eſtremità "delle veſte con certe ſtriſce di porpora riportate con lavori di queſti "Maeandri." Buanorroti's Medaglioni, p. 93. where he repreſents in a plate the figure of ſome Goddeſs in a habit hemmed with ſuch Maeanders.

VER. 379.

——"Manibusque inducere * caeſtus."

* See Fabretti, Column. Trajan. c. viii. et ver. 403. poſthac.

VER.

VER. 490—493.

" Convenere viri, * dejectamque aerea ſortem
" Accepit galea: et primus clamore ſecundo
" Hyrtacidae ante omnes exit locus Hippocoontis;
" Quem modo navali Mneſtheus certamine *[2] victor
" Conſequitur."———

*[1] Ruaeus here, in his interpretation, turns this into the plural: and Dr. Trapp in a note on the place, ſays, that if any edition favoured his conjecture he ſhould rather think it ſhould be Dejectas Sortes the plural, for a reaſon too plain to be mentioned. — But they had not obſerved that Virgil at leaſt never chooſes to uſe this word in the plural, but when he is ſpeaking of oracles or predictions, unleſs in Book VI. 22. which is likewiſe on a ſolemn mournful occaſion.

*[2] " Who was victorious, a conqueror, one of the conquerors, who got " one of the prizes:" Either of theſe expreſſions anſwer Virgil's meaning; and therefore I am very much ſurprized that Dr. Trapp ſhould except againſt the word, and not think it good ſenſe. See his note on the place. The firſt part of this remark in anſwer to La Cerda is right; but I wiſh he had ſtopped there, without giving us the latter part.

VER. 568, 569.

" Alter Atys, genus unde * Atti duxere Latini:
" Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iülo."

* This is a compliment to Auguſtus, who, by his mother's ſide, was deſcended from the Atii; for Auguſtus's mother, Atia, was daughter to M. Atius Balbus by Julia, Julius Caeſar's ſiſter. As Julius Caeſar is repreſented under the character of Aſcanius, the alliance between Caeſar's family and the Atian is prettily foretold and repreſented as in embryo in this verſe;

" Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iülo."

The family of Atius was of Aricia. See Suetonius in Octav. et Vulpii Latium Vetus, tom. IV. p. 91.

VER.

VER. 731—735.

——— " Ditis tamen ante
" Infernas accede domos ; et Averna per alta
" Congreſſus pete, nate, meos. Non me impia namque
" † Tartara habent, † triſtesque umbrae ; ſed amoena piorum
" Conſilia, Elyſiumque colo." ———

† Are not theſe the three diviſions of Hades, that are deſcribed ſo much more diſtinctly in the next book? If ſo, the reading ſhould be " Triſtesve " umbrae ;" not " Triſtesque umbrae," as in the Delphin edition; and much leſs not " Tartara habent, triſtes umbrae ;" as in Mattaire's.

VER. 738, 739.

——— " Torquet † medios nox humida curſus,
" Et me ſaevus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis."

† There was a diſtinction that prevailed very early among the Romans, of the civil and the natural day. The natural day was moſt commonly reckoned from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet; the civil day, from midnight to midnight again. Virgil, in ſpeaking perſonally of the latter, calls it Oriens: a name that was not much uſed in his time; but which he (as a profeſſed lover of antiquity and of their antient words) choſe to uſe, where it was more proper than Sol (or even Dies) would have been.

Macrobius, in ſpeaking of this paſſage, ſays; " Virgilius id ipſum " oſtendit, ut hominem decuit poëticas res agentem, reconditâ atque opertâ " veteris ritûs ſignificatione : —— his enim verbis diem, quem Romani ci- " vilem appellavere, à ſextâ noctis horâ oriri admonet" Saturn. lib. I. c. iii.

VER. 743—745.

" Haec memorans, cinerem, et ſopitos ſuſcitat ignes:
" Pergameumque Larem, et canae penetralia Veſtae
" Farre pio et plenâ ſupplex veneratur ❋ acerrâ."

❋ Acerra and Lanx were both uſed for the Thura, etc. in ſacrifices; the former ſignifying a ſmall diſh or plate, the latter a large one, as is expreſsly ſaid by Ovid:

" Thura minus, grandi quam data lance, valent."
De Ponto, lib. IV. Ep. viii.

VER.

VER. 813, 814.

" Tutus quos optas portus † accedet Averni:
" Unus erit tantum, amiſſum quem gurgite quaeret."

† Venus deſires Neptune to grant Aeneas a ſafe voyage from Sicily to Latium (ver. 796—798.); and Neptune anſwers, that he ſhall come ſafe to the coaſt of Cumae:

" Tutus quos optas portus accedet Averni."

Is that a ſatisfactory anſwer to her requeſt?

The Florentine manuſcript reads it ACCEDIT. Will not that ſet it right? As if he had ſaid; " He is going on to the port of Avernus, as ſafely " as you could wiſh: (and he ſhall go on as ſafely the reſt of his voyage)." —— Nothing is more common in Virgil than this way of not mentioning expreſsly what may be eaſily inferred: it is one of the diſtinguiſhing differences between his and Homer's manner of writing.

* Mr. Spence informs me, that a very good Florentine manuſcript has Accedit: and obſerves that, when Venus requeſts of Neptune for Aeneas,

—— " Liceat Laurentem attingere Tybrim,"——

it is very odd that Neptune ſhould promiſe only to bring him ſafe half way, —— " Tutus portus accedet Averni:" and therefore imagines it ſhould be Accedit. — By which Neptune aſſures her that her requeſt is ſo far granted, that Aeneas is already entering into the port of Cumae: or rather that ſhe might be aſſured he was as ſafe as if he was already arrived there; for it is plain by what follows that he was not yet arrived. — But, after all, I would rather chooſe to put the ſtop after Accedet, and conſtrue Averni with Gurgite.

VER. 854—860.

" † Ecce Deus ramum Lethaeo rore madentem,
" Vique ſoporatum Stygiâ, ſuper utraque quaſſat
" Tempora; cunctantique natantia lumina ſolvit.
" Vix primos inopina quies laxaverat artus:
" Et ſuperincumbens, cum puppis parte revulſâ,
" Cumque * gubernac'lo, liquidas projecit in undas
" Praecipitem."———

Virgil's

† Virgil's account of Palinurus's death is in the ſtrong oriental taſte.—In this place it is ſaid; "That a God took away all his vigilance, tore off "the rudder he ſhould have guided, and flung him overboard with it "into the ſea:" in another (VI. 351.) "That the God had nothing to "do in it; but that it was wholly owing to himſelf." There are frequent inſtances of the very ſame orientaliſm in Homer, and in the ſacred writings.

❋ It is not improbable, that Virgil may here allude to an accident which happened to Auguſtus: "Aliâ tempeſtate in trajectu bis conflicta-"tus, primò inter Promontoria Peloponneſi atque Aetoliae, rurſus circa "montes Ceraunios, utrobique parte Liburnicarum demerſâ, ſimulque ejus "in quâ vehebatur fuſis armamentis, et gubernaculo diffracto." Sueton. in Aug.

AENEID THE SIXTH.

VER. 1, 2.

"SIC fatur lacrymans: claſſique immittit habenas:
"Et tandem Euboïcis ❋ Cumarum allabitur oris."

❋ Baiae was reckoned formerly the port of Cumae; and that Aeneas landed there appears from Ovid's account, who ſays expreſsly that he came to the ſhores of Cumae, leaving Naples to the right hand and Miſenum to the left:

"Has ubi praeteriit et Parthenopeïa dextrâ
"Moenia deſeruit; laevâ de parte canori
"Aeolidae tumulum, et loca foeta paluſtribus ulvis
"Littora Cumarum, vivacisque antra Sibyllae
"Intrat."——— Met. XIV. 105.

VER. 9—12.

"At pius Aeneas arces quibus altus Apollo
"Praeſidet, horrendaeque procul ſecreta *[1] Sibyllae,

" *[2] Antrum immane, petit: magnam cui mentem animumque
" Delius inſpirat vates, aperitque futura."

*[1] In Virgil's account of Aeneas's preparation for his deſcent into hell, moſt people are apt to confound the Prieſteſs of the Sibyl, and the Sibyl herſelf together.—— The Prieſteſs's name is Deïphobe, the daughter of Glaucus; which was not the name of any of the Sibyls.——The Sibyl herſelf was a Goddeſs; and as ſuch required an introductreſs to her: and Scipio, in Silius Italicus (lib. XIII.), has the Prieſteſs Autonoë to conduct him to this very Sibyl. —— Virgil calls Deïphobe, generally, by the name of Sacerdos; and the Sibyl, Vates, and Dea: Silius calls Autonoë only Vates; and the Sibyl, Vates, Major Vates, Magna Sacerdos, Veri facunda Sacerdos, Docta comes Triviae, Phoebei pectoris umbra Fatidica, Cymes anus, Virgo, Sibylla, and Umbra Sibyllae. —— The Prieſteſs comes to conduct Aeneas to the temple where the Sibyl was, ver. 35; and it is ſhe that ſpeaks to ver. 55: It is the Sibyl herſelf that ſpeaks afterwards, from ver. 82 to 155. The Prieſteſs appears again, ver. 244; and is ſucceeded again by the Sibyl, from ver. 258 to the end.

The whole courſe of the thing is thus:

Aeneas puts in with his fleet near Cape Miſeno, ver. 2. He ſets out from thence for Cumae; and ſtops in the Portico of Apollo's temple there, whilſt Achates goes for the Prieſteſs, ver. 13. She comes, ver. 35; and introduces him into the temple, ver. 41; where he makes his prayer, ver. 56; and has the anſwer from the Sibyl herſelf, ver. 83, etc. who orders him to ſearch for the Golden Bough; and to bury the perſon, who lies dead in his fleet. He returns; and finds that perſon to be Miſenus, ver. 162.

Aeneas himſelf aſſiſts in getting the wood for Miſenus's funeral pile, ver. 183. which, at the ſame time, occaſions his finding the Golden Bough, ver. 187. He carries it to the Sibyl, ver. 211; and returns to pay his laſt rites to Miſenus, ver. 232.

Aeneas goes to the lake of Avernus, ver. 236, between his fleet and the city of Cumae; and is met there by the Prieſteſs, ver. 244. They perform the ſacrifice, ver. 250. The Sibyl comes, ver. 258; and leads the way, ver. 262, through the cave, to hell.

*[2] The Sibyl's Grot (as it is called), by which Virgil makes Aeneas deſcend into hell, has one opening by the Lake Avernus; and had another at Cumae: and there was a paſſage went all under the hill from one to the other. —— † Virgil makes Aeneas go quite thorough it, by his

his perpetual way of inferring things, rather than ſaying them directly: and then return the neareſt way (ver. 900.) to his fleet, and ſet ſail for Caieta. Ovid ſays expreſsly, that he came out at Cumae:

" Talia convexum per iter memorante Sibyllâ,
" Sedibus Euboïcam Stygiis emergit in urbem
" Troïus Aeneas; ſacrisque à more litatis
" Litora adit nondum nutricis habentia nomen,"

Met. XIV. 157.

Mr. Holdſworth had ſome thoughts of publiſhing an exact map of all that part of the country that lies between Cape Miſeno and Gaëta; which would be the beſt comment on a great part of the Sixth Aeneid, or at leaſt help to illuſtrate it much better than any of the commentators have done.

❋ Auguſtus ſhewed particular regard to the oracles of the Sibyl.—Strabo, ſpeaking of the oracle of Jupiter Ammon in Afric, tells us that it was entirely neglected in his time: Των Ῥωμαιων αρχεμενων τοις Σιβυλλης χρησμοις και τοις Τυῤῥηνικοις Θεοπροπιοις δια τε σπλαγχνων, και ορνιθειας, και διοσημειων. Lib. xvii. And Suetonius, ſpeaking De Pontificatu Auguſti, ſays; " Quicquid fati-
" dicorum librorum Graeci Latinique generis nullis vel parum idoneis
" auctoribus vulgò ferebatur, ſupra duo millia contracta undique cremavit:
" at ſolos retinuit Sibyllinos (hos quoque delectu habito) condiditque duo-
" bus forulis auratis ſub Palatini Apollinis baſi."

VER. 20—23.

" ❋ In foribus, letum Androgeo: tum pendere poenas
" Cecropidae juſſi (miſerum!) ſeptena quotannis
" Corpora natorum: ſtat ductis ſortibus urna.
" Contra elata mari reſpondet Gnoſia tellus."

❋ We are to conſider this as a ſculpture, where Crete is to be ſhewn at a great diſtance from Athens, in a farther corner of the piece, and repreſented in relief; the ſea, in a plainer ſurface, lying between.—The parts of the piece are very well diſpoſed.

The folding doors of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill, built by Auguſtus, were adorned in like manner with ſtories in relief; as we find by Propertius (lib. II. El. 29.) here alluded to.

" Et valvae Lybici nobile dentis opus.
" Altera, dejectos Parnaſſi vertice Gallos;

 " Altera,

" Altera, moerebat funera Tantalidos.
" Deinde inter Matrem Deus ipſe interque Sororem
" Pythius in longâ carmina veſte ſonat:
" Illic aſpicias ſcopulis haerere Sorores,
" Et canere antiqui dulcia furta Jovis:
" Ut Semele eſt combuſtus; ut eſt deperditus Io;
" Denique ut ad Trojae tecta volavit Avis."

Fores in this place cannot mean the doors of the temple, but ſome outward part leading to the temple: for Virgil makes his hero amuſe himſelf with peruſing the hiſtory of Daedalus carved there, whilſt Achates was gone to call the Prieſteſs. She afterwards, " vocat alta in templa:" after which it is ſaid; " Ventum erat ad limen." And again afterwards, " Ante fores." Theſe laſt Fores cannot be the ſame with the former. The latter may ſignify properly the doors of the inner or principal part of the temple, where the oracles were given (the Sanctum Sanctorum, as I may call it); the former Fores muſt mean the firſt approach to the temple. See Georg. III. ver. 26. and Aen. I. ver. 509.

VER. 24—26.

" Hic crudelis amor Tauri, ſuppoſtaque furto
" Paſiphaë, miſtumque genus, prolesque † biformis
" Minotaurus ineſt; Veneris monimenta nefandae."

† The Minotaur is repreſented in antiques as moſtly human, but with the head of a bull. Mr. Dryden, in his tranſlation of this paſſage, has juſt reverſed the form of him; for he ſays,

" The lower part a beaſt, a man above."

Such of the antients as deſcribe the form of the Minotaur moſt exactly, agree with the antient artiſts.

——— " Minoï brachia Tauri."
Stat. Achil. I. 192.

——— " Theſeus
" Centum urbes umbone gerit, centenaque Cretae
" Moenia: ſeque ipſum monſtroſi ambagibus antri
" Hiſpida torquentem luctantis colla juvenci:
" Alternasque manus circum, et nodoſo ligantem

" Brachia,

" Brachia, et abducto vitantem cornua vultu."

Theb. XII. 671.

Ενεμονῖο αυῖην ανθρωποι αῖριοι, βεκεφαλοι, κεραῖα εχονῖες· οἱον ωαρ' ἡμιν τον Μινοῖαυρον αναπλατῖεσι. Lucian's True Hiſt. lib. II. p. 407. ed. Bourdelotii.

VER. 33—36.

——" Quin protinus omnia
" Perlegerent oculis: ni jam praemiſſus Achates
" Afforet; atque unà Phoebi Triviaeque * ſacerdos,
" † Deïphobe Glauci."——

* That Virgil, by Sacerdos, means a Prieſteſs attending on the Sibyl, is manifeſt by his whole account; for at Cumae the Sacerdos comes to Aeneas, and is converſing ſome time with him; whilſt the Sibyl is within in the cell, and does not appear till the doors open. Again afterwards, at the lake Averno, the Prieſteſs with Aeneas performs the ſacrifices in the night, in the abſence of the Sibyl, and then ſhe appears; for Virgil expreſsly ſays that after the ſacrifices were performed,

" Ecce autem, primi ſub lumina ſolis et ortus,
" Sub pedibus mugire ſolum, etc.——
" Adventante Deâ."——

Without this diſtinction between the Vates and Sacerdos, that is, between the Sibyl and the Prieſteſs, this whole paſſage would be very unintelligible. It is true that afterwards in hell, on the banks of Acheron, he calls the Sibyl " longaeva Sacerdos."

† The name of the Prieſteſs is Deïphobe, that of the Cumaean Sibyl was Demo. Pauſanias, p. 828. (ed. Khunii, 1696.)

Silius Italicus imitates Virgil in this, as in many other things. The name of his inferior Prieſteſs is Autonoë. See latter part of the note on ver. 237. poſth.

VER. 51—53.

——" Ceſſas in vota precesque
" Tros, ait, Aenea? ceſſas? neque enim ante dehiſcent
" * Attonitae magna ora domûs."——

* Ruaeus's interpreting " Attonitae domûs" by " Antri terrifici," and ſuppoſing this epithet given to the cave, " quia attonitos ac trepidos facit,"

is

is very unpoetical. The Poet's thought is certainly to make the houſe convulſed, as well as the Prieſteſs. The parallel he makes of Death being called Pallida, " quia pallorem inducit," is likewiſe wrong. When Horace ſays, " Pallida Mors aequo pulſat pede;" he muſt make Death perſonal to knock at the door; and if Death appears in perſon, it ought to be Pallida.

VER. 98—101.

" Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumaea Sibylla
" Horrendas canit ambages, antroque remugit,
" Obſcuris vera involvens: ea * fraena furenti
" Concutit, et ſtimulis ſub pectore vertit Apollo."

* So Lucan, in ſpeaking of the Prieſteſs of Delphi, ſays;

" Accipit et fraenos; nec tantum prodere vati,
" Quantum ſcire licet."——— Lib. V. 176.

VER. 106, 107.

———" Quando hic inferni janua regis
" Dicitur, et tenebroſa palus * Acheronte refuſo."

* This lake, called Acheruſia, lies between Cumae and Miſenum. So Strabo deſcribes it: Πλησιον δε της Κυμης το Μισηνον ακρωτηριον, και εν τω μεταξυ Αχερουσια λιμνη, της θαλασσης αναχυσις τις τεναινωδης. It is a different lake from the Avernus; and Silius Italicus, as well as Virgil, ſpeaks of it as ſuch, lib. XII. where, after having deſcribed Avernus, he adds;

" Hinc vicina palus (fama eſt Acherontis ad undas
" Pandere iter) caecas ſtagnante voragine fauces
" Laxat; et horrendos aperit telluris hiatus,
" Interdumque novo perturbat lumine Manes."

† Mr. Holdſworth alſo refers to Mr. Pope's Odyſſey, B. X. note on ver. 602. That note is on the directions for Ulyſſes's deſcent to hell.

" This whole ſcene is excellently imagined by the Poet, as Euſtathius
" obſerves; the trees are all barren, the place is upon the ſhores where
" nothing grows; and all the rivers are of a melancholy ſignification,
" ſuitable to the ideas we have of thoſe infernal regions. Ulyſſes arrives
" at this place, where he calls up the ſhades of the dead, in the ſpace of

" one

" one day; from whence we may conjecture, that he means a place that " lies between Cumae and Baiae, near the lake Avernus, in Italy; which, " as Strabo remarks, is the ſcene of the necromancy of Homer, accord- " ing to the opinion of antiquity. He further adds, that there really are " ſuch rivers as Homer mentions, though not placed in their true ſitua- " tion; according to the liberty allowed to poetry. Others write, that " the Cimmerii once inhabited Italy, and that the famous cave of Pauſi- " lypo was begun by them about the time of the Trojan wars: Here " they offered ſacrifice to the Manes, which might give occaſion to " Homer's fiction. The Grecians, who inhabited theſe places after the " Cimmerians, converted theſe dark habitations into ſtoves, baths, etc.

" Silius Italicus writes, that the Lucrine lake was antiently called Co- " cytus, lib. XII.

" Aſt hic Lucrino manſiſſe vocabula quondam
" Cocyti memorat."———

" It is alſo probable, that Acheron was the antient name of Avernus, " becauſe Acheruſia, a large water near Cumae, flows into it by con- " cealed paſſages. Silius Italicus informs us, that Avernus was alſo called " Styx.

" Ille olim populis dictum Styga, nomine verſo,
" Stagna inter celebrem nunc mitia monſtrat Avernum."

" Here Hannibal offered ſacrifice to the Manes, as it is recorded by Livy; " and Tully affirms it from an ancient Poet, from whom he quotes the " following fragment:

" Inde in viciniâ noſtrâ Averni lacus
" Unde animae excitantur obſcurâ umbrâ,
" Alti Acherontis aperto oſtio."———

VER. 125, 126.

" Tunc ſic orſa loqui vates: Sate ſanguine Divûm,
" Tros Anchiſiade, † facilis deſcenſus Averni," etc.

† " Omnia proclivia ſunt; facilè deſcenditur: itaque quamvis podagricus " eſſet, momento temporis pervenit ad januam Ditis." Seneca, Apoth. Claudii.

VER.

VER. 140—144.

——— " Non antè datur telluris operta ſubire,
" Auricomos quâm quis decerpſerit arbore foetus;
" Hoc ſibi pulchra ſuum ferri Proſerpina munus
" Inſtituit. Primo avulſo non deficit alter
" Aureus, et ſimili frondeſcit * virga metallo."

* Mercury by his Caduceus opens and ſhuts the gates of hell; and therefore very properly puts a bough or twig into Aeneas's hand, when he was going into thoſe regions. The power of the Divine Rod was grown into a proverb amongſt the Romans, as appears from Cicero: " Quod ſi " omnia nobis, quae ad victum cultumque pertinent, quaſi Virgulâ Divinâ " (ut aiunt) ſuppeditantur," Offic. lib. I. — The moſt ancient hiſtories, ſacred and profane, give us ſufficient teſtimonies of the uſe of the Virga, on ſolemn occaſions.

VER. 182—188.

——— " Advolvunt ingentes montibus ornos.
" Nec non Aeneas opera inter talia primus
" Hortatus ſocios, paribusque accingitur armis.
" Atque haec ipſe ſuo triſti cum corde volutat,
" Aſpectans ſylvam immenſam, et ſic ore precatur:
" Si * nunc ſe nobis ille aureus arbore ramus
" Oſtendat nemore in tanto!" ———

* The diſcovery of the Golden Bough, at the ſame time that Aeneas was ſeeking for timber in the woods for the funeral of Miſenus, is artfully interwoven.

VER. 203, 204.

——— " Gemina ſuper arbore ſidunt,
" Diſcolor unde auri per ramos * aura refulſit."

* Ruaeus explains the word Aura by Fulgor.—So, poſſibly, Horace's,

——— " Tua nè retardet
" Aura maritos." Lib. II. Od. viii. 24.

VER.

VER. 212—216.

" Nec minus interea Miſenum in litore Teucri
" Flebant, ✱[1] et cineri ingrato ſuprema ferebant.
" Principio pinguem taedis et robore ſecto
" Ingentem ſtruxere pyram: cui frondibus atris
" Intexunt latera, et ✱[2] ferales ante cupreſſos
" Conſtituunt."———

✱[1] The ſolemn funeral of Miſenus prepares the mind for the deſcent into hell; and Virgil likewiſe takes this opportunity of celebrating ſo remarkable a promontory near his favourite city, Naples.

✱[2] Ovid alludes to the ſame cuſtom, when he ſays;

" Funeris ara mihi ferali cincta cupreſſu
" Convenit." —— De Triſt. lib. III. El. penult.

† Dr. Middleton ſays (Mon. p. 86.), "that it was cuſtomary among " the Romans, when any great man died, to have a cypreſs tree placed " on each ſide of his door; and when the body was carried out, theſe " were carried after him in the funeral proceſſion. Hence Horace's;

" Linquenda tellus, et domus, et placens
" Uxor: neque harum, quas colis, arborum
" Te praeter inviſas cupreſſos,
" Ulla brevem dominum ſequetur." Lib. II. Od. xiv. 24.

VER. 237—242.

" † Spelunca alta fuit, vaſtoque immanis hiatu,
" Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris;
" Quam ſuper haud ullae poterant impune volantes
" Tendere iter pennis; talis ſeſe halitus atris
" Faucibus effundens ſupera ad convexa ferebat;
" Unde locum Graii dixerunt nomine Avernum."

† Virgil calls it Spelunca here, and Antrum, 268 poſth. He deſcribes it as near the lake of Avernus (238, etc.), with a wide opening (237 et 262), covered with dark woods (238); and a dark paſſage afterwards, 270—272.

—— " Ad Avernales ſcopulos et opaca Sibyllae
" Antra."—— Stat. Sylv. V. iii. 173.

—— " Penitus via longa pateſcat
" Manibus egregiis. Eat," etc. Ib. III. iii. 28.

Statius mentions Baiae, the Tecta Sibyllae, and Miſenus's Promontory together. Sylv. V. iii. 173.—See ib. IV. iii. 24 et 133.

Ovid's deſcription of the Cave of Sleep (Met. XI. 592.), is much more like what they call the Sibyl's Grot at preſent, than this opening deſcribed by Virgil.

Quaer. Where that place Tacitus ſpeaks of? —— " Nero, ut erat in-
" credibilium cupitor, effodere proxima Averno juga connixus eſt; ma-
" nentque veſtigia irritae ſpei." Annal. lib. XV.

The entrance is more diſtinctly marked in Silius Italicus, lib. XIII. Scipio goes to Autonoë the prieſteſs of Apollo: ſhe tells him what ſacrifices he is to prepare; bids him come with them juſt after midnight, " ad fauces vicini Averni," the " turbida portae oſtia Tartareae;" and promiſes to meet him there, and call forth the Sibyl. When he comes, he finds Autonoë within the cave. She performs part of the ſacrifice. Scipio ſees into hell; and talks with Appius: the Sibyl comes, and taſtes the blood; and Autonoë goes away. The Sibyl foretells his future actions; deſcribes hell to him; enables him to know the perſons that taſte the blood, and points out others to him. The Sibyl returns to the ſhades, and Scipio to his companions, lin. ult.

VER. 243—247.

" *[1] Quatuor hic primum nigrantes terga juvencos
" Conſtituit, frontique invergit vina ſacerdos;
" Et, ſummas carpens media inter cornua ſetas,
" Ignibus imponit ſacris libamina prima,
" Voce vocans *[2] Hecaten, caeloque Ereboque potentem."

*[1] See Mr. Pope's account of the antient ſacrifices in his Remarks on the Odyſſey: B. XIV. ver. 469. and other places of Homer.

*[2] Hecate and Diana are the ſame Deity; not Proſerpina, as Ruaeus thinks; which immediately appears by ver. 251. And Statius, in his Balneum Etruſci, Sylv. I. 5. expreſsly calls Diana by the name Hecate.

" Hîc velox Hecate velit et deprenſa lavari:"

alluding to the ſtory of Actaeon.

VER.

VER. 249—251.

——— "Ipſe atri velleris agnam
" Aeneas ❋ matri Eumenidum magnaeque ſorori
" Enſe ferit; ſterilemque tibi, Proſerpina, vaccam."

❋ Silius Italicus, on the like occaſion, makes this ſacrifice to Alecto and Megaera.

" Inde tibi, Alecto; tibi, nunquam laeta Megaera," etc. Lib. III.

VER. 285—289.

" Multaque praeterea variarum monſtra ferarum,
" Centauri in foribus ſtabulant, † Scyllaeque biformes;
" Et centum geminus Briareus, ac Bellua Lernae
" Horrendum ſtridens, flammisque armata Chimaera:
" Gorgones, Harpyiaeque, et forma tricorporis umbrae."

† The word Scyllae is ſometimes uſed for any thing of a confuſed and imaginary make. — Lucretius ſpeaks of them in the ſame manner:

" Centauros itaque, et Scyllarum membra videmus,
" Cerbereasque canum facies. ——— IV. 737.

that is, we make theſe odd mixtures of animals in our own fancy. He ſpeaks of them again, V. 876—892.

VER. 298, 299.

" Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina ſervat
" Terribili ❋ ſqualore Charon."

❋ Mr. Holdſworth here refers to Note the firſt, Book XI. of Mr. Pope's edition of Homer's Odyſſey. Where Mr. Pope ſays;

'I will take this opportunity briefly to mention the original of all theſe 'fictions of infernal rivers, judges, etc. ſpoken of by Homer, and re-'peated and enlarged by Virgil. They are of Aegyptian extract, as 'Mr. Sandys (that faithful traveller, and judicious poet) obſerves, ſpeak-'ing of the mummies of Memphis, p. 134.

" Theſe ceremonies performed, they laid the corpſe in a boat to be " wafted over Acheruſia, a lake on the ſouth of Memphis, by one only

—— " Penitus via longa pateſcat
" Manibus egregiis. Eat," etc. Ib. III. iii. 28.

Statius mentions Baiae, the Tecta Sibyllae, and Miſenus's Promontory together. Sylv. V. iii. 173.—See ib. IV. iii. 24 et 133.

Ovid's deſcription of the Cave of Sleep (Met. XI. 592.), is much more like what they call the Sibyl's Grot at preſent, than this opening deſcribed by Virgil.

Quaer. Where that place Tacitus ſpeaks of?——" Nero, ut erat in-
" credibilium cupitor, effodere proxima Averno juga connixus eſt; ma-
" nentque veſtigia irritae ſpei." Annal. lib. XV.

The entrance is more diſtinctly marked in Silius Italicus, lib. XIII. Scipio goes to Autonoë the prieſteſs of Apollo: ſhe tells him what ſacrifices he is to prepare; bids him come with them juſt after midnight, " ad fauces vicini Averni," the " turbida portae oſtia Tartareae;" and promiſes to meet him there, and call forth the Sibyl. When he comes, he finds Autonoë within the cave. She performs part of the ſacrifice. Scipio ſees into hell; and talks with Appius: the Sibyl comes, and taſtes the blood; and Autonoë goes away. The Sibyl foretells his future actions; deſcribes hell to him; enables him to know the perſons that taſte the blood, and points out others to him. The Sibyl returns to the ſhades, and Scipio to his companions, lin. ult.

VER. 243—247.

" *[1] Quatuor hic primum nigrantes terga juvencos
" Conſtituit, frontique invergit vina ſacerdos;
" Et, ſummas carpens media inter cornua ſetas,
" Ignibus imponit ſacris libamina prima,
" Voce vocans *[2] Hecaten, caeloque Ereboque potentem."

*[1] See Mr. Pope's account of the antient ſacrifices in his Remarks on the Odyſſey: B. XIV. ver. 469. and other places of Homer.

*[2] Hecate and Diana are the ſame Deity; not Proſerpina, as Ruaeus thinks; which immediately appears by ver. 251. And Statius, in his Balneum Etruſci, Sylv. I. 5. expreſsly calls Diana by the name Hecate.

" Hîc velox Hecate velit et deprenſa lavari:"

alluding to the ſtory of Actaeon.

VER.

VER. 249—251.

——— "Ipſe atri velleris agnam
" Aeneas ❋ matri Eumenidum magnaeque ſorori
" Enſe ferit; ſterilemque tibi, Proſerpina, vaccam."

❋ Silius Italicus, on the like occaſion, makes this ſacrifice to Alecto and Megaera.

" Inde tibi, Alecto; tibi, nunquam laeta Megaera," etc. Lib. III.

VER. 285—289.

" Multaque praeterea variarum monſtra ferarum,
" Centauri in foribus ſtabulant, † Scyllaeque biformes;
" Et centum geminus Briareus, ac Bellua Lernae
" Horrendum ſtridens, flammisque armata Chimaera:
" Gorgones, Harpyiaeque, et forma tricorporis umbrae."

† The word Scyllae is ſometimes uſed for any thing of a confuſed and imaginary make. — Lucretius ſpeaks of them in the ſame manner:

" Centauros itaque, et Scyllarum membra videmus,
" Cerbereasque canum facies. ——— IV. 737.

that is, we make theſe odd mixtures of animals in our own fancy. He ſpeaks of them again, V. 876—892.

VER. 298, 299.

" Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina ſervat
" Terribili ❋ ſqualore Charon."

❋ Mr. Holdſworth here refers to Note the firſt, Book XI. of Mr. Pope's edition of Homer's Odyſſey. Where Mr. Pope ſays;

'I will take this opportunity briefly to mention the original of all theſe 'fictions of infernal rivers, judges, etc. ſpoken of by Homer, and re-'peated and enlarged by Virgil. They are of Aegyptian extract, as 'Mr. Sandys (that faithful traveller, and judicious poet) obſerves, ſpeak-'ing of the mummies of Memphis, p. 134.

" Theſe ceremonies performed, they laid the corpſe in a boat to be " wafted over Acheruſia, a lake on the ſouth of Memphis, by one only

" perſon, whom they called Charon; which gave Orpheus the invention " of his infernal ferryman; an ill-favoured ſlovenly fellow, as Virgil de- " ſcribes him, Aen. VI. About this lake ſtood the ſhady temple of He- " cate, with the ports of Cocytus and Oblivion, ſeparated by bars of " braſs, the original of like fables. When landed on the other ſide, " the bodies were brought before certain judges; if convinced of an evil " life, they were deprived of burial; if otherwiſe, they ſuffered them " to be interred." —— This explication ſhews the foundation of thoſe antient fables of Charon, Rhadamanthus, etc. and alſo that the poets had a regard to truth in their inventions, and grounded even their fables upon ſome remarkable cuſtoms, which grew obſcure and abſurd only becauſe the memory of the cuſtoms to which they allude is loſt to poſterity.

VER. 378, 379.

—— " * Tua finitimi longè latéque per urbes,
" Prodigiis acti caeleſtibus, oſſa piabunt."

* Markland, in his notes on Statius, taking occaſion to quote theſe two verſes, attacks them in the following furious manner — " Qui locus, niſi " omnia me fallunt, inſigni abſurditate foetus eſt. Si enim *Finitimi*, " quomodo *Longe lateque per urbes?* idem ac ſi dixiſſet, *Finitimi* longin- " que piabunt tua oſſa: quod ſanè mirum ducerem, niſi quod nihil " mirum habendum eſt in poëmate tam imperfecto." See Markland's Statius, lib. III. 127. — This critic ought to have been ſure that this was a blunder in Virgil, not in himſelf, before he brought ſo ſevere a charge againſt him as he does in this place, and likewiſe at the latter end of his preface. For my part I ſee no abſurdity in the paſſage. Virgil makes the Sibyl comfort Palinurus by aſſuring him that the people bordering on the ſhore, where he was murdered, ſhould be perſecuted by judgments from heaven, *throughout all* the cities of their territories; and be therefore compelled to expiate his death, and to perform his funeral rites, and erect a monument to his memory. Suppoſing Virgil to have ſaid *finitimi* ſimply, without any other addition, this word, ſtrictly ſpeaking, might have meant only the neareſt inhabitants; perhaps a few fiſhermen in their huts: but Virgil is to be underſtood in a larger ſenſe. All Lucania ſuffered for the death of Palinurus, as appears by the paſſage quoted on this occaſion by Mr. Markland from Servius. Therefore Finitimi muſt here mean, not barely the inhabitants next immediately adjoining,

joining, but the whole people of the adjoining province, who were puniſhed throughout all their diſtricts, far and near, which Virgil expreſſes by "Longè latéque per urbes."

VER. 412—416.

——— "Simul accipit alveo
"Ingentem Aeneam. Gemuit ſub pondere cymba
"Sutilis, et multam accepit rimoſa paludem.
"Tandem trans fluvium incolumes vatemque virumque
"Informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva."

* See Montfaucon, tom. IV. part II. l. ii. c. 2. — Leather boats are now uſed in ſeveral places in England and Wales, and called Coracles. But Lucan tells us, that the boats uſed by the Aegyptians, when the Nile overflowed, were made of Papyrus:

——— "Sic cum tenet omnia Nilus,
"Conſeritur bibulâ Memphitis cymba papyro." Lib. IV. 135.

And as it is generally allowed that the poets in their ſtories concerning the infernal regions alluded to cuſtoms in Aegypt, it is probable that Virgil chuſes the ſame ſort of boat as was uſed on the Nile.

VER. 417—423.

"Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci
"Perſonat, adverſo recubans immanis in antro.
"Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris,
"Melle ſoporatam et medicatis frugibus offam
"Objicit: ille fame rabidâ † tria guttura pandens,
"Corripit objectam; atque immania terga reſolvit
"Fuſus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro."

† So Ovid;

——— "Nec uti villoſa colubris
"Terna Meduſaei vincirem guttura monſtri."
Met. X. ver. 22. (of Orpheus).

And Horace;

"Ceſſit immanis tibi blandienti
"Janitor aulae
"Cerberus:

" Cerberus: quamvis furiale centum
" Muniant angues caput ejus: atque
" Spiritus teter, ſaniesque manet
" Ore trilingui."
Lib. III. Od. ii. ver. 2. (of Mercury's great deſcent into hell).

He is alſo repreſented with ſnakes about his neck, in the Vatican Virgil. See Pol. pl. XXXVII. i. and XXXVIII. i.

VER. 434—437.

" Proxima deinde tenent moeſti loca: qui ſibi letum
" Inſontes peperêre manu, lucemque peroſi
" * Projecêre animas. Quam vellent aethere in alto
" Nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!"

* Projicere ſignifies properly to caſt off or throw away as vile and contemptible. —— See Lucan, VI. 626.

" Corpora caeſorum tumulis projecta negatis;"

and in many other places.

VER. 459—462.

—— " Per ſidera juro,
" Per ſuperos, et ſi qua fides tellure ſub imâ eſt,
" Invitus, regina, tuo de litore ceſſi:
" Sed me juſſa Deûm, quae * nunc has ire per umbras,
" Per loca ſenta ſitu cogunt noctemque profundam,
" Imperiis egêre ſuis." ——

* A fine thought is couched here, for this inſinuates to Dido, that leaving her was hell to him; and that only thoſe powers, which ſent him hither, could have forced him to quit her.

VER. 570—579.

" Continuò ſontes altrix accincta flagello
" Tiſiphone quatit inſultans: torvosque ſiniſtrâ
" Intentans angues, vocat agmina ſaeva ſororum.
" * Tum demum horriſono ſtridentes cardine ſacrae
" Panduntur portae. Cernis, cuſtodia qualis

" Veſtibulo

" Veſtibulo ſedeat? facies quae limina fervet?
" Quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra
" †¹ Saevior intus habet ſedem: tum Tartarus ipſe
" †² Bis patet in praeceps tantum, tenditque ſub umbras;
" Quantus ad aethereum caeli ſuſpectus Olympum."

* This break is wrong. Virgil does not intend to open the gates of hell to give his hero a view of the horrid ſcene within, as ſome of the commentators underſtand it; but means, that after the criminals are tried and found guilty, they are conducted by the Furies to the gates, which open to receive them. The ſcene is deſcribed by Sibylla.

†¹ Fiercer than the common Hydra, the Bellua Lernae; which he places without; " primis in faucibus Orci." Ver. 273 et 287, anteh.

†² Homer makes it as far from earth to hell downwards, as it is upwards from earth to heaven: it has been obſerved, that two of the beſt Poets ſince have enlarged it gradually, Virgil to twice, and Milton to thrice that depth: but, if I miſtake not, Heſiod of old has carried the mind further than either of them: it would pleaſe you to ſee how exact he is in his meaſures: " An anvil," ſays he, " will be nine days com-
" pleat in falling from heaven to earth; and as many in falling from our
" earth to Tartarus." Θεογ. ver. 722.——This is the diſtance from us to the gates of Tartarus only: he afterwards carries the mind much farther, in this deſcription:

" There lie the treaſures of the ſtormy deep,
" Of earth, and water, and extended darkneſs.
" A dreadful chaſm! ſqualid and uninform'd,
" And hateful ev'n to Gods. Whoe'er, within
" The dreadful op'ning of its gates, ſhould plunge
" Prone thro' the great abyſs; twelve times the courſe
" Of the pale moon, ſhould feel its ſtorm and tempeſt
" In dire deſcent; ſtill hurry'd on precipitate,
" Amidſt the various tumult and confuſion
" Of diſagreeing natures. Oft the pow'rs
" Immortal caſt their eyes upon theſe regions,
" And ſhudder at the ſight.——— Θεογ. 744.

From Eſſay on Mr. Pope's Odyſſey; Evening V. p. 253.

VER. 601—607.

" Quid memorem Lapithas, Ixiona, Pirithoümque?
" Quos ſuper atra ſilex jamjam lapſura, cadentique
" Imminet aſſimilis. Lucent genialibus altis
" Aurea fulcra toris, epulaeque ante ora paratae
" Regifico luxu: Furiarum † maxima juxta
" Accubat, et manibus prohibet contingere menſas;
" Exurgitque facem attollens, atque intonat ore."

† It appears from Statius, that this Fury (whom Virgil does not name) was Megaera.

——— " Ultrix tibi torva Megaera
" Jejunum Phlegyam, ſubter cava ſaxa jacentem,
" Aeterno premit accubitu; dapibusque profanis
" Inſtimulat: ſed miſta famem faſtidia vincunt."

Theb. I. ver. 715.

Virgil on this occaſion calls her Furiarum maxima; which may ſignify either a chief, or the chief, of the Furies; but, conſidering her ſiſters characters (who are, at leaſt, her equals), I think it ſhould be taken in the former ſenſe here.

VER. 656, 659.

" Conſpicit ecce alios dextrâ laevâque per herbam
" Veſcentes, laetumque choro paeana canentes,
" Inter † odoratum lauri nemus: unde ſupernè
" Plurimus Eridani per ſylvam volvitur amnis."

† This is, I think, the moſt pleaſing idea in all Virgil's Elyſium: and, poſſibly, he had an eye in it to the famous valley of Tempe in Theſſaly, reckoned the moſt delightful ſpot in the whole world; and beautified, in particular, by the fall of the river Peneus, from mount Pindus; with woods on each ſide of it. (See Ovid's Met. lib. I. ver. 568 to 572.)

May I add another conjecture here, which would yet give farther beauty to this part in Virgil's Elyſium? It is, that he may poſſibly mean, that the groves on each ſide of his caſcade are groves of orange-trees; and conſequently as pleaſing in their ſmell as in their look. Orange-trees were firſt brought into Italy in Virgil's time. As they were ſo lately intro-

introduced among them, the Romans had as yet no name for them; and it is therefore that Virgil, where he is ſuppoſed by ſome very good judges to ſpeak of this tree in his Georgics, is forced to point it out, by a good deal of circumlocution; and by deſcribing it very particularly. It is a tree which, according to his account, was brought into Italy from Media, whoſe fruit had a ſharp, ſour taſte; he ſays, that it was very good for the ſtomach and breath, and an excellent remedy againſt infections and poiſons; that it was a large tree (as the orange-trees are much larger in Italy than with us, and much larger in Media than in Italy); that the leaf of it was very much like the leaf of the laurel; but that it was diſtinguiſhed from the laurel, by its laſting flowers, and by the fine perfume that they caſt all around it. (Georg. lib. II. ver. 126 to 135.) As they had then no diſtinct name for orange-trees, Virgil may here call them laurels, from their likeneſs to that tree; but, at the ſame time, he takes care to diſtinguiſh them from the common laurel, by mentioning the moſt ſtriking character of them, their fine ſmell: "Odoratum lauri nemus."

VER. 660—665.

"Hic manus, ob patriam pugnando vulnera paſſi;
"Quique ſacerdotes caſti, dum vita manebat;
"Quique pii vates, et Phoebo digna locuti;
"Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes;
"Quique ſui memores alios fecere merendo:
"Omnibus his niveâ cinguntur tempora ❋ vittâ."

❋ Canini, in his Iconografia, plate XXVII, on Homer's medals, obſerves thus: "Tiene il capello ligato da una faſcia.—Era queſta faſcia di lana "candida, come ſi comprende dalle parole di Platone quando vuole che "nella ſua republica non ſi riceva il Poeta; ma ſi bene, come coſa mara-"vigliosa s'honori, ſpargendovi ſopra il capo unguenti odoriferi e coro-"nandoli di lana. Unguentum in caput ejus effundentes, lanâque coro-"nantes." And then adds, "Virgilio dice portarſi queſta candida banda "in ſegno di celeſte honore:" and quotes theſe verſes; "Quique Sacer-"dotes," etc.

VER. 719—721.

"O pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum eſt
"Sublimes animas? iterumque ad tarda reverti
"Corpora? quae † lucis miſeris tam dira cupido?"

† This

† This may ſhew that Virgil had nobler notions of life and death than Homer; as Lucan has nobler than either of them.

VER. 724—727.

" * Principio caelum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
" Lucentemque globum Lunae, Titaniaque aſtra
" Spiritus intus alit; totamque infuſa per artus
" Mens agitat molem, et magno ſe corpore miſcet."

* See Dr. Trapp's excellent remarks on this place, ver. 933. of his tranſlation.

VER. 756—759.

" * Nunc age, Dardaniam prolem quae deinde ſequatur
" Gloria, qui maneant Itala de gente nepotes,
" Illuſtres animas, noſtrumque in nomen ituras,
" Expediam dictis, et te tua fata docebo."

* See Dr. Trapp's note on this place, to which may be added what I have obſerved, Georg. III. ver. 27.

VER. 830—835.

" *[1] Aggeribus ſocer Alpinis, atque arce *[2] Monaeci
" Deſcendens gener adverſis inſtructus Eoïs.
" Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis aſſueſcite bella:
" Neu patriae validas in viſcera vertite vires.
" Tuque *[3] prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo:
" Projice tela manu, ſanguis meus."———

*[3] Aggeribus, very properly; the Alpes being always looked upon as the ramparts of Italy. So Tully, in Orat. in L. Piſonem, calls them Alpium vallum: and, Philippicâ 5ta, Alpium murum. " Ejus furorem " ne Alpium quidem muro prohibere poſſemus."

*[2] See Lucan's deſcription, lib. I. ver. 405.

Lucan does not explain where Caeſar paſſed the Alpes when he went from Gaul to the Rubicon; he only ſays in ſhort, lib. I. ver. 183,

" Jam gelidas Caeſar curſu ſuperaverat Alpes."

But

But it is pretty evident from other places in Lucan, that the paſſes of the Maritimae Alpes, that is, the paſſes between Provence and Italy, were known to J. Caeſar; for when he marched from Italy into Spain, after Pompey's retirement from Brunduſium, he paſſed the Alpes and came directly to Marſeilles.

" Agmine nubiferam rapto ſuperevolat Alpem:
" Cumque alii famae populi terrore paverent,
" Phocaïs in dubiis auſa eſt ſervare juventus
" Non Graiâ levitate fidem," etc.——— Lucan. lib. III. 299.

A very noble trophy was raiſed to Auguſtus at Torbia near Monaco; of which ſee an account in Théatre des Etats du Duc de Savoye, vol. II. The ruins of this trophy are ſtill ſeen on a hill about three miles above Monaco, and are very conſiderable; appearing, as one ſees them at a little diſtance from ſea, like the Torre Magne at Niſmes.

Caeſar himſelf tells us in his Commentaries, at the end of the firſt book of the Civil War, that after his conqueſt of Petreius and Afranius, he ſent his army into Italy by the river Var: " Ex Hiſpaniâ ad Varum flumen eſt " iter factum." De Bell. Civ. lib. I. From whence the road goes through the territory of the Prince of Monaco.

✻3 We are informed by Hiſtory, that, before the Civil War actually broke out, Caeſar offered by his friends at Rome, and by letters to the Senate, to lay down his command, upon condition that Pompey was obliged to do the ſame. See Appian, de Bell. Civ. lib. II. from p. 735 to 740. edit. Tollii. See likewiſe Plutarch's Lives of Caeſar and Pompey. N. B. Appian tells us, that when Caeſar had paſſed the Rubicon after his propoſals were rejected; " Senatus nec opinatâ impreſſione Cae- " ſaris territus, ut imparatus, ſibi metuebat, non admiſſarum Caeſaris " conditionum aequiſſimarum tum demum poenitens, poſtquam timor à " contentione eos ad recta conſilia traduxerat." p. 740.

VER. 841, 842.

" Quis te, magne Cato, tacitum; aut te, Coſſe, relinquat?
" Quis Gracchi genus? aut geminos, duo † fulmina belli,
" Scipiadas?"———

† There is perhaps no one word in the whole Roman language, whoſe ſignification is more diſtinctly determined by their antient writers themſelves,

ſelves, than that of the word Fulmen. One could give ſeveral abſolute definitions of it, in their own words.—— " Si in nube luctetur flatus aut " vapor, tonitrua edi; ſi erumpat ardens, fulmina; ſi longiore tractu ni- " tatur, fulgetra." Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. II. c. xliii.

" Quem autem ſe in nubem induerint, ei uſque tenuiſſimam quamque " partem coeperint dividere ac diſrumpere, idque crebriùs facere et vehe- " mentiùs, tum et fulgores et tonitrua exiſtere: ſi autem *nubium conflictu* " *ardor expreſſus ſe emiſerit, id eſſe fulmen.*" Cicero, de Divin. lib. II. § 64.

——— " Igneus ille
" Vortex, quod patrio vocitamus nomine fulmen."
Lucretius, VI. ver. 297.

When we are taught (as we generally are) to tranſlate the word Fulmen by the word Thunder, we uſe a word that is apt to give an idea of noiſe, without any idea of the light, for a Latin word which gave an idea of light, without any idea of the noiſe.

This miſtake is very apt to make people loſe the beauty of ſeveral paſſages in the old Roman writers; as, for inſtance, where Cicero ſpeaks of the " fulmina verborum," or Virgil calls the two Scipios the " duo fulmi- " na belli."

The meaning of Virgil in this expreſſion is opened to us, more at large, in a ſimile of Lucan's; which, by the way, is one of the beſt, perhaps, in the whole Pharſalia. It is where he is giving us the character of Julius Caeſar, toward the opening of that poem.

" Acer, et indomitus, quô ſpes quôque ira vocaſſet
" Ferre manum; et nunquam temerando parcere ferro;
" Succeſſus urgere ſuos, inſtare favori
" Numinis, impellens quicquid ſibi ſumma petenti
" Obſtaret; gaudensque viam feciſſe ruinâ.
" Qualiter expreſſum ventis per nubila fulmen
" Aetheris impulſi ſonitu mundique fragore
" Emicuit, rupitque diem; populosque paventes
" Terruit, obliquâ praeſtinguens lumina flammâ:
" In ſua templa furit; nullâque exire vetante
" Materiâ, magnamque cadens magnamque revertens
" Dat ſtragem latè, ſparſosque recolligit ignes."
Lib. I. ver. 157.

Where

Where Mr. Pope makes uſe of the ſame image to point out the particular character of the late Earl of Peterborough;

—— " He, whoſe light'ning pierc'd th' Iberian lines;"

how much of the beauty and juſtice of it would have been loſt, had he uſed the word thunder, inſtead of the word he has uſed?

VER. 847—853.

" † Excudent alii ſpirantia mollius aera,
" Credo equidem; vivos ducent de marmore vultus;
" Orabunt cauſas melius; caelique meatus
" Deſcribent radio, et ſurgentia ſidera dicent:
" Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
" Hae tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem;
" Parcere ſubjectos, et debellare ſuperbos."

† The Romans did not ſtick at owning, that the Greeks exceeded them in all the polite arts, and in every branch of literature. This paſſage is a remarkable proof of it; and one might load ſeveral pages with others from their writers both in verſe and proſe. — The Roman arts were the arts of war and government. "Ego Romanis artibus, virtute, opere, armis, " vincam," ſays Camillus to the Schoolmaſter of Faliſci: Liv. lib. V. § xxvii. —— " Ut virtutis a noſtris, ſic doctrinae ſunt ab illis exempla " repetenda:" Cic. de Orat. lib. III. § cxxxvi.

VER. 872—874.

" Quantos ille virûm magnam Mavortis ad urbem
" Campus aget gemitus! vel quae, Tiberine, videbis
" Funera, cum † tumulum praeterlabere ✻ recentem!"

† Part of the ſepulchre, in which the aſhes of Marcellus were depoſited (and which was built by Auguſtus, for Julius Caeſar, himſelf, and the reſt of his family), is ſtill remaining. It ſtands in the Campus Martius, near the banks of the Tyber; and when one ſees it, puts one ſtrongly in mind of theſe verſes of Virgil, where he ſpeaks of the funeral of that young prince. It is what they now call the Mauſoleum Auguſti.

✻ " Tumulum recentem;" the Mauſoleum lately built by Auguſtus for his family. Suetonius ſays; " Id opus inter Flaminiam viam ripamque " Tyberis ſexto ſuo conſulatu extruxerat." Marcellus died in the 11th Conſulſhip

Conſulſhip of Auguſtus; and was probably the firſt of the family, who took poſſeſſion of this noble Mauſoleum; as appears by the following epigram, quoted by Nardini:

" Condidit Agrippam, quo te, Marcelle, ſepulcro,
" Et cepit generos jam locus iſte duos," etc.

This occaſioned the epithet Recentem. —— See the deſcription of this Mauſoleum by Strabo.

VER. 893—896.

" Sunt geminae Somni * portae: quarum altera fertur
" Cornea, quâ veris facilis datur exitus umbris:
" Altera, candenti perfecta nitens elephanto;
" Sed falſa ad caelum mittunt inſomnia Manes."

* Statius mentions the gates of hell at the end of his Epicedion ad Patrem:

" Inde tamen venias melior, quà porta malignum
" Cornea vincit ebur; Somnique in imagine monſtra,
" Quae ſolitus."——— Sylv. lib. V. iii. 288.

AENEID THE SEVENTH.

VER. 11—13.

" DIVES inacceſſos ubi Solis filia lucos
" Aſſiduo reſonat cantu, tectisque ſuperbis
" Urit odoratam nocturna in lumina * cedrum."

* Oil of cedar, for lamps. —— " Quemadmodum ex cupreſſu et " pinu reſina; ſic ex cedro oleum, quod cedreum dicitur, naſcitur."— Vitruv. lib. II. c. ix.

VER.

VER. 37—41.

" Nunc age, qui reges †, Erato, quae tempora rerum,
" Quis Latio antiquo fuerit ſtatus, advena claſſem
" Cum primum Auſoniis exercitus appulit oris,
" Expediam: et primae revocabo exordia pugnae.
" Tu vatem, tu, Diva, mone: dicam horrida bella,
" Dicam acies." ———

† Does not it ſeem as if Virgil wandered here from his uſual propriety, in addreſſing himſelf to Erato to ſing of wars? Ovid's invocation of her is certainly much more proper, when he invokes her to ſing of loves.

" Nunc mihi, ſi quando, puer et Cytherea, favete!
" Nunc, Erato; nam tu nomen amoris habes."
Art. Am. lib. II. ver. 16.

Erato was ſo much the patroneſs of lovers, that the ſame author in his Faſti ſpeaks of her and Venus as one and the ſame. He ſpeaks of her as Venus in the following verſes:

" Alma, fave vati, geminorum mater Amorum!" Faſt. IV. ver. 1.

" Mota Cytheriacâ leviter mea tempora myrto
" Contigit; et coeptum perfice, dixit, opus." Ib. 16.

And as the muſe, in theſe:

" Talibus Aoniae facundâ voce Camoenae
" Reddita quaeſiti cauſa furoris erat." Ib. 246.

" Subſtitit hic Erato." ——— Ib. 349.

He farther ſays, in one place, that the month of April was dedicated to Venus; and in another, that it was the month of Erato:

" Venimus ad quartum, quo tu celeberrima, menſem;
" Et vatem et menſem ſcis, Venus, eſſe tuos." Ib. 14.

" Sic Ego: ſic Erato. Menſis Cythereïus illi
" Ceſſit, quòd teneri nomen amoris habet." Ib. 196.

If Venus and Erato might be looked upon as the ſame perſon, Virgil might properly enough invoke her to ſing the wars and glorious achievements

achievements of her own ſon Aeneas. Though this does not thoroughly ſatisfy myſelf; I think it rather better than the reaſon by Ruaeus; "that he calls on Erato to ſing this war, becauſe it was occaſioned by the "love of Turnus and Aeneas for Lavinia."

VER. 107—117.

"Aeneas, primique duces, et pulcher Iülus,
"Corpora ſub ramis deponunt arboris altae:
"Inſtituuntque dapes, et adorea liba per herbam
"Subjiciunt epulis, (ſic Jupiter ipſe monebat)
"Et Cereale ſolum pomis agreſtibus augent.
"Conſumptis hic forte aliis, ut vertere morſus
"Exiguam in Cererem penuria adegit edendi;
"Et violare manu malisque audacibus orbem
"Fatalis cruſti, patulis nec parcere quadris:
"* Heus! etiam menſas conſumimus? inquit Iülus.
"Nec plura alludens. Ea vox audita laborum
"Prima tulit finem." ———

* Moſt of the hiſtorical paſſages in the Aeneid, and this little circumſtance in particular, are mentioned by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus in his Hiſtory.

VER. 122, 123, etc.

"Hic domus, haec patria eſt: genitor mihi talia (namque
"Nunc repeto) Anchiſes fatorum arcana reliquit +," etc,

+ The prophecy, that Aeneas and his companions ſhould be reduced to the neceſſity of eating their tables before they ſhould ſettle in Italy, was an antient tradition, and is mentioned as ſuch by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus. Virgil very judiciouſly made uſe of every thing that he could find recorded in that manner, in order to give an air of hiſtorical truth to his fable. He has therefore introduced it, and with the greateſt ſolemnity in the third Book. It is with great propriety put into the mouth of the Harpy Celaeno: ſhe delivers it as a denunciation of vengeance, with all the circumſtances proper to create awe and horror:

"Quae Phoebo pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo
"Praedixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando."

Ver. 251, 252.

The

The Trojans are ſtruck with the utmoſt terror and aſtoniſhment on the occaſion; and Anchiſes in particular with prayer and ſacrifice ſolemnly addreſſes the Great Deities, beſeeching them to avert thoſe dreadful threatenings. In the ſame book Aeneas, the horror of this prophecy ſtill remaining upon his mind, conſults Helenus particularly upon it; who gives him a ſhort intimation, that he will not find it ſo dreadful in the event as he apprehends:

" Nec tu menſarum morſus horreſce futuros:
" Fata viam invenient, aderitque vocatus Apollo."

Ver. 294, 295.

After this we hear no more of it till the ſeventh Book; when young Aſcanius, by a jocoſe remark ſuitable to his age, happily gives the ſolution of the prophecy. Upon which Aeneas, as if he had totally forgotten the delivery of the prophecy by the Harpy, which had made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon them all; his having conſulted Helenus upon it; and the hint that Helenus had given him relating to it, now ſo happily cleared up and verified; without the leaſt reference to all or any of theſe circumſtances, ſays, that he now recollects, that his father Anchiſes had foretold to him, that when, upon an unknown ſhore, they ſhould be forced to eat their tables, then his labours and wanderings ſhould end, and he ſhould build his city. Ruaeus ſays, that perhaps Anchiſes might tell him this in the infernal regions: it may be ſo; but this is no anſwer to an objection that may be raiſed againſt this paſſage: Why is not the ſolution of the prophecy connected with the delivery of it; as the Reader, recollecting the latter, muſt naturally expect? Why is it here put upon a new foundation, different from that upon which it was at firſt raiſed, after it had been ſo ſolemnly introduced, and ſo ſtrongly marked? Why is the delivery of it attributed to a different perſon; and the form of it totally altered, from a menace and a curſe into the promiſe of a bleſſing? By this alteration the ſolution alſo of the prophecy loſes much of its effect: the fulfilling of the promiſed bleſſing, upon this latter hypotheſis, has nothing very ſtriking in it; but the turn given to the Harpy's prophecy, converting the curſe into a bleſſing, would have been unexpected and ſurpriſing. Beſides, if Anchiſes explained the matter beforehand to his ſon, he muſt naturally be ſuppoſed to have done it, as Helenus had in part done before, with reference to the Harpy; eſpecially as Anchiſes is the very perſon who is repreſented

as expreſſing his horror on occaſion of the firſt diſcovery of it by her: but not a word of this here; and the Harpy is as much out of the queſtion, as if ſhe had never been mentioned.

I cannot but look upon this as an inconſiſtency, or at leaſt an inaccuracy, which Virgil would probably have corrected, if he could have given the laſt finiſhing to his admirable poem. But fate prevented him; as if determined that no human work ſhould ever arrive at abſolute perfection.

VER. 170—176.

" *[1] Tectum anguſtum, ingens, *[2] centum ſublime columnis,
" Urbe fuit ſummâ, Laurentis regia Pici;
" Horrendum ſylvis et relligione parentum.
" Hinc ſceptra accipere, et primos attollere faſces
" Regibus omen erat: hoc illis curia templum,
" Haec ſacris ſedes epulis: hic ariete caeſo
" Perpetuis ſoliti patres conſidere menſis."

*[1] Obſerve what majeſty there is in this verſe.

*[2] Servius remarks, that in his deſcription of the palace of Latinus, Virgil had a view to Auguſtus's palace on the Palatine hill. " Domum " quam in palatio diximus ab Auguſto factam per tranſitum laudat," etc. —— Bianchini in his Palazzo de' Ceſari is of the ſame opinion, and obſerves, moreover, that at this paſſage the Vatican Virgil has a portico of eight pillars in front, of the Corinthian order and fluted, which he ſuppoſes to repreſent the veſtibule of Auguſtus's palace; which, as he ſays, might probably be ſtanding, when that manuſcript was writ. See Bianchini, pag. 198, etc. —— There is likewiſe a paſſage in Statius, which ſeems to juſtify this remark of Servius: for that author ſpeaking of the palace in Domitian's time as much aggrandized by him, calls it;

" Tectum auguſtum, ingens; non centum inſigne columnis,
" Sed quantae Superos Caelumque, Atlante remiſſo,
" Suſtentare queant." —— Sylv. IV. 2.

where he manifeſtly inſinuates, that Virgil's deſcription of the palace in Auguſtus's time, was not equal to what Domitian had made it.

Centum

Centum Columnae, indeed, may ſignify only many; a certain number being uſed for an uncertain. However, ſuppoſing this intended for Auguſtus's palace, there was probably no great exaggeration in the number. For if there were fifty columns in the court of Apollo only, with the like number of ſtatues in the intercolumniations (as we learn from Ovid, De Triſt. lib. III. El. i. and from Propertius, lib. II. El. 29.), then we may reaſonably allow fifty more in the reſt of the palace. It is probable, this palace was built juſt about the time that Virgil was writing this.

VER. 177—180.

" Quinetiam veterum effigies ex ordine avorum
" Antiqua è cedro, Italusque * paterque Sabinus
" Vitiſator, curvam ſervans ſub imagine falcem;
" Saturnus ſenex, Janique bifrontis imago,
" Veſtibulo aſtabant." ———

* Sabus, or Sabinus; who gave name to the Sabines. He is called Vitiſator, and repreſented,

——— " Curvam ſervans ſub imagine falcem,"

becauſe he was eſteemed their Bacchus. See Claud. Dauſqueius's notes on Silius Italicus, lib. VIII.

——— " Pars laudes ore ferebant,
" Sabe, tuas; qui de patrio cognomine primus
" Dixiſti populos magnâ ditione Sabinos."

VER. 187—189.

" Ipſe Quirinali * lituo parvâque ſedebat
" Succinctus trabeâ, laevâque ancile gerebat
" Picus equûm domitor" ———

* The Lituus and Trabea of Romulus, and the Ancilia, were kept in the Sacrarium of the Salii adjoining to the palace on the Palatine hill; as plainly appears from Bianchini's Palazzo de' Ceſari, and other Antiquaries: which is a farther proof that Virgil had Auguſtus's palace in view, in this deſcription of the palace of Latinus. But though he took his hint from thence; he diſpoſes theſe things in his own way, in a very elegant manner, by placing them to adorn the ſtatue of Picus.

VER. 292—296.

—— " Quaſſans caput, haec effudit pectore dicta :
" Heu ſtirpem inviſam, et fatis contraria noſtris
" Fata Phrygum ! num Sigeïs occumbere campis,
" Num * capti potuere capi ? num incenſa cremavit
" Troja viros ? medias acies, mediosque per ignes
" Invenere viam." ———

* Dr. Trapp tells us, that he heard a judicious critic object againſt this paſſage as trifling, and jingling ; and more like one of Ovid's turns, than Virgil's majeſtic ſentences. —— But we muſt conſider that Juno was a woman, and in rage. And perhaps this broken ſtile, with an affectation of wit, might be thought in character for ſome furious lady in thoſe days, whom Virgil had particularly in view : or he might think theſe little turns of wit as ſuitable to the character of woman in general, as the ſhort interrupted ſentences to rage and paſſion.

VER. 337—340.

——— " Tibi nomina mille,
" Mille nocendi artes : foecundum concute pectus,
" Disjice compoſitam pacem, ſere crimina belli :
" Arma † velit, poſcatque ſimul, rapiatque juventus."

† Mr. Holdſworth obſerves the fineneſs of the climax in this verſe.

VER. 341—345.

" Exin Gorgoneis Alecto infecta venenis
" Principio Latium et Laurentis tecta tyranni
" Celſa petit, tacitumque obſedit limen *[1] Amatae.
" Quam ſuper adventu Teucrûm, Turnique hymenaeis,
" *[2] Femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant."

*[1] Quaer. Whether Virgil, under the character of Amata, does not deſcribe ſome particular character in the Roman hiſtory ; perhaps Cleopatra ?

*[2] Virgil ſeems to declare often againſt womens intermeddling in public affairs : which occaſions this expreſſion, which carries ſatire in it ; he afterwards makes her reaſon weakly. And ver. 444, he declares himſelf expreſsly :

" Bella

" Bella viri pacemque gerant, queis bella gerenda."

This ſentiment of the Poet might, poſſibly, coſt Camilla her life.

VER. 376, 377.

" ❋ Tum vero infelix, ingentibus excita monſtris,
" Immenſam ſine more furit lymphata per urbem."

❋ In this character Virgil, perhaps, draws the picture of Fulvia, Antony's firſt wife: who incenſed the people againſt Caeſar, after the battle of Philippi, and by her turbulent ſpirit occaſioned many freſh diſturbances in Italy; and when ſhe was ſtill unſucceſsful, and had thereby diſguſted her huſband, ſhe at length died of grief and deſpair.

VER. 408.

" Protinus hinc fuſcis triſtis † Dea tollitur alis
" Audacis Rutuli ad muros." ———

† That the Greeks and Romans looked on the Furies as Goddeſſes; and built temples, and made prayers to them; ſee Pol. XVI. 113.

VER. 411—413.

——— " Locus Ardua quondam
" Dictus avis, et nunc magnum manet Ardea nomen:
" ❋ Sed fortuna fuit." ———

❋ " Sed fortuna fuit," certainly means, " Its glory was paſt;" which very properly follows, " Magnum manet nomen," ſpeaking of an ancient city run to ruin. So, Fuimus Troes.

VER. 445—451.

" Talibus Alecto dictis exarſit in iras.
" At juveni oranti ſubitus tremor occupat artus;
" Diriguere oculi: tot Erinnys ſibilat hydris,
" † Tantaque ſe facies aperit. Tum flammea torquens
" Lumina, cunctantem et quaerentem dicere plura
" Reppulit, et geminos erexit crinibus angues,
" Verberaque inſonuit." ———

† Virgil

† Virgil gives us the forms and appearances of their Deities as ſtrongly as if we had ſo many pictures of them preſerved to us, done by ſome of the beſt hands in the Auguſtan age. It is remarkable, that he is commended by ſome of the antients themſelves, for the ſtrength of his imagination as to this particular; though in general that is not his character, ſo much as exactneſs. Juvenal chooſes this paſſage as one inſtance of Virgil's great excellence that way:

" Magnae mentis opus ———
" ——— Currus et equos, faciesque Deorum,
" Concipere; et qualis Rutulum confundat Erinnys.
" Nam ſi Virgilio puer et tolerabile deſit
" Hoſpitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydri:
" Surda nihil gemeret grave buccina."——— Sat. VII. ver. 71.

Juvenal on this occaſion points to the very nobleſt efforts of imagination that Virgil has ſhewn in his whole poem; and it is remarkable, that they all relate to their Deities. " Currus et equos," may refer to that terrible deſcription of Mars in his chariot, Aen. XII. ver. 332, or that mild one of Neptune, Aen. I. ver. 127. 155; as " facies Deorum," to that noble paſſage, in the deſcription of Troy ſinking in its flames:

" Aſpice (namque omnem, quae nunc obducta tuenti
" Mortales hebetat viſus tibi, et humida circum
" Caligat, nubem eripiam)———
" Hic, ubi dejectas moles avulſaque ſaxis
" Saxa vides, mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum,
" Neptunus muros, magnoque emota tridenti
" Fundamenta quatit; totumque ab ſedibus urbem
" Eruit. Hic Juno Scaeas ſaeviſſima portas
" Prima tenet, ſociumque furens à navibus agmen
" Ferro accincta vocat.———
" Jam ſummas arces Tritonia, reſpice, Pallas
" Inſedit; nimbo effulgens, et Gorgone ſaevâ.——
" Apparent dirae facies, inimicaque Trojae
" Numina magna Deûm."——— Aen. II. ver. 625.

The next words are, evidently, ſpoken of the paſſage at the head of this note.——And the laſt, as evidently, of this:

" At

" At ſaeva, è ſpeculis tempus Dea nacta nocendi
" Ardua tecta petit ſtabuli; et de culmine ſummo
" Paſtorale canit ſignum, cornuque recurvo
" Tartaream intendit vocem: quâ protinus omne
" Contremuit nemus, et ſylvae intonuere profundae.
" Audiit et Triviae longè lacus; audiit amnis
" Sulfureâ Nar albus aquâ, fontesque Velini:
" Et trepidae matres preſſere ad pectora natos."

Aen. VII. ver. 518.

VER. 475—482.

" Dum Turnus Rutulos animis audacibus implet,
" Alecto in Teucros Stygiis ſe concitat alis:
" * Arte nova ſpeculata locum, quo litore pulcher
" Inſidiis curſuque feras agitabat Iülus.
" Hic ſubitam canibus rabiem Cocytia virgo
" Objicit, et noto nares contingit odore,
" Ut cervum ardentes agerent: quae prima malorum
" Cauſa fuit, belloque animos accendit agreſtes."

* Ruaeus and others ſeem to me to miſtake the meaning of this place, which is owing to the wrong pointing it. I think, there ought not to be ſo much as a comma after Alis, but after Arte novâ: for what art or trick did Alecto ſhew in eſpying the place where Aſcanius was hunting? Her new trick, or deſign, was, " Canibus rabiem objicere, quae prima malo-
" rum cauſa fuit," etc. And therefore Arte novâ muſt not relate to Speculata, but to the whole ſcene which follows, till Alecto leaves Italy, ver. 543. —If ſo, this place ſhould be pointed thus:

" Alecto in Teucros Stygiis ſe concitat alis
" Arte novâ, ſpeculata locum," etc.———

VER. 483—492.

" † Cervus erat forma praeſtanti et cornibus ingens:
" Tyrrheidae pueri quem matris ab ubere raptum
" Nutribant, Tyrrheusque pater, cui regia parent
" Armenta, et late cuſtodia credita campi.

" Aſſuetum

" Aſſuetum imperiis ſoror omni Sylvia curâ
" Mollibus intexens ornabat cornua ſertis:
" Pectebatque ferum, puroque in fonte lavabat.
" Ille manum patiens, menſaeque aſſuetus herili,
" Errabat ſylvis: rurſusque ad limina nota
" Ipſe domum ſerâ quamvis ſe nocte ferebat."

† This paſſage is all in Virgil's trueſt Paſtoral ſtyle; and moſt of the lines run more in his Paſtoral than in his Epic verſification.

VER. 563—571.

" Eſt locus, Italiae in medio ſub montibus altis,
" Nobilis et fama multis memoratus in oris,
" Amſancti ❋ valles: denſis hunc frondibus atrum
" Urget utrinque latus nemoris, medioque fragoſus
" Dat ſonitum ſaxis et torto vortice torrens.
" Hic ſpecus horrendum, et ſaevi ſpiracula Ditis
" Monſtrantur: ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago
" Peſtiferas aperit fauces: queis condita Erinnys,
" Inviſum numen, terras caelumque levabat."

❋ L. Alberti has employed ſome pages to prove that Virgil deſigned this as a deſcription of the caſcade of Terni; and Mr. Addiſon is of the ſame opinion: but Cicero and Pliny both place the Amſancti Valles in the country of the Hirpini. See Cicero, de Divinit. lib. I. and Plin. lib. II. c. xciii. " In Hirpinis Amſancti, ad Mephitis aedem locum, quem " qui intravere, moriuntur."

* The Vale of Amſanctus is in the midſt of the Apennines, at about an equal diſtance from the Mare Inferum one way, and from the Mare Superum the other. It is in the kingdom of Naples, between Trevicum and Acherontia. The beſt modern geographers ſpeak of it as there; and ſo do all the antient writers that mention it particularly. When I went to ſee the place, we were directed to the ſpot we wanted, by the ſound of what Virgil calls the Spiracula Ditis there. It ſtill retains its old character too; for the country people in the neighbourhood of it deſired us not to go to it; and look upon the air and ſmells there as infectious. From Mr. Holdſworth. — This is proved more at large; chiefly from the ſame gentleman's reaſonings on it, in Polymetis, XVI. 162.

VER.

VER. 629—636.

" Quinque adeo magnae poſitis incudibus urbes
" Tela novant: Atina potens, *[1] Tyburque ſuperbum,
" Ardea, Cruſtumerique, et turrigerae *[2] Antemnae,
" Tegmina tuta cavant capitum, flectuntque ſalignas
" Umbonum crates; alii thoracas ahenos,
" Aut leves ocreas lento ducunt argento.
" Vomeris huc et falcis honos, huc omnis aratri
" Ceſſit amor: recoquunt patrios fornacibus enſes."

*[1] There are iron and copper mills now at Tivoli; and that there were ſo formerly, appears by an inſcription in the Villa Juſtiniani at Rome.

*[2] " Antemnae dictae ſunt, quod eas amnis praeterfluit, quaſi ante " amnem poſitae," Servius.. This, as Cluver obſerves, was probably taken by Servius from Varro, who ſays; " Oppidum Interamna dictum, " quod inter amnes eſt conſtitutum; item Antemnae, quod ante amnem " qui influit in Tyberim; quod in bello male acceptum conſenuit:" De linguâ Latinâ, lib. IV. And Feſtus ſays; " Interamna et Antemnae " dictae ſunt, quod inter amnes ſint poſitae, vel ante ſe habeant amnes." Theſe paſſages prove the ſituation of Antemnae on the banks of a river diſcharging itſelf into the Tyber. This muſt be the Anio: for Strabo poſitively aſſerts that it was very near Rome, lib. V. where, ſpeaking of Rome, he ſays; " Qui enim tum circa ea loca erant, ii pro ſe quisque " ſeorſim habitabant, moenia urbis, quae tum condebatur, contingentes; " erant autem Collatia, Antemnae, Fidenae. And he aſſerts that theſe places were about XXX or XL ſtadia or little more from Rome: " Tunc " quidem oppidula, nunc vero vici, privatorum praedia, XXX aut XL paullo " plus ab Româ ſtadiis diſſita."

VER. 641—644.

" Pandite nunc Helicona, Deae, cantusque movete:
" Qui bello exciti reges; quae quemque ſecutae
" Complerunt campos acies; * quibus Itala jam tum
" Floruerit terra alma viris, quibus arſerit armis."

* This liſt of the forces takes in all the parts of Italy between the Mare Inferum and the Apennines, included; Mantua is the only place out of this line, which is attached with a great deal of addreſs to Tuſcany, Aen. X. 198—214. poſth.

VER. 664, 665.

" Pila manu, ſaevosque gerunt in bella dolones:
" Et tereti pugnant mucrone, veruque Sabello."

* Ξιφιδιον ληςρικον, ὁ δολωνα καλεσιν, Plutarch, in Graccho.

VER. 666, 667.

" Ipſe pedes; tegmen torquens immane leonis
" Terribili impexum ſeta, cum dentibus + albis,
" Indutus capiti."———

+ Quintilian (Inſtit. Orat. lib. VIII. c. vi.) is as wrong in reckoning the " dentibus albis" of Virgil among the ſuperfluous epithets, as his " humida vina" in the Georgics, III. 364. Both thoſe epithets are very proper and beautiful, from the particular occaſions on which they were uſed. Auditor Benſon.

VER. 682—685.

" Quique altum Praeneſte viri, quique arva Gabinae
" Junonis, *[1] gelidumque Anienem, et roſcida rivis
" Hernica ſaxa colunt: quos, dives Anagnia, paſcis;
" Quos *[2] Amaſene pater."———

*[1] The epithet ſhews that Virgil means the country towards the head or fountains of the Anio. Silius, who always imitates Virgil, ſays;

" Quique Anienis habent ripas gelidoque rigantur
" Symbrivio."———

*[2] Qu. if this does not mean the country about Alatri? in the neighbourhood of which is a place now called Santa Maria d'Amaſeno, on the right hand of the road between Anagnia and Sora.

VER.

VER. 686—690.

——" Pars maxima glandes
" Liventis plumbi ſpargit; pars ſpicula geſtat
" Bina manu, fulvosque lupi de pelle galeros
" Tegmen habet capiti: veſtigia nuda ſiniſtri
" Inſtituere pedis, * crudus tegit altera pero."

* The people in thoſe parts to this day wear a piece of crude leather (half-prepared) under the ſoles of their feet; with Vincula that come over their feet, and half-way up the leg.

VER. 691—698.

" At ❋[1] Meſſapus equûm domitor, Neptunia proles,
" Quem neque fas igni cuiquam nec ſternere ferro,
" Jampridem reſides populos deſuetaque bello
" Agmina in arma vocat ſubitò, ferrumque retractat.
" Hi Feſcenninas acies, aequosque Faliſcos;
" Hi Soractis habent arces, ❋[2] Flaviniaque arva,
" Et Cimini cum monte lacum, ❋[3] lucosque Capenos.
" Ibant aequati numero, regemque canebant."

❋[1] We may obſerve that theſe troops under the command of Meſſapus were the only people on the Tuſcan ſide of the Tyber, who joined with Turnus againſt Aeneas. And ſince all Etruria was in confederacy againſt Mezentius and his friend Turnus, how comes it that Virgil makes this diſtrict diſſent from the reſt; and, though not naturally a warlike people, take up arms on the other ſide? I don't know whether any of the commentators have taken notice of this difficulty. But the reaſon ſeems plainly this; that theſe people (though reckoned part of the Tuſcans) were reputed by the Romans, even in Virgil's time, to be of a different race; probably the remains of the old Pelaſgi, formerly maſters of all Etruria, who, being driven thence by the Lydians, retired to the mountains, as is uſual on ſuch occaſions, and continued in poſſeſſion of the Sylva Ciminia, and that rough tract between thoſe mountains and the Tyber; from whence it was not eaſy, or not thought worth while, to diſlodge them. For theſe people, it was more natural that they ſhould join with Turnus, than with the Trojans who came from the ſame country with their old enemies the Lydians.

That they were different from the Etruſci, and eſteemed of the race of the Pelaſgi, we have the authority of Pliny, Strabo, and Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus. —— " Faliſca, Argis orta, ut auctor eſt Cato:" Plin. lib. III. c. v. —— Strabo, ſpeaking of Falerii or Faliſci (which is the ſame, the former meaning the city, the latter the people), ſays; " Quidam vero " negant Falerios eſſe Etruſcos; ſed Faliſcos peculiarem eſſe gentem, " peculiari utentem linguâ; urbemque eorum Falerios. Quam nonnulli " Aequum Faliſcum vocant, in Viâ Flaminiâ ſitam, inter Ocriculos et Ro- " mam:" Lib. V. It is true this paſſage is corrupted; but I have ſet it down as corrected and tranſlated by Cluverius, lib. II. c. iii. p. 538.

Dionyſius is ſtill fuller to our purpoſe: " Falerium vero et Faſcenium " meo etiam tempore à Romanis habitata parvas quaſdam ſcintillas ſervant " Pelaſgici generis; quum olim Siculorum fuerint. In his multa antiqui " moris Graecanici longiſſimo tempore perdurarunt. Ut armorum orna- " tus; Argolici clypei et haſtae, etc. Sed omnium clariſſimum monumen- " tum, hos qui Siculos ejecerunt, apud Argos olim habitaſſe, templum " eſt Falerii Junonis, Argivo illi ſimile. Ubi et Sacrorum ritus erant " iidem; Et curatrices templi Sacrificulae; Et puella innupta, quam vo- " cant Canophoron, ſacrificium auſpicari ſolita: Ad haec chori virginum, " patrios hymnos in laudem Deae canentium." See Cluverius, lib. II. c. iii. p. 543.

Turnus likewiſe ſeems to look upon them as of Greek extraction, and therefore when news was brought him that Diomedes, from whom as a Greek he had reaſon to expect ſuccours, had excuſed himſelf from ſending any againſt Aeneas; he immediately cries out with an emphaſis on Meſſapus the leader of the Feſcennians, etc. that he would ſtand by him; and names him particularly above all the generals who came to his aſſiſtance.

" Non erit auxilio nobis Aetolus et Arpi?
" At Meſſapus erit," etc. ——— Lib. XI. 428.

As if he had ſaid; " If one Greek will not aſſiſt me, another will."—— We muſt farther obſerve the odd character given by Virgil of theſe people:

" Jampridem reſides populos, deſuetaque bello
" Agmina," etc.———

And,

" Ibant aequati numero, Regemque canebant.
" Ceu quondam nivei," etc.———

And,

And,

" Nec quiſquam aeratas acies," etc.———

All this proceeds from and agrees with the opinion the Romans had that theſe people firſt introduced on the Roman ſtage the low taſte of farce and buffoonry, from them called " Feſcennini ludi."

" Feſcennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
" Verſibus alternis," etc.——— Hor. lib. II. Ep. i. 145.

See Dacier's and Sanadon's notes on the place.

Therefore Virgil ſpeaks of them very properly, that when their commander Meſſapus had rouſed them up to war, which they had been long diſuſed to, they danced and ſung as they marched.

" Ibant aequati numero, Regemque canebant."

And he deſcribes them as going rather to a comedy or opera than to a field of battle.

❋[2] Perhaps, Fiano.

❋[3] This may be the country about Caprarola, or rather Canapina near Soriano.

VER. 706—717.

" Ecce, Sabinorum priſco de ſanguine, magnum
" Agmen agens Clauſus, magnique ipſe agminis inſtar:
" Claudia nunc à quo diffunditur et tribus et gens
" Per Latium, poſtquam in partem data Roma Sabinis.
" Una ingens ❋[1] Amiterna cohors, priſcique Quirites:
" ❋[2] Ereti manus omnis, oliviferaeque Mutuſcae:
" Qui Nomentum urbem, qui * Roſea rura Velini;
" Qui Tetricae horrentes rupes, montemque Severum,
" Caſperiamque colunt, Forulosque, et flumen Himellae:
" Qui Tyberim Fabarimque bibunt: quos ❋[3] frigida miſit
" Nurſia, et ❋[4] Hortinae claſſes, ❋[5] populique Latini:
" Quoſque ſecans ❋[6] infauſtum interluit ❋[7] Allia nomen."

❋[1] Strabo, enumerating the towns of the Sabines, reckons Amiternum as a city, and mentions it firſt.

❋[2] " Trebula, Eretum, et alia id genus domicilia pagis potius quàm urbibus annumeranda. Strab. lib. V.

* Where

* Where Mr. Addiſon (Travels, p. 99.) quotes Virgil's " roſea rura " Velini," he has made another miſtake; beſide that larger one, of making the water-fall of Velini to be the place whence Alecto deſcended into hell. He ſuppoſes Roſea to be derived from Ros, and to ſignify Dewy. There is no ſuch derivative in the Latin tongue; the adjective from Ros is Roſcidus. Roſea is a proper name of part of the country thereabouts: Varro had a Villa there; and, in ſpeaking of it, ſays, " in " meâ Roſeâ." —— " Caeſar Vopiſcus, cum cauſam apud Cenſores age- " ret, campos Roſeae dixit, *Italiae ſumen eſſe*; in quibus perticas pridie " relictas gramen operiret." Plin. lib. XVII. c. iv.

*[3] Nurſia ſtands upon a river called Freddara, which agrees very well with its epithet here.

*[4] The watermen of Hortinum. — Virgil often makes uſe of this word Claſſis, and in all other places in the uſual ſenſe, i. e. naval: but as it is evident that no naval force came to the aſſiſtance of Turnus, therefore it muſt here be underſtood to mean land forces, but ſuch whoſe uſual employment was upon the water. Hortinum ſtanding on the banks of the Tyber near the conflux of the Nar, it is probable that many of the inhabitants were watermen, whom the Poet here arms in the ſervice of Turnus. Orta is ſtill the chief town on the river that ſends barges to Rome. It may reaſonably be imagined that, on ſuch an occaſion as a foreign invaſion, boatmen might be as forward as others to take arms in aid of Turnus, and in defence of their country. But then the queſtion will be, whether boatmen on a river can properly be called Claſſis? Livy, relating a victory of the Romans againſt the united forces of the Veientes and Fidenates, has the following paſſage: " Claſſibus quoque ad Fidenas " pugnatum cum Veientibus, quidam Annales retulêre: Rem aeque difficilem atque incredibilem; nec nunc lato ſatis ad hoc amne, et tum ali- " quanto, ut a veteribus accepimus, arctiore. Niſi in trajectu forte flu- " minis prohibendo aliquarum navium concurſum in majus (ut fit) cele- " brantes navalis victoriae vanum titulum appetivêre." Lib. IV. c. 34.— If " Claſſibus pugnatum" might be uſed of land troops, as Ruaeus and ſome others pretend, Livy might have ſpared his remark. But it is plain he thought it only applicable to watermen; which occaſioned his following criticiſm, That the Tyber was not wide enough for a naval fight; and that if the Roman boats gained any advantage againſt the Veientes in oppoſing their paſſage of the river, that this could not without great exaggeration be called a naval victory. As to his criticiſm; it is true that in his time, that is, in the height of the Roman greatneſs, ſuch language would have been

been ridiculous: But, with ſubmiſſion, I cannot think it improper in the infancy of their ſtate: And if ſuch a rencounter of boats on a river might, in the annals of antient times, be properly termed " pugnare claſſibus;" with equal reaſon might a Poet, ſpeaking of the ſame river, and in earlier times, call the boatmen Claſſes.

*[5] " Populi Latini" muſt here mean only ſome part of the Latins neighbouring upon the river Allia: probably the Fidenates. Pliny, enumerating the people of Latium, amongſt the reſt mentions the Latinienſes: and Cicero, In Oratione de Haruſpicum reſponſis, has theſe words; " In " Latinienſi auditus eſt ſtrepitus cum fremitu;" which " ager Latinienſis" is afterwards called by him " Propinquus et Suburbanus. Quaer. If this may not be meant by Virgil? See Cluver. de Lavinio.

*[6] Quaer. If the battles of Cremera and Allia were not fought on the ſame day of the month? And therefore that day, xv kal. Sext. " Faſtis " damnatus." See Livy and Tacitus.

*[7] Servius upon this paſſage ſuppoſes Allia to be written ſometimes with a ſingle *l*; and to prove this quotes a paſſage out of Lucan:

" Non iſtas habuit pugnae Pharſalia partes,
" Quas aliae clades." ——— Lib. VII. 632.

A great blunder, for *aliae* in that place manifeſtly ſignifies *other*.

VER. 723—729.

" * Hinc Agamemnonius Trojani nominis hoſtis
" Curru jungit *[2] Haleſus equos, Turnoque feroces
" Mille rapit populos: vertunt felicia Baccho
" Maſſica qui raſtris, et quos de collibus altis
" *[3] Aurunci miſere patres; *[4] Sidicinaque juxta
" Aequora, quique Cales linquunt; amnisque vadoſi
" Accola *[5] Vulturni." ———

*[1] This word *hinc* here ſhews that he is going to take in the other ſide of the country. ——— † The ſimile before it too is partly uſed, to mark out this diſtinction the more ſtrongly.

*[2] Silius Italicus brings Aleſus to Alſium; which was not above ten miles from Rome, on the road to Civita Vecchia:

——— " Argolico dilectum littus Aleſo
" Alſium. ——— Lib. VIII.

*[3] Theſe

*[3] Theſe probably were the inhabitants of the hills about Sueſſa or Seſſa, as it is now called. Scoto ſays, upon the teſtimony of Livy, that it was ſometimes called Sueſſa de gli Aurunci. See Scoto's Itiner. Sueſſa. This is certain, that theſe people muſt be diſtinguiſhed from the "Au- "runcae manus," mentioned afterwards, ver. 795. by whom perhaps are meant thoſe who inhabited Sueſſa Pometia or near it. The Author of Voyage Hiſtorique d'Italie ſays, there is a village called Aurunca near Mola, or between Mola and the Garigliano: See Let. LXIV. Strabo names Sueſſula among the inland towns of Campania. That the Aurunci were neighbours to the Sidicini appears from Livy, lib. VIII. who tells us on what occaſion they quitted their town and retired to Sueſſa, which from them was called Aurunca. "Inter Sidicinos Auruncosque bellum ortum. "Aurunci, à T. Manlio Cos. in deditionem accepti, nihil deinde moverant: "eò petendi auxilii ab Romanis cauſa juſtior fuit; ſed priusquam Coſſ. "ab urbe (jusſerat enim ſenatus defendi Auruncos) exercitum educerent, "fama affertur Auruncos metu oppidum deſeruiſſe, profugosque cum con- "jugibus ac liberis Sueſſam communiſſe, quae nunc Aurunca appellata. "Moenia antiqua eorum urbemque à Sidicinis deletam."

*[4] This certainly means the plains of Teanum, now Tiano, near the hills of the Aurunci; for Pliny ſays, "Teanum Sidicinum cognomine;" and reckons it expreſsly amongſt the "Coloniae intus," lib. III. c. v. And Strabo, after having enumerated the towns on the Via Latina, which were in Latium, adds, "Teanum Sidicinum, quod proximè ſequitur, ipſo "cognomento oſtendit ſe ad Sidicinos pertinere; qui ſunt Oſci, gens "Campanorum ſuperſtes, ita ut poſſit Campaniae dici, ipſa quoque ur- "bium in via Latina ſitarum maxima. Eam ſubſequitur Calenum; urbs "ipſa quoque egregia; et Caſilino contigua." Lib. V.

*[5] At the mouth of the river Vulturnus was a town of the ſame name, which probably Virgil means. "Vulturnus ad urbem ſui cognomen in "mare exit." Strab.

VER. 730—732.

——— "Teretes ſunt *[1] aclides illis
"Tela, ſed haec lento mos eſt aptare flagello:
"Laevas *[2] cetra tegit: falcati cominus enſes."

*[1] When the people of this country came into the field under the command of young Scipio againſt Hannibal, Silius Italicus repreſents them armed

armed in like manner, more like a rabble than diſciplined ſoldiers; and Scipio teaches them to uſe the Roman armour.

" Ille viris pila et ferro circumdare pectus
" Addiderat; leviora domo de more parentum
" Geſtabant tela; ambuſtas ſine cuſpide cornos;
" Aclidis uſus erat, factaeque ad rura bipennes." Lib. VIII.

*[2] Silius Italicus, ſpeaking of the Spaniſh forces in Hannibal's army at the battle of Cannae, ſays;

——— " Effulget cetrata juventus,
" Cantaber ante alios, nec tectus tempora Vaſco." Lib. IX.

Again, lib. X. Paulus the Conſul ſtabs Viriatus the Iberian under the left pap, juſt at the time that he is beating his Cetra for joy that he had killed Servilius.

——— " Ritu jam moris Iberi
" Carmina pulſatâ fundentem barbara cetrâ
" Invadit, laevaeque fodit vitalia mammae."

VER. 733—740.

" Nec tu carminibus noſtris indictus abibis,
" Oebale: quem generaſſe Telon Sebethide Nympha
" Fertur, Teleboûm *[1] Capreas cum regna teneret
" Jam ſenior: patriis ſed non et filius arvis
" Contentus, late jam tum ditione premebat
" *[2] Sarraſtes populos, et quae rigat aequora Sarnus;
" Quique *[3] Rufas, Batulumque tenent, atque arva Celennae;
" Et quos maliferae deſpectant moenia *[4] Abellae."

*[1] The particular mention here made of Caprea, to which Virgil ſubjects largē dominions, was probably deſigned in compliment to Auguſtus, who had a particular affection for that iſland; as Suetonius teſtifies. " Apud inſulam Capreas veterrimae ilicis demiſſos jam languentesque ra-
" mos convaluiſſe adventu ſuo adeo laetatus eſt, ut eas cum republica Nea-
" politanorum permutaverit Aenariâ datâ." In Aug. c. 92. The ſame is confirmed by Strabo; " Capreas Neapolitani tenuere; quum vero per
" bellum amiſiſſent Pithecuſas, has iis Auguſtus Caeſar reddidit, Capreas
" propriam ſibi faciens poſſeſſionem, villisque inſtruens." Lib. V. Like-

wiſe Dio; "Capream verò à Neapolitanis, quorum antiquitùs erat, per-
"mutatione agri redemit." Lib. LII.

*[2] As by, "quae rigat aequora Sarnus," Virgil means all the plain of the river Sarno; ſo by "Sarraſtes populos," he certainly comprehends all that tract of mountains from the river Sarno to the point of Surrento, and round about to Salerno. The capital of which country was Nuceria. See Pellegrino, Diſcors. II. c. xxiv. As this country lies in full view of Naples, it is not probable that Virgil would omit mentioning it."

*[3] Livy mentions Ruffium as taken by the Romans together with Callifae and Allifium; therefore it was probably near thoſe places. "Eo-
"dem tempore (ſays he) etiam in Samnio res proſperè geſta: tria op-
"pida in poteſtatem venerunt: Callifae, Ruffium, Allifiumque." Lib. VIII.

*[4] Strabo names Abella amongſt the inland towns of Campania.

VER. 744, 745.

"Et te montoſae miſere in praelia * Nurſae,
"Ufens, inſignem famâ et felicibus armis."

* Quaer. If no ſuch town upon the mountains of the Aequicolae? Virgil has mentioned Nurſia before, ver. 715; and it is not probable, that he ſhould name the ſame again in the compaſs of ſo few lines.

Fabretti, in his deſcription of the emiſſary of the Lacus Fucinus, has the following paſſage: "Sub oppidulo Cappadociâ tribus à Taleocotia et à viâ
"Valeriâ ad meridiem milliaribus diſſito, in valle di Nerfa ſuos fontes ſor-
"titus Liris." Col. Traj. p. 388. Quaer. If any ruins of an old town near this place formerly called Nerfae or Nurfae? If ſo, this may be the place intended by Virgil, who is undoubtedly ſpeaking of this part of the country. Pierius ſays; "Sunt et plerique codices in quibus Nerſae
"per è ſcriptum eſt."

VER. 750—758.

"Quin et Marrubia venit de gente ſacerdos,
"Fronde ſuper galeam et felici comptus oliva,
"Archippi regis miſſu, fortiſſimus Umbro:
"Vipereo generi et graviter ſpirantibus hydris
"Spargere qui ſomnos cantuque manuque ſolebat,
"Mulcebatque iras, et morſus arte levabat.
"Sed non Dardaniae medicari cuſpidis ictum

"Evaluit:

" Evaluit: neque eum juvêre in vulnera cantus
" Somniferi, et Marſis quaeſitae in montibus herbae."

✻ The notion of witches prevails ſtill very much in that country: in going from Sora to Capiſtrello, I ſaw about midway a high mountain on the left ſide of the road, called now L'orto di Centauro; where the country people ſay there are abundance of medicinal herbs, but that no body ventures to gather them for fear of the devil.

VER. 761—764.

" Ibat et Hippoliti proles pulcherrima bello,
" Virbius: inſignem quem mater ✻[1] Aricia miſit,
" Eductum Egeriae lucis humentia circum
" Littora, pinguis ubi et ✻[2] placabilis ara Dianae."

✻[1] Pauſanias, ſpeaking of Aeſculapius at Epidaurus, ſays; " Semota " ab his viſitur columna antiqua. Hujus columnae inſcriptioni Arici- " norum ſermones conveniunt; Hippolytum, Theſei imprecationibus diſ- " cerptum, Aeſculapii operâ revixiſſe. Vitae autem reſtitutum veniam " patri nullo modo dare voluiſſe; ſed contemptis deprecationibus in Ita- " liam ad Aricinos profectum, regnoque ibi ſuſcepto nemus Dianae con- " ſecraviſſe," etc. Lib. II.

✻[2] See in Pauſanias the ſtory of the Altar of Diana Lapathria near Patras on the banks of the Milichus; which, it is pretended, changed its name from Αμειλιχος to Μειλιχος, on the abolition of the human ſacrifices.

Ovid, ſpeaking of the Altar of Diana in the Taurica Cherſoneſus, and relating at large the ſtory of the prieſteſs Iphigenia diſcovering Oreſtes juſt as he was going to be ſacrificed, ſays;

" Laeta Deae ſignum crudelia ſacra peroſae
" Tranſtulit ex illis in meliora locis." De Triſt. l. IV. El. iv.

By which it is manifeſt, that ſuch cruel ſacrifices were not uſed at the temple of Diana at Cynthianum, as ſome have aſſerted. — Ovid relates this ſtory of the Taurica Diana, at large, from the mouth of an old man of that country. De Pont. lib. III. El. ii.

VER. 789—792.

—— " Levem clypeum ſublatis cornibus Iö
" Auro inſignibat, jam ſetis obſita, jam bos,
" (Argumentum ingens) et cuſtos virginis Argus,
" * Caelatâque amnem fundens pater Inachus urnâ."

* In imitation of this, Statius:

" In laevum pronâ nixus ſedet Inachus urnâ."
Theb. lib. II. ver. 218.

Probably both had ſome famous ſtatue of this river-god in view.

VER. 793—802.

" Inſequitur nimbus peditum, clypeataque totis
" Agmina denſantur campis, Argivaque pubes,
" *[1] Auruncaeque manus, Rutuli, veteresque Sacani,
" Et Sacranae acies, et picti ſcuta Labici:
" Qui ſaltus, Tiberine, tuos, ſacrumque Numici
" Littus arant; Rutulosque exercent vomere colles,
" Circaeumque jugum; queis Jupiter Anxurus arvis
" Praeſidet, et viridi gaudens *[2] Feronia luco:
" Qua Saturae jacet atra palus, gelidusque per imas
" Quaerit iter valles atque in mare conditur Ufens."

*[1] Pliny obſerves of Latium, " Colonis ſaepe mutatis tenuere alii " aliis temporibus; Aborigines, Pelaſgi, Arcades, Siculi, Aurunci, Ru- " tuli." Lib. XXXV.

*[2] This was an antient Deity of Italy. Silius Italicus mentions her ſhrine, which was very rich, having been heaping up treaſure from the time of Faunus; and which continued untouched from that time till it was plundered by Hannibal. See the beginning of the thirteenth Book. She was worſhipped in many places; and always in groves, and near rivers. Horace mentions her in the ſame country with Virgil:

" Ora manusque tuâ lavimus, Feronia, lymphâ."

But this place muſt not be confounded with her ſhrine plundered by Hannibal; which, according to Silius and the hiſtorians, was certainly in the country of the Sabines, near the Tyber, and was much richer than any of the reſt:

Dives

" Dives ubi ante omnes colitur Feronia luco," etc.

Dauſqueius, in his notes on Silius, mentions an old inſcription, FERONIAE ARAE QVINQVE. Q. If this may not ſignify her having ſhrines in five different places? ——

✻[3] Silius Italicus, as well as Virgil, mentions the Satura and Ufens as ſtagnating in the Palus Pomptina:

" Quà Saturae nebuloſa palus reſtagnat; et atro
" Liventes coeno per ſquallida turbidus arva
" Cogit aquas Ufens, atque inficit aequora limo."

Lib. VIII. ver. 381.

VER. 808, 809.

" Illa vel intactae ſegetis per † ſumma volaret
" Gramina: nec teneras curſu laeſiſſet ariſtas."

† Philoſtratus mentions an antient painting, of three nymphs dancing; and treading on flowers, and ears of corn ſo lightly, that they remained entirely unhurt. Icones, II. 35.

AENEID THE EIGHTH.

VER. 40—41.

" NEU belli terrere minis, tumor omnis et ✻ irae
" Conceſſere Deûm."——

✻ " Jamque Deos omnes ipſamque Aeneia virtus
" Junonem veteres finire coëgerat iras."

Ovid, Met. lib. XIV.

VER. 62—64.

—— " Ego ſum, pleno quem flumine cernis
" Stringentem ripas, et pinguia culta ſecantem,

" Caeruleus

" Caeruleus ❋ Tybris, caelo gratiſſimus amnis:
" Hic mihi magna * domus, celſis caput urbibus † exit."

❋ It has been remarked, particularly by Miſſon in his voyages, that Virgil gives the Tyber the title of Caeruleus; whereas, in truth, it is a muddy ſtream, and the epithet commonly given to him by the poets is *flavus*; and Virgil himſelf in the former book, ver. 31. calls him " multâ flavus arenâ." But it muſt be conſidered, that there the Poet himſelf ſpeaks and deſcribes the river as it really is; but here he introduces the God of the river ſpeaking in perſon; and therefore thought fit to cloath him in the ſame garment as is uſually given by the poets and painters to the Gods of ſuch rivers as run into the ſea: and Virgil ſays expreſsly above, ver. 33, that he appeared to Aeneas, in his dream, with ſuch a garment;

—— " Eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu
" Carbaſus." ———

* There was a part of the Tyber, not near its ſource, which was antiently called the palace of that river-god. It is ſaid to have been not far from Oſtia; where the Tyber falls into the ſea.

† Some read *eſcit*, the old word for *erit*.

VER. 71—77.

" Nymphae, Laurentes Nymphae, genus amnibus unde eſt;
" Tuque, ô Tybri tuo genitor cum flumine ſancto,
" Accipite Aenean, et tandem arcete periclis.
" Quo te cunque lacus miſerantem incommoda noſtra
" Fonte tenet, quocunque ſolo pulcherrimus exis;
" Semper honore meo, ſemper † celebrabere domis,
" Corniger Heſperidum fluvius regnator aquarum."

† Tacitus gives us a little piece of hiſtory, which ſhews the reſpect the old Romans paid to this river-god, very remarkably. On ſome frequent inundations of the Tyber, it was propoſed in the Roman ſenate, whether they might not divert the courſe of ſome of the leſſer rivers, that fall into it. The deputies of the Florentines, Interamnates, Reatini, and others, were heard againſt the queſtion: who brought their devotions, and the majeſty of the Tyber in particular, as an argument on their ſide. " Spectandas religiones ſociorum, qui ſacra et lucos et aras patriis am-
" nibus

" nibus dicaverint; quin ipſum Tyberim nolle prorſus accolis fluviis orba-
" tum minore gloriâ fluere. Seu preces coloniarum, ſeu difficultas ope-
" rum, ſeu ſuperſtitio valuit, ut in ſententiam Piſonis concederetur, qui
" nil mutandum cenſuerat." Annal. lib. I. ſub finem.

VER. 86—90.

" Tybris eâ fluvium, quàm longa eſt, nocte tumentem
" Leniit; et tacitâ refluens ita ſubſtitit undâ,
" Mitis ut in morem ſtagni placidaeque paludis
" Sterneret aequor aquis; remo ut luctamen abeſſet.
" Ergo iter inceptum celerant rumore ſecundo."

† Aeneas is not abſent ſo long as he generally ſeems to be, when he goes from this place to get ſome allies to aſſiſt him againſt Turnus. That expedition is as quick as it was neceſſary. He goes from his camp near Oſtia, about fifteen miles up the Tyber, to Rome; thence twenty, by land, to Cervetere: and thence to his camp again, about thirty-five, by ſea.

He ſets out, by night, ver. 86; gets as far as Rome, about noon, ver. 97; and reſts at Evander's, the next night, ver. 369. The ſecond day, he ſets out for Cervetere; comes in ſight of Tarchon and the malecontents of Tuſcany; and ſtops in the wood of Sylvanus for that night, ver. 456, 551, 608. The third day, he is with Tarchon; is joined immediately by his troops, X. 154. ſets ſail that afternoon; and continues ſailing all the night, X. 214. The fourth day, in the morning, he comes in ſight of his camp, X. 257; lands, X. 301; and gets a victory over the enemy, that evening; X. ult. et XI. 1.

VER. 202—204.

" † Tergemini nece Geryonis ſpoliisque ſuperbus,
" Alcides aderat; * taurosque hac victor agebat
" Ingentes." ———

† Geryon is generally repreſented with three bodies, as well as three heads; agreeably to the expreſſions uſed of him by the poets:

" Quidve tripectora tergemini vis Geryonaï?"
Lucret. V. ver. 28.

——— " Forma tricorporis umbrae."
Virg. Aen. VI. ver. 289.

" Ter-

" Ter amplum Geryonen." —— Hor. lib. II. Od. xiv. ver. 8.

—— " Nec me paſtoris Iberi
" Forma triplex; nec forma triplex tua, Cerbere, movit."
Ovid. Met. IX. ver. 185.

✻ Livy relates this ſtory much in the ſame manner as Virgil. " Pa-
" latinum primùm Romulus, in quo ipſe erat educatus, muniit, ſacra Diis
" aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Evandro inſtituta erant, fa-
" cit. Herculem in ea loca Geryone interempto boves mirâ ſpecie abe-
" giſſe memorant," etc. Lib. I.

VER. 205—208.

—— " Furiis ✻ Caci mens effera, ne quid inauſum
" Aut intentatum ſceleriſve dolive fuiſſet;
" Quatuor à ſtabulis praeſtanti corpore tauros
" Avertit, totidem formâ ſuperante juvencas."

✻ This name ſeems to have been given by the poets from Κακος, Malus; and Columella hints that this verſe was a proverb.

Ουδ' αν βες απολοιτ', ει μη γειτων κακος ειη. Lib. I. c. iii.

which ſeems to be a pun, or to have a double meaning.

VER. 268—282.

" Ex illo celebratus honos, laetique minores
" Servavere diem, primusque Potitius auctor,
" Et domus Herculei cuſtos ✻[1] Pinaria ſacri,
" Hanc ✻[2] aram luco ſtatuit: quae maxime ſemper
" Dicetur nobis, et ✻[3] erit quae maxima ſemper.
" Quare agite, O juvenes, tantarum in munera laudum,
" Cingite fronde comas, et pocula porgite dextris:
" ✻[4] Communemque vocate Deum, et date vina volentes.
" Dixerat, Herculeâ bicolor cum populus umbrâ
" Velavitque comas, foliisque innexa pependit:
" Et ſacer implevit dextram ſcyphus. Ocyùs omnes
" In menſam laeti libant, Divosque precantur.
" Devexo interea propior fit veſper Olympo:
" Jamque ſacerdotes, ✻[5] primusque Potitius, ibant
" Pellibus in morem cincti; flammasque ferebant."

✻ Pinarius

*[1] Pinarius, a deſcendant of this family, was one of Julius Caeſar's heirs. Appian, lib. III. 877.

*[2] That this altar continued till Nero's time, is manifeſt from Tacitus; who, enumerating the buildings which were deſtroyed when Nero ſet the city on fire, ſays thus; "Vetuſtiſſima religione exuſta, magna ara "fanumque quae Praeſenti Herculi Arcas Evander ſacraverat." Annal. lib. XV.

*[3] Mr. Markland, in a note on Statius, lib. III. Sylv. i. 9. declares this hemiſtich, by his own authority, to be ſpurious: and ſays of it; "Hemiſtichion,

"——— *Et erit quae maxima ſemper,*

"qui non odit, neceſſe eſt is amet Ovidianum iſtud;

"*Omnia pontus erat: deerant quoque littora ponto.*"

Without making compariſons, or ſaying any thing to juſtify Ovid, I think I may venture to ſay that Virgil's hemiſtich is fairly to be juſtified, and truly emphatical. Evander not only ſays, that this altar ſhall be called Maxima by himſelf and his people; but propheſies that in future ages, whatever temples ſhall be raiſed to Hercules, yet this ſhould ſtill be *The Great Altar:* and ſo it was even in Virgil's time; ſo far, that notwithſtanding many great temples were built to him at Rome, Tivoli, and other places, yet this Altar, though very ſmall, ſtill preſerved the title of Magna, or Maxima.

*[4] It is manifeſt Virgil is ſpeaking of Hercules only, whom he very properly calls Communem, becauſe the ſame rites were obſerved both by Greeks and Romans in his worſhip; whereas they differed from one another, with reſpect to the other Gods. This is expreſsly affirmed by Livy: "Romulus (poſt conditam urbem) ſacra Diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco "Herculi, ut ab Evandro inſtituta erant, facit." Liv. lib. I. And Strabo ſays; "Evandrum, qui è matre ſuâ Nicoſtratâ (erat enim haec va-"ticinandi perita) cognoviſſet, Herculem confectis certaminibus fato in "Deorum numerum relatum iri, id Herculi indicâſſe; lucoque dicato ſa-"crificium ei Graecanicum feciſſe, quod eodem ritu hodieque ſervatur," etc. Lib. V.

*[5] The word Primus is repeated here again in ſo ſhort a compaſs (ſee 269), as being ſo very ſignificant. It contains, as it were, the whole hiſtory of the Potitii.

VER. 298—300.

" † Nec te ulla facies, non terruit ipſe Typhoëus
" Arduus, arma tenens: non te rationis egentem
" Lernaeus turba capitum circumſtetit anguis."

† This perhaps is one of the moſt myſterious points in all the mythology of the antients. Though Hercules was born not long before the Trojan war, they make him aſſiſt the Gods in conquering the rebel giants; and I think ſome of them talk of an oracle, or tradition in heaven, that the Gods could never conquer them, without the aſſiſtance of a man.

VER. 333—344.

" Me pulſum patriâ, pelagique extrema ſequentem,
" Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum
" His poſuere locis: matrisque egere tremenda
" ❋[1] Carmentis Nymphae monita, et Deus áuctor Apollo.
" Vix ea dicta: dehinc progreſſus, monſtrat et aram,
" Et Carmentalem Romano nomine portam:
" Quam memorant Nymphae priſcum Carmentis honorem,
" Vatis fatidicae: cecinit quae prima futuros
" Aeneadas magnos, et nobile Pallanteum.
" Hinc * lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer aſylum
" Rettulit, et gelida monſtrat ſub rupe ❋[2] Lupercal,
" Parrhaſio dictum Panos de more Lycaei.

❋[1] It appears from the note above, ver. 275, that her proper name was Nicoſtrata. She was called by the Latins Carmenta, à Carmine, from her prophecies; for which reaſon Virgil adds " Romano nomine." " Matrem quoque Evandri venerantur Romani, unam de Nymphis cen-
" ſentes, Carmentam denominatam:" Strabo, lib. V. —— " Evander
" venerabilior divinitate creditâ Carmentae matris; quam fatiloquam, ante
" Sibyllae in Italiam adventum, miratae hae gentes fuerant." Liv. lib. I.

* The courſe of this fixes the place, where the Aſylum was, to the bottom, between the Palatine and Capitoline hills.

The old writers ſay, it was " inter Arcem et Capitolium" (Strabo, et Dion. Hal. See Nardini, lib. V. c. xiii.). There are two riſings on the Capi-

Capitoline hill: on the lower (where the Tarpeian rock) was the Arx; and on the higher (where the Ara Celi now) was the Capitolium. The modern antiquaries therefore place the Aſylum on the Capitoline hill, between theſe two riſings; i. e. " inter Arcem et Capitolium."

Virgil here ſhews it as at the foot of the Capitoline hill: but how then was it " inter Arcem et Capitolium?"

In Evander's time the Arx was on the Palatine hill: for he had fortified nothing but that hill; and is called " Romanae conditor Arcis" (ver. 313. anteh.). The Capitoline hill is often called Capitolium, in the beſt Roman hiſtorians.

" Intermontium duorum quercetorum denſis ſeptus arboribus, quibus " jungebantur colles." Nard. from Dion. Hal.

* " Locum, qui nunc ſeptus denſis ſentibus inter duos lucos eſt, Aſy- " lum aperit." Liv. lib. I.

*2 " Jam tum (in the youth of Romulus) in Palatino monte Lupercal " hoc fuiſſe ludicrum ferunt; et à Palanteo urbe Arcadicâ Palantium, " deinde Palatinum montem, appellatum. Ibi Evandrum, qui ex eo ge- " nere Arcadum multis ante temporibus ea tenuerat loca, Solenne allatum " ex Arcadiâ inſtituiſſe; ut nudi juvenes Lycaeum Pana venerantes per " luxum atque laſciviam currerent; quem Romani deinde vocarunt Inuum." Liv. lib. I. init.

VER. 347—354.

" Hinc ad * Tarpeiam ſedem et Capitolia ducit;
" Aurea nunc, olim ſylveſtribus horrida dumis.
" Jam tum relligio pavidos terrebat agreſtes
" Dira loci; jam tum ſylvam ſaxumque tremebant.
" Hoc nemus, hunc (inquit) frondoſo vertice collem,
" (Quis Deus, incertum eſt) habitat Deus. Arcades ipſum
" Credunt ſe vidiſſe Jovem †; cum ſaepe nigrantem
" Aegida concuteret dextrâ, nimbosque cieret."

* This takes in the whole Capitoline hill, which has two ſummits.

† I do not know whether Virgil here endeavours to confirm an old opinion, or to inſinuate a new one: " That Jupiter was the guardian Deity " of that place, even before Rome was built." They afterwards indeed ſuppoſed him to be preſent there as fully, and in as much glory, as in the higheſt heavens; but I do not remember any paſſage but this in Virgil

which ſuppoſes him to have choſen that hill for his peculiar reſidence, before his temple was built on it.

" Si adhuc dubium fuiſſet, forte caſuque rectores terris an aliquo nu-
" mine darentur, principem tamen noſtrum liqueret divinitùs conſtitutum.
" Non enim occultâ poteſtate fatorum, ſed ab Jove ipſo coram ac palam
" repertus, electus eſt: quippe inter aras et altaria; eodemque loci, quem
" Deus ille tam manifeſtus ac praeſens, quàm caelum ac ſidera, inſedit."
Pliny's Paneg. on Trajan, ſub init.

VER. 355—367.

" Haec duo praeterea disjectis oppida muris
" Relliquias veterumque vides monumenta virorum.
" Hanc Janus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit urbem:
" Janiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.
" Talibus inter ſe dictis ad tecta ſubibant
" Pauperis Evandri; ✻ paſſimque armenta videbant
" Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.
" Ut ventum ad ſedes; haec, inquit, limina victor
" Alcides ſubiit; haec illum regia cepit.
" Aude, hoſpes, contemnere opes, et te quoque dignum
" Finge Deo, rebusque veni non aſper egenis.
" Dixit, et anguſti ſubter faſtigia tecti
" Ingentem Aeneam duxit."———

✻ This is a pretty contraſt to the Palatine hill in Auguſtus's time. Beſides this view, it is not unlikely that Virgil likewiſe inſinuates a compliment to Auguſtus, who was as remarkably modeſt in his own habitation on the Palatine hill, as he was magnificent in his public buildings there. " Habitavit primò juxta Romanum forum ſupra Scalas Anularias, in domo
" quae Calvi oratoris fuerat; poſtea, in Palatio: ſed nihilominus in aedi-
" bus modicis Hortenſianis, et neque laxitate neque cultu conſpicuis; ut
" in quibus porticus breves eſſent Albanarum columnarum, et ſine mar-
" more ullo, aut inſigni pavimento conclavia." Sueton. Vit. Aug.—— Again; " Ampla et operoſa Praetoria gravabatur."

VER.

VER. 400—403.

" Et nunc, ſi bellare paras, atque haec tibi mens eſt:
" Quicquid in arte meâ poſſum promittere curae,
" Quod fieri ferro, liquidove poteſt ❋ electro,
" Quantum ignes animaeque valent."———

❋ " Electri gemino pallent de ſemine venae." Silius, lib. I.

VER. 426—432.

" His informatum manibus jam parte polita
" † Fulmen erat, toto genitor quae plurima caelo
" Dejicit in terras, pars imperfecta manebat.
" Tres imbris torti radios, tres nubis aquoſae
" Addiderant, rutili tres ignis et alitis Auſtri.
" Fulgores nunc terrificos, ſonitumque, metumque
" Miſcebant operi, flammisque ſequacibus iras."

† The Fulmen of Jupiter was repreſented by the artiſts in different ſhapes; but of whatever ſhape it was, it was always ſuppoſed to conſiſt chiefly of fire.

" Ipſe pater rectorque Deûm, cui dextra triſulcis
" Ignibus armata eſt."——— Ovid, Met. II. ver. 849.

——— " Trifida flamma." Ib. ver. 325.

——— " Jove tortus ab alto
" Ignis."——— Statius, Theb. V. ver. 395.

Thus Virgil, in his compoſition of the Fulmen, ſpeaks of fire oftener than any thing elſe in it, which compoſition is partly natural, and partly poetical. The natural ingredients of it are clouds, wind, fire, rain, and hail; for his " imber tortus" ſeems to ſignify the ſame as " durus imber" does in Columella, De Cultu Hort. ver. 329 et 330. The word Tres, ſo often repeated in it, may have ſome relation to the epithets of Trifidum and Triſulcum, ſo often given to Fulmen by the poets; and ſo very well agreeing with the figures of it in moſt antiques; as the epithet of Alitis may have ſome reference to the wings given to it, in ſome of them.

VER.

VER. 433—438.

" Parte aliâ Marti currumque rotasque volucres
" Inſtabant, quibus ille viros, quibus excitat urbes:
" ❋ Aegidaque horrificam, turbatae Palladis arma,
" Certatim ſquamis ſerpentum auroque polibant:
" Connexosque †[1] angues, ipſamque in pectore Divae
" Gorgona, deſecto vertentem †[2] lumina collo."

❋ Servius on the place declares that, when on the breaſt of men, it was called Lorica. See Buonarroti's Medagl. p. 353.

†[1] The poets ſpeak frequently of the ſerpents about Meduſa's head; and particularly of two, that are very much diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, in ſeveral of her figures; as having their tails twined together under her chin, and their heads reared over her forehead. So Ovid:

" Nexaque nodoſas angue Meduſa comas."
Ex Ponto, lib. III. Ep. i. 124.

See Polymetis, Pl. IV. fig. 2.

†[2] " Quos habuit vultus hamati vulnere ferri
" Caeſa caput Gorgon? Quanto ſpiraſſe veneno
" Ora rear, quantumque oculos effundere mortis."
Lucan, lib. IX. ver. 680.

For this head on the Aegis of Pallas, ſee Pol. Pl. IV. fig. 4.

VER. 478—480.

" Haud procul hinc ſaxo colitur fundata vetuſto
" Urbis ❋ Agyllinae ſedes: ubi Lydia quondam
" Gens, bello praeclara, jugis inſedit + Etruſcis."

❋ Pliny, reckoning up the towns and rivers in Tuſcany, mentions " Caeretanus amnis et ipſum Caere intus M. paſſ. quatuor, Agylla à Pe-
" laſgis conditoribus dictum." —— See likewiſe Strabo, lib. V. cap. De Tyrrhenis, etc.

+ " Etruria antiently had two kings: the ſeat of one of them was at
" Caeris or Cervetere; and of the other at Coritum or Cortona.—There
" were twelve chief cities in Etruria; the deputies from each of which met,

" to

" to elect theſe kings. Their eſtabliſhment had an air of freedom." From the Cavalier Venuti, a nobleman of Cortona. —— † In Aeneas's time, Mezentius was king at Caeris; and Tarchon at Cortona. Hence Silius Italicus ſeems to comprehend all Etruria under the names of theſe two cities:

" Lectos Caere viros; lectos Cortona, ſuperbi
" Tarchontis domus."—— Lib. VIII. ver. 474.

Where, by the way, Superbus ſeems to be uſed in a good ſenſe (as it often is in the Latin, and ſeveral of the languages derived from it), becauſe Tarchon aſſiſted in helping Aeneas to the throne; and conſequently toward the eſtabliſhment of the Caeſars. This alliance of Aeneas and Tarchon is pointed out by Virgil, ſo early as in the third book of the Aeneid: where his Great Gods tell him, " That Crete is not the place " he is to fix at: No; he is to go on for Italy and Cortona."

—— " Coritum, terrasque require
" Auſonias."—— —— Ver. 171.

VER. 523—529.

" Ni ſignum caelo Cytherea dediſſet aperto.
" Namque improviſo vibratus ab aethere †[1] fulgor
" Cum ſonitu venit: et ruere omnia viſa repente;
" Tyrrhenusque †[2] tubae mugire per aethera clangor.
" Suſpiciunt: iterum atque iterum fragor intonat ingens:
" Arma inter nubem, caeli in regione ſerena,
" Per ſudum rutilare vident: et pulſa tonare."

†[1] Mr. Dryden, in his tranſlation of this paſſage, makes Venus thunder; I ſhould think, improperly: for though it be true that the augurs of old did ſometimes attribute the power of caſting forth lightenings to all the twelve Great Gods (in an inferior ſenſe to what was attributed by them to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva), yet I do not imagine that Virgil here ſpeaks of Venus's caſting forth the lightening; and, much leſs, of her thundering. The paſſage indeed is difficult enough; ſo difficult, that moſt of the commentators quite paſs it by. But if they had of old in Italy that phaenomenon, which we call the Aurora Borealis; and we were to view this paſſage in that light; it might perhaps be eaſy enough. That darting brightneſs, that ruſhing of the heavens, even the hearing of ſtrange noiſes and the fancied appearance of arms, I remember, were all things talked of,

of, in the extraordinary phaenomenon of this kind which appeared in all our northern parts of Europe in the year 1716. They uſed formerly to miſtake the Aurora Borealis for battles repreſented in the heavens. " Armorum crepitus, et tubae ſonitus auditos è caelo Cimbricis bellis ac- " cepimus; crebrosque et prius, et poſtea: tertio vero conſulatu Marii " ab Amerinis et Tudertibus ſpectata arma caeleſtia, ab Ortu Occaſuque " inter ſe concurrentia, pulſis quae ab Occaſu erant. Ipſum ardere caelum " minimè mirum eſt, et ſaepius viſum, majore vi ignis nubibus correptis." Plin. Nat. Hiſt. lib. II. c. lvii.

†[2] " Lydius huic genitor, Tmoli decus, aequore longè
" Maeoniam quondam in Latias advexerat oras
" Tyrrhenus pubem; dederatque vocabula terris:
" Isque inſueta tubae monſtravit murmura primus
" Gentibus; et bellis ignava ſilentia rupit." Sil. Ital. lib. V.

VER. 554—557.

" Fama volat parvam ſubito vulgata per urbem,
" Ocyus ire equites Tyrrheni ad limina regis.
" Vota metu ❋[1] duplicant matres, propiusque periclo
" It timor, et major ❋[2] Martis jam apparet imago."

❋[1] Ruaeus interprets this by " renovant preces;" but he loſes the force and beauty of Virgil's thought, who means that fear makes the good women doubly earneſt at their devotions. This is true nature.

❋[2] Mars is here repreſented as a real figure, which muſt appear bigger the nearer it approaches; and is ſtill more enlarged by fear.

VER. 596.

" ❋ Quadrupedante putrem ſonitu quatit ungula campum."

❋ This galloping verſe, as Dr. Trapp obſerves, is known even to a proverb. — " Quadrupedum putrem," etc. would have made a true verſe, but not ſo galloping.

VER. 603.

" Haud procul hinc ❋ Tarcho et Tyrrheni tuta tenebant
" Caſtra locis."———

❋ That

* That this name was Etrurian, and famous among them, appears from Strabo: " Tyrrhenus, cum in Italiam veniſſet, regionem à ſuo nomine " Tyrrheniam nuncupavit: et duodecim urbes condidit, praefecto rei " Tarchonte; à quo Tarquiniis urbi nomen eſt." Lib. V.

VER. 608.

" At Venus aethereos inter Dea candida nimbos
" Dona † ferens aderat."———

† Aeneas (as well as Achilles) has arms of a celeſtial make, and temperament. One of the great tenets of the old poets is; " That man can " do nothing, without the Gods aſſiſting, or impelling him:" and they carry this ſo far, as to attribute ſuch an action of a man to ſuch a deity (as in the caſe of Palinurus; ſee note on Aen. V. 860.); but this was not imagined by them to leſſen the guilt of the man, in bad actions; or to take any thing from his glory, in good ones. All power of action was ſupplied from the Gods; but the manner of acting, and the choice of it, was in the man's own determination. In judging of the antients, we ſhould go by the ideas which prevailed among them; and not by thoſe which prevail now. One of the Roman Emperors [Aurelian], in his letter to the Senate, giving an account of a victory obtained by him over his enemies, mentions the aſſiſtance of his Gods toward it, as a credit to him, rather than a diſcredit: " Neque enim indecorum eſt, Diis juvantibus, " vincere: ſic apud majores noſtros multa finita ſunt bella, multa ſunt " coepta." Vopiſcus, cap. xxiii. And on both the honorary columns erected at Rome, in memory of the victories of Trajan, and Marcus Aurelius, the Gods are repreſented as aſſiſting them to gain theſe victories.

The Auguſtan poets, the great flatterers of that Prince, attribute his victory at Actium to Apollo Actius; and make that God ſhoot off the firſt arrow, with a great effect (Ver. 704. poſth.—Ovid. Art. Am. III. 390.—Propertius, lib. IV. El. vi.). And ſo alſo Homer and the Greek poets: " Multos et noſtra civitas et Graecia tulit ſingulares viros: quorum ne- " minem niſi juvante Deo talem fuiſſe credendum eſt. Quae ratio poëtas, " maximéque Homerum impulit, ut principibus heroüm certos Deos diſ- " criminum et periculorum comites adjungeret." Balbus the Stoic, in Cic. De Nat. Deor. lib. II. ſub finem.

VER. 630—634.

" Fecerat et viridi foetam Mavortis in antro
" Procubuiſſe lupam: † geminos huic ubera circum
" Ludere pendentes pueros, et lambere matrem
" Impavidos: illam tereti cervice reflexam
" Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere linguâ."

† Moſt of the ſtrongeſt expreſſions in this fine picture are adapted to it from the elder poets, by Virgil:

——— " Gemineique huic ubera circum
" Ludunt pendentes pueri."——— Ennius, An. lib. I.

" Obſtipum caput, et tereti cervice reflexum."
Cicero, De Nat. Deor. lib. II. § 42.

And Ovid ſeems to have copied him, in his account of this ſtory:

" Venit ad expoſitos (mirum) lupa foeta gemellos:
" Quis credat pueris non nocuiſſe feram?
" Conſtitit; et caudâ teneris blanditur alumnis:
" Et fingit linguâ corpora bina ſuâ.
" Marte ſatos ſcires; timor abfuit: ubera ducunt."
Faſt. II. ver. 419.

" Tenet fama—eam ſummiſſas infantibus adeo mitem praebuiſſe mam-
" mas, ut linguâ lambentem pueros magiſter regii pecoris invenerit."
Livy, lib. I. § 4.

The figure of the wolf ſuckling them, in the manner here deſcribed, is in Pol. pl. XX. fig. 5.

* Buonarroti obſerves that this was a very common enſign on the Roman ſhields. See Medagl. p. 378.

VER. 652—654.

" In ſummo cuſtos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis
" Stabat pro templo, et Capitolia celſa tenebat:
" Romuleoque recens † horrebat regia culmo."

† One may gueſs a little at their other buildings, from the palace of their kings. It was a little thatched houſe, and very ill furniſhed.

" Parva

" Parva fuit, ſi prima velis elementa referre,
" Roma: ſed in parvâ ſpes tamen hujus erat.
" Moenia jam ſtabant populis anguſta futuris;
" Credita ſed turbae tunc nimis ampla ſuae.
" Quae fuerit noſtri ſi quaeris regia nati,
" Aſpice de cannâ ſtraminibusque domum:
" In ſtipulâ placidi carpebat munera ſomni."

Ovid. Faſt. lib. III. ver. 185.

" Dum caſa Martigenam capiebat parva Quirinum;
" Et dabat exiguum fluminis alva torum."

Ibid. lib. I. ver. 200.

Ovid is not the only one that calls it a cottage. " Si totâ urbe nullum " melius ampliusve tectum fieri poſſit, quàm caſa illa conditoris eſt noſtri;" ſays Camillus, Livy, lib. V. § liii. —— " Ortum è parvulâ Romuli caſâ, " totius terrarum orbis fecit columen." Val. Max. lib. II. c. viii.

In theſe days of luxury we can ſcarce conceive any ſuch thing as a thatched houſe to have been a palace; or of great men and princes having no other beds than a heap of ſtraw: and yet the latter was not ſo far from our times, as we may be apt to imagine. Thus Camden, in ſpeaking of Edburton (a little village near Ailſbury in Buckinghamſhire), ſays " that it was a manor-royal; and that ſeveral yard-lands " were given to it by the king, on condition that the holders thereof " ſhould find litter, that is, ſtraw, for the king's bed, whenever he ſhould " come thither" (Britan. p. 280. ed. 1695.). Ramus, in ſpeaking of the reformation of the univerſity of Paris, mentions the following allowance there: " Pro tapetis et ſtramine Quodlibetariae, triginta ſolidi. " In Cardinali, pro tapetis et ſtramine, triginta ſolidi." There is a ſtreet in part of the univerſity of Paris, now called, La Ruë du Fouarre; and formerly called, La Ruë de Fourrage: where the ſtraw-market was kept formerly, to ſupply the ſtudents with freſh litter. Menage's Dict. vid. *Fourrage*. Their ſchools were littered with ſtraw too, when they held their Quodlibets, or any other great diſputations. It was ſo in Dante's time, according to Naudé. (Add. à l'Hiſt. de Louis XI. p. 175.) Hence when Rabelais makes his Pantagruel diſpute againſt all comers, he makes him hold his diſputations in the Ruë du Fouarre. " De faict, par tous " les carrefours de la ville miſt concluſions, en nombre de neuf mille, " ſept cens, ſoixante, et quatre, en tous ſçavoir; touchant en icelles les

" plus forts doubtes, qui fuſſent en toutes ſciences: et premierement en la " Rue de feurre tint contre touts les Regents, Artiens, et Orateurs; et " les miſt tous de cul" (Liv. II. ch. x.): Where his commentator ſays; " Les accula tous, et les obligea à ſe raſſeoir ſur leur paille." (Note 3.) —— The word Litter probably comes from the French word for a bed; *Lit*. The French ſtill uſe a Paillaſſe (or ſtraw-bed) under their feather-beds.

VER. 662.

——— " Scutis protecti corpora * longis."

* " Cantaber exiguis, aut longis Teutonus armis."
Lucan, lib. VI. 259.

VER. 663—664.

" Hic exultantes Salios; nudosque Lupercos,
" Lanigerosque * apices, et lapſa ancilia caelo
" Extuderat." ———

* By this expreſſion is particularly diſtinguiſhed the Flamen Dialis, who alone of all the prieſts was permitted to wear always the cap with the apex, as appears from Appian, who, ſpeaking of the Flamen Dialis, ſays; " Huic ſacerdoti uni omnium jus eſt perpetuo geſtandi apicis, quo " tantùm inter ſacra inſigniuntur caeteri." Lib. I. De Bell. Civ. In the ſame book, ſpeaking of the death of Merula, he makes him lay aſide his Apex before he cut his veins.

VER. 666—670.

——— " Hinc procul addit
" Tartareas etiam ſedes, alta oſtia Ditis;
" Et ſcelerum poenas: et te, Catilina, minaci
" Pendentem ſcopulo, Furiarumque ora trementem:
" † Secretosque pios; * his dantem jura Catonem."

† Virgil repreſents the bleſſed in Elyſium; and Cato giving laws to them. This agrees beſt with the character of Cato the Cenſor. —— See Plutarch's account of the Elder Cato; of his ſtrict judgments and laws; of the ſtatue ſet up to his honour, in the temple of Salus; and

and of the inſcription under it: in his life of that great lawgiver. Senecā ſpeaks as highly of him in that capacity, as of Scipio in the military way. "M. Cato Cenſorius, quem tam reipublicae profuit naſci "quàm Scipionem; alter enim cum hoſtibus noſtris bellum, alter cum "moribus geſſit." Epiſt. LXXVII. ——If Cato Uticenſis could have been placed at all in Elyſium, by Virgil (who ſays, that ſuch as kill themſelves are in another part of Hades); he would, at leaſt, be a very improper perſon to be ſet by him, in ſo eminent a ſituation there. Crevier underſtands this paſſage of Cato Uticenſis; and it is true that Auguſtus himſelf was not diſinclined to commend Cato. 'Non eſt intermit-'tendus ſermo ejus (Auguſti) quem Catonis honori dedit. Venit fortè 'in domum, in quâ Cato habitaverat: dein Strabone in adulationem Cae-'ſaris malè exiſtimante de Catonis pervicaciâ, ait; "Quiſquis praeſentem "ſtatum civitatis commutari non volet, et civis et vir bonus eſt." Macrobius, Saturn. lib. II. c. iv. And Horace ſpeaks of, "Catonis nobile le-"thum," lib. I. Od. xii. 36.

* See Dr. Trapp's note on this line. It may moreover be added to what is there ſaid, that Virgil does not here touch, in the leaſt, upon Cato's political character; but places him in Elyſium, and makes him preſide there over good ſpirits, as having been a moſt pious, religious man, of the ſtricteſt juſtice: which character was univerſally allowed him, even by thoſe, who moſt differed from him.

VER. 678—684.

"Hinc Auguſtus agens Italos in praelia Caeſar,
"Cum patribus populoque, Penatibus et magnis Diis,
"Stans celſâ in puppi: geminas cui tempora †[1] flammas
"Laeta †[2] vomunt, patriumque aperitur vertice ſidus.
"Parte aliâ, ventis et Diis Agrippa ſecundis,
"Arduus, agmen agens: cui, belli inſigne ſuperbum,
"Tempora †[3] navali fulgent roſtrata coronâ."

†[1] "Oculos habuit puros ac nitidos: quibus etiam exiſtimari volebat "ineſſe quiddam divini vigoris; gaudebatque ſi quis ſibi acriùs contuenti, "quaſi ad fulgorem ſolis, vultum ſubmitteret." Suetonius, in Aug. § lxxix.

†[2] The repreſentation of Auguſtus, on Aeneas's ſhield, ſeems evidently to have been copied from ſome picture of the battle of Actium; and

and the ſhield is compoſed of metals of different ſhades and colours, ſo as to expreſs things in as natural and lively a manner as in a picture.

†[3] Agrippa is deſcribed by Virgil, in that battle, with a naval crown on his head; and ſo does he appear in that common medal of him, ſtruck in his third Conſulſhip. It was given him for a victory obtained, under his command at ſea, ſix years before the battle of Actium. "In-"ſigne Coronae Claſſicae, quo nemo unquam Romanus donatus erat, hoc "bello Agrippa ſingulari virtute meruit" (Vell. Paterc. lib. II. c. lxxxi. and the battle of Actium is afterwards, c. lxxxv.). The battle of Actium was thirty years before our Aera; and Agrippa had the Naval Crown thirty-ſeven years before it. See the Epitome Livii, lib. CXXIX; "Navali coronâ à Caeſare donatus eſt," etc.

"Navalique gener cinctus honore caput."
Ovid. Art. Am. III. 392.

VER. 685—687.

"Hinc ope barbaricâ variisque Antonius armis
"* Victor, ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro
"Aegyptum, viresque Orientis, et ultima ſecum
"Bactra vehit." ———

* Markland reads this, "Ductor ab Aurorae populis." See his Notes on Statius, lib. II. Ecl. vi. ver. 3.

VER. 704—706.

"Actius haec cernens † arcum intendebat Apollo
"Deſuper: omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi,
"Omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei."

† "Jam fragor armorum trepidantes perſonat aures,
"Actiacosque ſinus et Apollinis arma timentes."
Petronius Arb. ver. 310.

"Viſite laurigero ſacrata palatia Phoebo;
"Ille Paraetonias merſit in alta rates."
Ovid. Art. Am. III. 390.

"Actius hinc traxit Phoebus monumenta, quòd ejus
"Una decem vicit miſſa ſagitta rates."
Propertius, lib. IV. El. vi. ver. 68.

Dixerat;

" Dixerat; et pharetrae pondus conſumit in arcus:
" Proxima poſt arcus Caeſaris haſta fuit.
" Vincit Roma fide Phoebi." ——— Id. ibid. ver. 37.

VER. 709—713.

" Illam inter caedes, pallentem morte futurâ,
" Fecerat ignipotens undis et Iäpyge ferri:
" Contra autem magno moerentem corpore Nilum,
" Pandentemque ſinus, et tota veſte vocantem
" Caeruleum in gremium latebroſaque flumina victos."

† He invites the vanquiſhed fugitives, " To his dark boſom, and moſt " hidden ſtreams:" the former of which expreſſions alludes to his own colour, as the latter does to the ſource of his river being hid and unknown.

VER. 725, 726.

" Hic Lelegas, Carasque, ſagittiferosque Gelonos
" Pinxerat. Euphrates ibat jam ❋ mollior undis."

❋ Horace has the like thought in his compliment to Auguſtus.

" Medumque flumen gentibus additum
" Victis minores volvere vortices." Lib. II. Od. ix.

AENEID THE NINTH.

VER. 6—10.

" TURNE, ❋ quod optanti Divûm promittere nemo
" Auderet, volvenda dies en attulit ultro.
" Aeneas, urbe et ſociis et claſſe relictâ,
" Sceptra Palatini ſedemque petit Evandri.
" Nec ſatis; extremas Coriti penetravit ad urbes."

❋ Several

* Several critics have ſeverely cenſured Virgil for breach of the unity of action. His hero, they ſay, has no ſhare throughout this whole book. Turnus is the hero here. Virgil himſelf was aware of this objection; which occaſions his introducing Juno as triumphing on Aeneas's abſence,

—— "Quod optanti Divûm promittere nemo
"Auderet," etc.

And, again, lib. X. ver. 68, etc. he makes Juno inſult very greatly on the ſame account:

——— "Num linquere caſtra
"Hortati ſumus? ———
"Num puero ſummam belli, num credere muros?"

None of the critics could have put this objection in a ſtronger light, than he does himſelf. ——— See Father Catrou's anſwer to this criticiſm in his Diſſertation on this place. —— Many more reaſons may be added.

VER. 25, 26.

"Jamque omnis campis exercitus ibat apertis;
"Dives equûm, dives pictaï veſtis, et auri."

† "Pictaï veſtis et aquaï Virgilius, amantiſſimus vetuſtatis, carmini-
"bus inſeruit:" Quintilian. Inſtitut. Or. lib. I. c. vii. p. 70. ed. Hack. 1665. A great many of theſe old words in Virgil have probably been altered by the tranſcribers. "Quid, quod Ciceronis temporibus, paulum-
"que infra, fere quoties ſ litera media vocalium longarum, vel ſub-
"jecta longis eſſet, geminabatur? Ut Cauſſa, Caſſus, Diviſſiones. Quo
"modo et ipſum, et Virgilium ſcripſiſſe, manus eorum docent." Ib. p. 71. And others have been miſtaken by the critics. Thus, for inſtance, they ſay Virgil uſes Fervere ſhort, Aen. VIII. ver. 677. that the ſound may agree more with the ſenſe of the word; whereas the true reaſon was imitating the practice of the ancients; who, as we learn from the ſame author, uſed Fervo and Ferveo indifferently: Ib. lib. I. c. vi. p. 57.

VER.

VER. 104—106.

" Dixerat: idque ratum, Stygii per flumina fratris,
" Per pice torrentes atraque voragine ripas,
" † Annuit; et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum."

† " Phidias, cum Jovem Olympium fingeret, interrogatus de quo exem-
" plo divinam imitaretur effigiem: reſpondit, archetypum Jovis in his ſe
" tribus Homeri verſibus inveniſſe:

" Η, και κυανεῃσιν επ' οφρυσι νευσι Κρονιων·
" Αμβροσιαι δ'αρα χαιται επερρωσαντο ανακτος
" Κρατος απ'αθανατοιο· μεγαν δ'ελελιξεν Ολυμπον.

" Nam de ſuperciliis et crinibus totum ſe Jovis vultum collegiſſe." Macrobius, Saturn. lib V. c. xiv. We have the ſame anecdote, in Valerius Maximus, more at large: Memorab. lib. cap. vii.

Virgil, in copying this noble deſcription from Homer, omits all the pictureſque ſtrokes on the beard, hair, and eye-brows; and ſupplies them from other circumſtances: which are very great and ſtriking indeed; but borrowed from things abroad, and not at all deſcriptive of the perſon of Jupiter: ſo that an artiſt could not have conceived ſuch noble ideas from his deſcription, as Phidias did from Homer's. It is for this very omiſſion that Macrobius has placed this paſſage of Virgil, in his chapter of inſtances of that Poet's falling ſhort of his maſter. Scaliger, on the contrary, like a true modern critic, cries up Virgil for his judgment in this omiſſion; and flings away ſome mirth upon Homer, as being too frivolous and particular. One might, I think, eaſily enough compound the matter between them; by allowing (which is the very truth), that Virgil, on this occaſion, has deſcribed Jupiter in the propereſt manner that could be, among the Romans; and that Homer has deſcribed him in the nobleſt manner that could be, among the Greeks.

VER. 168—170.

" Haec ſuper è vallo proſpectant Troës, et armis
" Alta tenent: nec non trepidi formidine portas
" Explorant, ❋ pontesque et propugnacula jungunt."

❋ See Pontibus, ver. 530, of this Book: and Pontes, Book XII. 675.

VER. 292—294.

——— " Perculſâ mente † dederunt
" Dardanidae lacrymas; ante omnes pulcher Iülus,
" Atque animum patriae ſtrinxit pietatis imago."

† And ſo a little before:

" Dii patrii, quorum ſemper ſub numine Troja eſt,
" Non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis;
" Cum tales animos juvenum, et tam certa tuliſtis
" Pectora. Sic memorans, humeros dextrasque tenebat
" Amborum, et vultum lacrymis atque ora rigabat." Ver. 250.

Virgil (beſide the other proofs of his humanity and good nature) appears to have had a ſtrong idea of that ſwell in a good man's breaſt, which fills the eye with tears, on his hearing any great and good moral action or reſolution: and this is the more remarkable, becauſe it is never mentioned or deſcribed by any other of the antient writers, that I know of.

VER. 386—388.

" Niſus abit; jamque imprudens evaſerat hoſtes,
" Aque * locos, qui poſt, Albae de nomine, dicti
" Albani: tum rex ſtabula alta Latinus habebat."

* It ſhould be, perhaps, Lacus; and if ſo, may it not ſignify the river which comes from the Alban hills, and falls into the Tyber near the Laurentin wood? For after Niſus had eſcaped through the wood, he muſt of courſe paſs that little river in his way to Pallanteum, now Rome.

VER. 448—449.

" Dum domus Aeneae Capitolî immobile ſaxum
" Accolet, imperiumque † pater Romanus habebit."

† Pater, Parens, and Genitor, are often uſed by the Roman writers for Ruler, or Governor:

——— " Jupiter arces
" Temperat aethereas, et mundi regna triformis;
" Terra ſub Auguſto: Pater eſt et Rector uterque."
Ovid. Met. XV. 860.

Statius

Statius calls Domitian " Parens Latius," Sylv. I. ii. 178.

—— " Cum jam Genitor lucebis ab omni
" Parte poli."—— Flaccus, Arg. I. 17. (of the ſame)

He had called him " Sancte Pater" too before, ver. 11. So Ovid to Auguſtus:

" Sancte Pater Patriae! tibi Plebs, tibi Curia nomen
" Hoc dedit; hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen Eques."
Faſt. II. 126.

How literally true, ſee Suetonius in Aug. c. 58.

The name of Reges was generally uſed with ſome ſort of contempt by the Roman writers. Imperator ſignified the ſame as a General with us. Pater ſignified a Ruler, a Preſerver, and Father of the people.

Auguſtus was cautious of taking too high a title: " Non aliud diſcor-
" dantis patriae remedium fuiſſe, quin ut ab uno regeretur: non Regno
" tamen, neque Dictaturâ, ſed Principis nomine conſtitutam Rempublicam." Tacitus (where he is ſpeaking for and againſt Auguſtus) An. lib. I.

Virgil in other places uſes Genitor and Pater for Governor: Aen. I. 154. Georg. IV. 382.

Theſe words had long been uſed in that ſenſe; perhaps, ever ſince the firſt governments, which were by Fathers. It was a mild humane name for a governor: and perhaps has a particular propriety for a Roman governor; for Pater uſed by way of eminence, the Senator or chief Senator, and Princeps Senatus, are almoſt univocal.

One of the moſt common inſcriptions on Auguſtus's medals, is that of AVGVSTVS PATER.

" Hic ames dici Pater atque Princeps." Hor. lib. I. Od. ii. 50.

It was a title of Jupiter too; and Horace uſes it, in ſpeaking of him, to compliment Auguſtus:

" Gentis humanae pater atque cuſtos,
" Orte Saturno! Tibi cura magni
" Caeſaris fatis data: tu, ſecundo
" Caeſare, regnes." Ib. Od. xii.

VER. 485—489.

" Heu! terra ignota, canibus data praeda Latinis
" Alitibusque, jaces! nec te tua funera mater

" Produxi, preſſique oculos, aut vulnera lavi,
" Veſte * tegens; tibi quam noctes feſtina diesque
" Urgebam, et telâ curas ſolabar aniles."

* It was an antient cuſtom (as Mr. Pope obſerves, Odyſſey, Book II. ver. 109.) to dedicate the fineſt pieces of weaving and embroidery, to honour the funerals of the dead: and theſe were uſually wrought by the neareſt relations. Thus in the XXIId Iliad, Andromache laments, that the body of Hector muſt be expoſed to the air, without thoſe ornaments. And in the IId Odyſſey, when Penelope is preſſed by her ſuitors to wed, upon the ſuppoſed death of Ulyſſes, ſhe intreats them not to urge marriage till ſhe ſhould finiſh the funeral robes ſhe was making for her father Laërtes; which Homer thinks a matter of ſo great conſequence, that he makes Penelope uſe no other argument to defer their ſolicitations, eſteeming this a ſufficient plea:

" Though cold in death Ulyſſes breathes no more,
" Ceaſe yet a while to urge the bridal hour;
" Ceaſe, till to great Laërtes I bequeath
" A taſk of grief, his ornaments of death.
" Leſt when the Fates," etc. Odyſſ. II. ver. 107.

VER. 638—658.

" Aethereâ tum forte plagâ crinitus *[1] Apollo
" Deſuper Auſonias acies urbemque videbat,
" Nube ſedens; atque his victorem affatur Iülum:
" Macte novâ virtute, puer: ſic itur ad aſtra;
" Diis genite, et geniture Deos: jure omnia bella
" Gente ſub Aſſaraci fato ventura reſident:
" Nec te Troja capit. Simul haec effatus, ab alto
" Aethere ſe mittit, ſpirantes dimovet auras,
" Aſcaniumque petit; forma tum vertitur oris
" Antiquum in Buten. Hic Dardanio Anchiſae
" Armiger ante fuit, fidusque ad limina cuſtos:
" Tum comitem Aſcanio pater addidit. Ibat Apollo
" Omnia longaevo ſimilis, vocemque, coloremque,
" Et crines albos, et ſaeva ſonoribus arma:
" Atque his ardentem dictis affatur Iülum:

Sit

" Sit ſatis, Aeneide, telis impune Numanum
" Oppetiiſſe tuis: primam hanc tibi magnus Apollo
" Concedit laudem, et ✻[2] paribus non invidet armis.
" Caetera parce, puer, bello. Sic orſus Apollo,
" Mortales medio aſpectus ſermone reliquit;
" Et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram."

† The Romans had a cuſtom of cutting their hair ſhort, at a certain age; and of keeping it ſo ever after. This ceremony (for they made a great ceremony of it) was performed in their youth, when they were about ſeventeen, or eighteen: and this is one reaſon of their poets taking ſo much notice of the long hair of Apollo; and of their giving him ſo frequently the titles of Crinitus and Intonſus.

" Utque meum intonſis caput eſt juvenile capillis."
Ov. Met. I. ver. 564. (ſpoken by Apollo.)

" Phoebe, qui Xantho lavis amne crines."
Horat. lib. IV. Od. vi. ver. 26.

" Qui rore puro Caſtaliae lavit
" Crines ſolutos."——— Id. lib. III. Od. iv. ver. 62.

——— " Longoque decentia crine
" Tempora cingebat de qualibet arbore Phoebus.
Ov. Met. I. ver. 451.

This was ſo known a point among the Romans, that it was even grown into a ſort of proverbial way of ſpeaking with them.

" Dum pecori lupus et nautis infeſtus Orion
" Turbaret hibernum mare;
" Intonſosque agitaret Apollinis aura capillos:
" Fore hunc amorem mutuum." Horat. Epod. xv. ver. 10.

✻[1] The Poet here makes choice of Apollo rather than any other Deity, in compliment to Auguſtus, who was under the protection of that God, when he made his firſt appearance in the world; and when he became maſter of a great part of it, always continued much devoted to him. It was at Apollonia the city of Apollo in Greece that he received the news of the death of Julius Caeſar; and ſet out from thence, when he was but nineteen years of age, to revenge his murder. Afterwards, at the battle of Philippi, Apollo was his protector: and all hiſtorians agree in relating a pro-

a prophetic verſe ſpoken by Brutus againſt himſelf, ſignifying that Apollo would deſtroy him:

Αλλα με μοιρ' ολον, και Λητος εκτανεν υἱος.

Or in Latin;

" Sed me ſors miſera et Latonae perdidit infans."

Appian. p. 1067. edit. Toll.

✻[2] Ruaeus has certainly given us the true force and meaning of this paſſage. Virgil's alluſions are frequently couched under one word.

VER. 669—671.

——— " Quam multâ grandine nimbi
" In vada praecipitant; cum Jupiter † horridus Auſtris
" Torquet aquoſam hiemem, et caelo cava nubila rumpit."

† There was, I think, ſcarce any character of Jupiter among the Romans, that was more capable of giving ſublime ideas to their artiſts, than this of their Jupiter Pluvius. In a medal indeed (inſerted in Pol. pl. XXIX. fig. 2.), as well as on the Antonine pillar, he is all calm and ſtill; but on the Trajan pillar, he appears a good deal more agitated: and had we a greater variety of his figures remaining to us, I doubt not but that in ſome of them we ſhould ſee his face, and his whole form, under yet much ſtronger emotions, than we do there. For the Roman poets (whoſe works the more one conſiders, the more one finds them to be counterparts to thoſe of their painters and ſtatuaries) do not only ſpeak of Jupiter as deſcending in violent ſhowers, but as all ruffled too with thoſe winds, which moſt uſually attend them. Thus, perhaps, Virgil's " Jupiter " uvidus Auſtris," Georg. I. ver. 418. And Horace's

" Nec ſaevus ignis, nec tremendo
" Jupiter ipſe ruens tumultu." Lib. I. Od. xvi. ver. 12.

VER. 677—681.

" Ipſi intus, dextrâ ac laevâ, pro turribus aſtant;
" Armati ferro, et criſtis capita alta coruſci.
" Quales aëriae ✻ liquentia flumina circum
" Sive Padi ripis, Atheſin ſeu propter amoenum,
" Conſurgunt geminae quercus."———

✻ Qu.

❋ Qu. If meant of the Livenza? See Cluver. Italia Antiqua, lib. I. cap. xviii.

VER. 708—716.

——" Collapſa ruunt immania membra:
" Dat tellus gemitum, et clypeum ſuper intonat ingens.
" ❋[1] Qualis in Euboïco Baiarum litore quondam
" Saxea ❋[2] pila cadit, magnis quam molibus ante
" Conſtructam jaciunt ponto: ſic illa ruinam
" Prona trahit, penitusque vadis illiſa recumbit:
" Miſcent ſe maria, et nigrae attolluntur arenae.
" Tum ſonitu Prochyta * alta tremit, durumque cubile
" Inarime Jovis imperiis impoſta Typhoeo."

❋[1] Silius Italicus has imitated this ſimilitude thus:

" Haud aliter ſtructo Tyrrhena ad litora ſaxo,
" Pugnatura fretis ſubter caecisque procellis,
" Pila immane ſonans impingitur ardua ponto.
" Immugit Nereus, diviſaque caerula pulſu
" Illiſum accipiunt irata ſub aequora montem." Lib. IV.

❋[2] There is a paſſage in Vitruvius deſcribing the antient manner of building piles in a frame, and then letting it fall all at once into the water; to which Virgil's " ante conſtructam" ſeems to relate.

* The epithet Alta here is difficult enough to be underſtood. Alta could not now be uſed as an epithet for that iſland, becauſe it is all one flat; and to underſtand it of its trembling deeply, or to its foundation, is ſcarce a true Virgilian way of ſpeaking.——+ Perhaps there was a Pharos, or high light-houſe, on that iſland formerly; and the iſland itſelf might be called High, from its Pharos appearing at ſuch a height, and ſhewing it at a great diſtance. The ſame epithet is uſed by Auſonius, in ſpeaking of a vale, near the Moſelle; who adds five or ſix lines, to tell his reader that he calls that vale high, on account of the Pharos ſtanding on it. From Mr. Bowman. —— † Though I do not know any writer that mentions the little iſland of Prochyta's having ever had a Pharos on it; it is certain, at leaſt, that Pharos's were very common in that part of the Tyrrhene ſea. Pliny ſpeaks of a very conſiderable one, at Puzzuoli, (Nat. Hiſt. lib. XXXVI. c. xii.)—Statius of another, in the iſland

of

of Capreae (Sylv. lib. III. v. 100), which fell down a few days before the death of Tiberius: (Sueton. in Tib. c. lxxiv.) and Seneca ſays there were ſeveral deſtroyed thereabouts, a few years after: " Vaſtavit ignis " colles per quos elucebat: eroſit, quondam altiſſimos vertices, ſolatia " navigantium; ac ſpeculas ad humilem arenam deduxit." Lib. XIV. Ep. xcii.

VER. 806—818.

" Ergo nec clypeo juvenis ſubſiſtere tantum,
" Nec dextra valet: injectis ſic undique telis
" Obruitur. Strepit aſſiduo cava tempora circum
" Tinnitu galea, et ſaxis ſolida aera fatiſcunt:
" Diſcuſſaeque jubae capiti, nec ſufficit umbo
" Ictibus; ingeminant haſtis et Troës, et ipſe
" Fulmineus Mneſtheus: tum toto corpore ſudor
" Liquitur; et piceum, nec reſpirare poteſtas,
" Flumen agit: feſſos quatit aeger anhelitus artus.
" Tum demum praeceps ſaltu ſeſe omnibus armis
" † In fluvium dedit: ille ſuo cum gurgite flavo
" Accepit venientem, ac mollibus extulit undis:
" Et laetum ſociis ablutâ caede remiſit."

† May not the reſiſtance, danger, and eſpecially the eſcape here, allude to Julius Caeſar's behaviour in Alexandria?

Compare it with Lucan's Pharſalia, ſub finem; with the verſes added by Sulpitius, to keep the reader from being in ſuſpence. Ed. Col.

AENEID

AENEID THE TENTH.

VER. 33—35.

——"TOT reſponſa ſecuti †,
" Quae Superi Manesque dabant, ——
" Italiam petiere." ——

† This is marked very ſtrongly throughout all the firſt part of the Aeneid. The very night Troy is burnt, Aeneas is ordered to go and build a city in Italy, and to carry his Gods to it, by the ſpirits of Hector and Creüſa. Caſſandra had foretold the ſame frequently to his father before.

" Nunc repeto haec generi portendere debita noſtro ;
" Et ſaepe Heſperiam, ſaepe Itala regna vocare."
Aen. III. ver. 185.

Apollo orders the ſame ;

" Antiquam exquirite matrem.
" Hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris :
" Et nati natorum, et qui naſcentur ab illis."
Aen. III. ver. 98.

And his domeſtic Gods, more expreſsly ;

—— " Venturos tollemus in aſtra nepotes,
" Imperiumque urbi dabimus. Tu moenia magnis
" Magna para. ——
" Mutandae ſedes. Non haec tibi litora ſuaſit
" Delius, aut Cretae juſſit conſidere Apollo.
" Eſt locus, Heſperiam Graii cognomine dicunt, —
" Hae nobis propriae ſedes ; hinc Dardanus autor," etc.
Aen. III. ver. 167.

The ſame orders are given to Aeneas whilſt at Carthage, by the ſpirit of his departed father ; Aen. IV. ver. 351. And, laſtly, by the great meſſenger of the chief of all their Gods :

" Ipſe Deûm tibi me claro demittit Olympo
" Regnator, caelum et terras qui numinè torquet:
" Ipſe haec ferre jubet celeres mandata per auras.
" Quid ſtruis? aut quâ ſpe Libycis teris otia terris?
" Aſcanium ſurgentem et ſpes heredis Iüli
" Reſpice: cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
" Debentur." ——— Aen. IV. ver. 275.

VER. 132—136.

" Ipſe inter medios, Veneris juſtiſſima cura,
" Dardanius caput ecce puer detectus honeſtum:
" Qualis gemma micat, fulvum quae dividit aurum,
" Aut collo decus, aut capiti; vel quale per artem
" Incluſum buxo, aut Oriciâ terebintho,
" Lucet ❋ ebur." ———

❋ Of the ancient cuſtom of ſetting ivory in wood; ſee Buonarroti: Proem to his Medaglioni, p. xxiii.

VER. 148—158.

——" Ab Evandro caſtris ingreſſus Etruſcis
" Regem adit, et regi memorat nomenque genusque,
" Quidve petat, quidve ipſe ferat, Mezentius arma
" Quae ſibi conciliet, violentaque pectora Turni
" Edocet: humanis quae ſit fiducia rebus,
" Admonet, immiſcetque preces: haud fit mora, ❋[1] Tarchon
" Jungit opes, foedusque ferit. Tum libera fatis
" Claſſem conſcendit juſſis gens Lydia Divûm
" Externo commiſſa duci. ❋[2] Aeneïa puppis
" Prima tenet, roſtro ❋[3] Phrygios ſubjuncta leones:
" Imminet † Ida ſuper, profugis gratiſſima Teucris."

❋[1] See note on VIII. 606.

Tarchon reſigns the ſupreme power to Aeneas; but we muſt ſuppoſe that he has the chief command under him: not only over the forces of this his own country, from whence Mezentius was expelled, but likewiſe over the army of the allies, the whole Tuſcan army. And though he is not named in the following liſt to command a ſquadron, having reſigned his flag to Aeneas; yet we find him mentioned afterwards as a chief commander, ver. 290; and Book II. ver. 727.

❋[2] Tarchon,

✻[2] Tarchon, who was to have commanded the Tuſcan forces, having reſigned the government to Aeneas, he goes on board Tarchon's ſhip, and there was nothing to be done, but to place the Trojan inſignia, inſtead of Tarchon's; or, to add his own, which ſeems to be intimated by Subjuncta.

✻[3] Of the figures of their tutelary Deities annexed to ſhips, ſee Montfaucon, tom. IV. part II. lib. III. c. iv.

† Ida is mentioned before as a perſon, IX. 177.

VER. 172—174.

" Sexcentos illi dederat Populonia mater
" Expertos belli juvenes: aſt Ilva trecentos,
" Inſula ✻ inexhauſtis Chalybum generoſa metallis."

✻ It is ſtill affirmed that the mines in Elva grow ſo faſt as to recover themſelves in a few years.

Pliny aſſerts, or rather hints the ſame. " Ferri metalla ubique prope-
" modum reperiuntur; quippe inſulâ etiam Italiae Ilvâ gignente." Lib. XXXIV. c. xiv. — And Aldrovandus, ſpeaking of the mines of Ilva, ſays; " Ferrum ſemel erutum poſt annos viginti quinque renaſcitur, ut
" Agricola et Manginus teſtificantur." De Met. lib. I. p. 140.

VER. 175—184.

" Tertius, ille hominum Divûmque interpres Aſylas,
" Cui pecudum fibrae, caeli cui ſidera parent,
" Et lingue volucrum, et praeſagi fulminis ignes;
" Mille rapit denſos acie, atque horrentibus haſtis.
" Hos parere jubent Alpheae ab origine Piſae,
" Urbs Etruſca ſolo. Sequitur pulcherrimus ✻ Aſtur,
" Aſtur equo fidens et verſicoloribus armis.
" Ter centum adjiciunt (mens omnibus una ſequendi)
" Qui Caerete domo, qui ſunt Minionis in arvis;
" Et Pyrgi veteres, intempeſtaeque Graviſcae."

✻ A people in the neighbourhood of Piſae, and under the ſame commander; perhaps of the ſame origin with the Aſturians of Spain, who were celebrated for ſwift horſes. This ſeems more probable than to make Aſtur the name of a perſon, and give him the command of the forces of Caere, Minio, Pyrgi, and Graviſcae which follow. Would it not be very odd that one who deſerved no better character than, " Pul-
" cherrimus, equo fidens, et verſicoloribus armis;" and who is not once

mentioned afterwards through the whole poem, ſhould be choſen to command the forces of Mezentius's country, who were principals in the war? I rather ſuppoſe (though we are not expreſsly told ſo), that all the forces of this part of the country were commanded by Tarchon under Aeneas, as I have obſerved above. Nor can it be imagined that the towns here mentioned (Caere, Minio, etc.), which were part of Mezentius's country, and principally concerned in the war, ſhould raiſe no more than 300 men, eſpecially when Virgil adds, "Mens omnibus "una ſequendi." The meaning of, "Ter centum adjiciunt," I take to be this; all being now ready for embarkation, theſe neighbouring towns, to ſhew their zeal for the ſervice, furniſh an additional ſupply of 300 men over and above their former quota; which I take to be intimated by Adjiciunt, and by "Mens omnibus una," their zeal. Or otherwiſe Virgil may intend, by this ſmall number, to ſet a mark on this unhealthy maritime country, which could furniſh no more than three hundred men, notwithſtanding they were all willing to go.

VER. 198—203.

"Ille etiam patriis agmen ciet ❋[1] Ocnus ab oris,
"Fatidicae Mantûs et Tuſci filius amnis,
"Qui muros matrisque dedit tibi, ❋[2] Mantua, nomen;
"Mantua dives avis; ſed non genus omnibus unum:
"Gens illi triplex, populi ſub gente quaterni,
"Ipſa caput populis; ❋[3] Tuſco de ſanguine vires."

❋[1] N. B. Silius Italicus makes the habitation of Ocnus a diſtinct place from Mantua, though in the ſame country. See his eighth Book, where reckoning up the forces of Italy at Cannae, he ſays:

"Mantua mittenda certavit pube Cremonae.
"Mantua Muſarum domus," etc. ———

Then mentioning ſome other places in that country, as Verona, Faventia, and Pollentia, he adds;

"Et quondum Teucris comes in Laurentia bella
"Ocni priſca domus; parvique Bononia Rheni."

Quaer. If this "Ocni priſca domus," does not mean Felſina, an ancient city near Bolognia; where the antiquaries pretend that the Tuſcans, having paſt the mountains, planted their firſt colony.

❋[2] In

*[2] In enumerating the forces, which came on one ſide to the aſſiſtance of Turnus, on the other to the aſſiſtance of Aeneas, Virgil has taken occaſion to celebrate the greateſt part of Italy: at ſuch a time it would have been unnatural and unpardonable to have omitted his own country. And yet as it lay at a great diſtance from the ſcene of action, and was ſeparated by the Apennines from both the parties concerned; he laboured under ſome difficulty how to introduce it; eſpecially conſidering that he brings in no other people at that diſtance. This he does very artfully, by ſuppoſing the Mantuans to be deſcended from the Tuſcans, and by that nearneſs of blood engaged to aſſiſt them in their juſt quarrel. The name of this city, Mantua, favours this fiction, bearing ſome reſemblance in ſound to Μαντεια, as the Tuſci to θυεν; whence the Poet ſuppoſes Ocnus, the founder of Mantua, to be the ſon "Fatidicae "Mantûs, et Tuſci amnis."

*[3] Livy, ſpeaking of the Tuſcan colonies on the Po, etc. ſays; "Thuſ-"corum ante Romanorum imperium latè terrâ marique opes patuere: "mari ſupero inferoque, quibus Italia, inſulae modo, cingitur, quantum "potuerint, nomina ſunt argumento, quod alterum Thuſcum communi "vocabulo gentis, alterum Adriaticum mare, ab Adriâ Thuſcorum colo-"niâ, vocavere Italicae gentes. Graeci eadem Tyrrhenum atque Adriati-"cum vocant. Ii in utrumque mare vergentes incoluere urbibus duo-"denis terras: prius cis Apenninum, ad inferum mare; poſtea trans "Apenninum, totidem, quod capita originis erant, coloniis miſſis," etc. Liv. lib. V.

VER. 287—307.

"Interea Aeneas ſocios de puppibus altis
"Pontibus exponit. Multi *[1] ſervare recurſus
"Languentis pelagi, et brevibus ſe credere ſaltu:
"Per remos alii. *[2] Speculatus littora Tarchon,
"Qua vada non ſperat, nec fracta remurmurat unda,
"Sed mare inoffenſum creſcenti allabitur *[3] aeſtu,
"Advertit ſubito proras; ſociosque precatur:
"Nunc, O lecta manus, validis incumbite remis:
"Tollite, ferte rates: inimicam findite roſtris
"Hanc terram, *[4] ſulcumque ſibi premat ipſe carina.
"Frangere nec tali puppim ſtatione recuſo,
"Arreptâ tellure ſemel. Quae talia poſtquam

"Effatus

" Effatus Tarchon: ſocii conſurgere tonſis,
" Spumantesque rates arvis inferre Latinis;
" Donec roſtra tenent ſiccum; et ſedere carinae
" Omnes innocuae: ſed non puppis tua, Tarchon.
" Namque inflicta vadis dorſo dum pendet iniquo,
" Anceps ſuſtentata diu, fluctusque fatigat,
" Solvitur, atque viros mediis exponit in undis:
" Fragmina remorum quos et fluitantia tranſtra
" Impediunt, retrahitque pedes ſimul unda relabens."

*[1] I cannot conceive how the commentators can find out any difficulty in this place. Whoever has ſeen any crew land muſt allow the whole paſſage to be very eaſy, and the deſcription juſt. Some of the crew land by bridges put out from the ſide of each veſſel, others, to ſhew their eagerneſs, leap out into the ſhallow water, watching their opportunity when the water is ſhalloweſt between the ſwells of the ſea; which is delicately expreſſed by, "Servare recurſus languentis pelagi." Others make uſe of their oars, inſtead of poles, to aſſiſt them in their leap.

*[2] Tarchon, having eſpied a ſtill quiet ſhore, where there was no ſwell of the ſea, and ſuppoſing that it being deep water there, he might run in cloſe up to land, orders his men to row their veſſels in there with all their force; but, to his misfortune, he finds that a bar or bank of ſand, lying off ſhore, made (as of courſe it muſt) ſtill water within: upon this bar Tarchon ſtrikes, with his great ſhip, though his ſmaller veſſels eſcape over it. All this ſtory is very pictureſque. In after ages the banks of ſand at the mouth of the Tyber choaked up the river ſo much that no veſſels of burden could enter the channel of Oſtia, and the Romans were obliged to open a new paſſage.

*[3] Thoſe who raiſe difficulties in explaining this place by the ebbing and flowing of the ſea, do not conſider that there is no tide in the Mediterranean, except in creeks and bays, and that at this place where Aeneas landed, there is none at all perceivable, it being an open ſhore near the mouth of the Tyber. Nor indeed is there the leaſt occaſion for a tide to explain any part of this paſſage. Aeſtus in this place, as well as in many others of Virgil and other authors, ſignifying no more than the common ſwell of the ſea, when it is not a dead calm.

*[4] Alluding to the cuſtom of ploughing up the ground on taking poſſeſſion to build a city.

VER.

VER. 332—341.

——— " Fidum Aeneas affatur Achaten :
" Suggere tela mihi (non ullum dextera fruſtra
" Torſerit in Rutulos) ſteterunt quae corpore Grajûm
" Iliacis campis. Tum magnam corripit haſtam,
" Et jacit : illa volans clypei tranſverberat aera
" Maeonis, et thoraca ſimul cum pectore rumpit.
" Huic frater ſubit Alcanor, fratremque ruentem
" Suſtentat dextrâ : trajecto miſſa lacerto
" Protinus haſta fugit, ſervatque cruenta tenorem :
" Dexteraque ex humero nervis moribunda pependit."

❋ I agree with Ruaeus, that all this is meant of one ſpear, as, I think, is plainly ſhewn by, " Servatque cruenta tenorem :" and yet, as Dr. Trapp obſerves, the thing itſelf is really impoſſible. But many expreſſions and thoughts muſt be allowed in Poetry, which cannot be true in fact. The Poet would here repreſent to us the quickneſs of Alcanor in offering his hand to ſupport his brother, and our idea of his affection is thereby heightened, though he cannot, in fact, be ſuppoſed to fly as quick as a ſpear. We often find the words Tandem and Mora, and ſuch like expreſſions of leiſure and delay, uſed in the paſſing of a ſpear or arrow through a bulky body ; and yet even theſe muſt be diſallowed, if we confine poetry to matter of fact.

VER. 390—393.

" Vos etiam gemini Rutulis cecidiſtis in arvis,
" Daucia Laride, Tymberque, ſimillima proles,
" Indiſcreta ſuis, gratusque parentibus error :
" At nunc dura dedit vobis diſcrimina Pallas."

❋ This paſſage is copied by Lucan, lib. III. 603. See, likewiſe, Statius, Theb. IX. 290.

VER. 439—444.

" Interea ſoror alma monet ſuccurrere Lauſo
" Turnum, qui volucri curru medium ſecat agmen.
" Ut vidit ſocios ; " tempus deſiſtere pugnâ,

" Solus

" Solus ego in Pallanta feror, ſoli mihi Pallas
" Debetur: cuperem, ipſe parens ſpectator adeſſet."
" Haec ait; et ſocii * ceſſerunt aequore juſſo."

* This paſſage ſhews, that amongſt the antients, when a general was going to engage in ſingle combat with another general, it was uſual for the troops near them to open a field for them, and look on as ſpectators without engaging themſelves; which gave time for the harangues uſually made on thoſe occaſions, and may be a juſtification of the old poets and hiſtorians.

VER. 469—473.

—— " Trojae ſub moenibus altis
" Tot nati cecidere Deûm; quin occidit unà
" Sarpedon, mea progenies: etiam ſua Turnum
" Fata vocant, metasque dati pervenit ad aevi.
" Sic ait, atque oculos Rutulorum * rejicit arvis."

* See Book XII. 151. Jupiter likewiſe is repreſented by Homer, " His " eyes averting from the plain," as Pope expreſſes it, juſt before the death of his ſon Sarpedon. Il. XVI. 561.

VER. 490—496.

" Quem Turnus ſuper aſſiſtens: ——
" Arcades, haec, inquit, memores mea dicta referte
" Evandro: qualem meruit, Pallante remitto.
" Quiſquis honos tumuli, quicquid ſolamen humandi eſt,
" Largior: haud illi ſtabunt Aeneïa parvo
" Hoſpitia. Et laevo * preſſit pede, talia fatus,
" Exanimum; rapiens immania pondera baltei."

* On this place Buonarroti in his Medaglioni, p. 177. well obſerves; " Queſta non fu azione generoſa, ma un effetto d'animo fiero e poco " degno d'un principe, e non un accidente di battaglia; onde Virgilio " ſtimò di mettere un fatto ſimile fra i caratteri di Turno piu toſto che " d'alcun Trojano da lui deſcritti per perſone perfette.

VER.

VER. 518—520.

" Quatuor hic juvenes, totidem, quos educat Ufens,
" Viventes rapit: * inferias quos immolet umbris,
" Captivoque rogi perfundat ſanguine flammas."

* A cuſtom mentioned by Tertullian, De Spectaculis. See alſo Suetonius, De Aug. c. 15.

VER. 592—594.

" * Lucage, nulla tuos currus fuga ſegnis equorum
" Prodidit, aut vanae vertere ex hoſtibus umbrae:
" Ipſe rotis ſaliens juga deſeris." ———

* Dr. Trapp obſerves, that ſome expoſitors take a great deal of pains to ſhew how this anſwer is applied, and what paſſages in Homer it alludes to. But he is of opinion with De la Cerda, that here is really no ſuch alluſion, but that it is "ſimpliciter dictum." I cannot agree with them that here is no alluſion at all, nor yet do I think that there is any occaſion of going ſo far from home for one. At ver. 570. Aeneas is going to attack Niphaeus in his chariot; but upon his appearing the horſes are frightened at the ſight of him, run away, overturn their maſter, and hurl the chariot to the ſhore. Upon Niphaeus's eſcape Aeneas meets next with Lucagus and his brother Liger, two bravos, who behave in a quite different manner, very inſolently. Aeneas attacks them, kills Lucagus firſt, and then ſays, " Nulla tuos currus fuga ſegnis," etc. manifeſtly alluding, as I think, to the ſtory immediately preceding this. One may frequently obſerve in theſe wars ſuch contraſts.

VER. 636—640; et 653—661.

" Tum * Dea nube cavâ tenuem ſine viribus umbram,
" In faciem Aeneae (viſu mirabile monſtrum),
" Dardaniis ornat telis: clypeumque jubasque
" Divini aſſimulat capitis, dat inania verba,
" Dat ſine mente ſonum greſſusque affingit euntis. ———
" Forte ratis celſi conjuncta crepidine ſaxi,
" Expoſitis ſtabat ſcalis et ponte parato,
" Quà rex Cluſinis advectus Oſinius oris.

" Huc ſeſe trepida Aeneae fugientis imago
" Conjicit in latebras: nec Turnus ſegnior inſtat,
" Exuperatque moras, et pontes tranſilit altos.
" Vix proram attigerat: rumpit Saturnia funem,
" Avulſamque rapit revoluta per aequora navem:
" Illum autem Aeneas abſentem in praelia poſcit."

* See this imitated by Silius Italicus at the latter end of his Puncia. Lib. XVII.

" Quas poſtquam audivit voces conterrita Juno," etc.

Quaer. Whether this fiction was purely owing to Virgil's affectation to imitate Homer, or whether, on account of ſome tradition that Aeneas was killed in this engagement, or rather a tradition that Turnus fled cowardly out of the field; which Virgil gives this artful turn to, as knowing it would not be for his hero's honour to repreſent his adverſary as a coward? Drances's ſpeech, lib. XI. 351. where he reflects on Turnus as " fugae fidens," ſeems to favour this notion.

VER. 707—711.

" Ac velut ille canum morſu de montibus altis
" Actus aper (multos Veſulus quem pinifer annos
" Defendit, multosque palus * Laurentia), ſylvâ
" Paſtus arundineâ; poſtquam inter retia ventum eſt,
" Subſtitit, infremuitque ferox, et inhorruit armis."

* Horace mentions, " Laurens aper ulvis et arundine pinguis." Lib. II. Sat. iv.

VER. 773—777.

" † Dextra mihi Deus, et telum quod miſſile libro,
" Nunc adſint. Voveo praedonis corpore raptis
" Indutum ſpoliis ipſum te, Lauſe, tropaeum
" Aeneae. Dixit; ſtridentemque eminus haſtam
" Jecit." ———

† As a good man would ſay; " God is my defence;" the wicked Mezentius ſays; " His defence is in his own hand; and the javelin that I " thus brandiſh in it." The vehemence of the action, as well as the arrogance of his ſpeech, is very characteriſtic.

VER.

VER. 799—800.

——— " Socii magno clamore ſequuntur,
" Dum * genitor nati parmâ protectus abiret."

* This is ſuppoſed by ſome to allude to the ſtory of the young Scipio protecting his father in the battle between Hannibal and the Romans near Tianum. " Tunc Scipione duce fuſus exercitus: ſaucius " etiam ipſe veniſſet in manus hoſtium imperator, niſi protectum patrem " praetextatus admodum filius ab ipſâ morte rapuiſſet." L. Florus, lib. II. c. vi.

VER. 825—828.

" Quid tibi nunc, miſerande puer, pro laudibus iſtis,
" Quid pius Aeneas tantâ dabit indole dignum?
" Arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua: teque parentum
" Manibus, et cineri, ſi * qua eſt ea cura, remitto."

* Quaer. If this is not ſaid on account of his being of a wicked atheiſtical family? ——† This, I think, muſt have been the caſe: for conſidering the light, in which the Romans looked upon theſe ceremonies, it would otherwiſe ſound very improperly from the mouth of the pious Aeneas.

VER. 878—881.

——— " Quid me erepto, ſaeviſſime, nato
" Ferres? haec via ſola fuit, quâ perdere poſſes.
" Nec mortem horremus, nec Divûm * parcimus ulli:
" Deſine, jam venio moriturus."

* This expreſſes inſult and contempt. Parcere is language from a ſuperior to an inferior, one under one's power. And this mad tyrant is ſo far from reverencing the Gods, that he ſeems to trample on them as his ſlaves, and talks of treating them as he had done his ſubjects. And therefore, to ſhew the greater arrogance, ſpeaks in the plural number.

VER. 885—887.

✻ Ter circum aſtantem laevos equitavit in orbes,
" Tela manu jaciens: ter ſecum Troïus heros
" Immanem aerato circumfert tegmine ſylvam."

✻ Dr. Trapp, in his note on this place, certainly miſtakes the meaning of it. Mezentius rides in a circle, having Aeneas, who was in the center of the circle, always to his left (which, in the language of the manege, is, " laevos equitare in orbes"). By this means Mezentius guards himſelf on the left by his ſhield, and throws his javelins with his right. —— " Il " faut ſçavoir qu'autrefois les ecuyers travailloient preſque toujours leurs " chevaux ſur des cercles, et le centre autour duquel ils tournoient, " determinoit la main où ils alloient." De la Gueriniere; Ecole de Cavalerie, part. II. c. iv.

AENEID THE ELEVENTH.

VER. 34—35.

" CIRCUM omnes famulûmque manus, Trojanaque turba,
" Et moeſtae ✻ Iliades crinem de more ſolutae."

✻ Ovid makes the Nurus attending Livia to the offerings, and the Matres apart with the Veſtal Virgins.

—— " Bonis nuribus pro ſoſpite Livia nato
" Munera dat meritis ſaepe datura Deis:
" Et pariter matres, et quae ſine crimine caſtos
" Perpetuâ ſervant virginitate focos."

Triſt. lib. IV. El. ii. ver. 11.

Catrou fancies Virgil may have forgot that he left all the women behind in Sicily, except the mother of Euryalus; or at leaſt, in caſe he meant that matrons and widows only were left behind, that it was an omiſſion, not to have diſtinguiſhed them, and have expreſsly told us ſo.

With

With the Father's leave, I think the Poet has ſufficiently declared his meaning, when he tells us that Aeneas left in Sicily only the moſt uſeleſs people, and ſuch as deſired to be left. Sure the Father cannot reckon wives in this number. He muſt obſerve, moreover, that Virgil always calls the women which were left behind Matres. And when he mentions Euryalus's mother, he ſays;

" Quae te ſola, puer, multis è matribus auſa
" Proſequitur."———

VER. 49—52.

" Et nunc ille quidem ſpe multum captus inani,
" Fors et vota facit, cumulatque altaria donis:
" Nos juvenem exanimum, et * nil jam caeleſtibus ullis
" Debentem, vati moeſti comitamur honore."

* This is ſaid with reſpect to the foregoing verſe, " Fors et vota," etc. The ſacrifices to the Gods above were at an end; what remained to be made were to the infernal.

VER. 83, 84.

" † Indutosque jubet truncos hoſtilibus armis
" Ipſos ferre duces, inimicaque nomina figi."

† Virgil's deſcription of the trophy of Aeneas over Mezentius is more particular; and juſt like the trophies we ſee on medals, and the triumphal columns and arches of the better ages of Rome.

" Ingentem quercum, deciſis undique ramis,
" Conſtituit tumulo; fulgentiaque induit arma:
" Mezentî ducis exuvias; tibi magne tropaeum
" Bellipotens! Aptat rorantes ſanguine criſtas,
" Telaque trunca viri; et bis ſex thoraca petitum
" Perfoſſumque locis: clypeumque ex aere ſiniſtrae
" Subligat; atque enſem collo ſuſpendit eburnum."

Ver. 11. anteh.

VER.

VER. 139—141.

" Et jam fama volans, tanti praenuntia luctûs,
" Evandrum Evandrique domos et moenia * complet;
" Quae modo victorem Latio Pallanta ferebat."

* If all the manuſcripts, as Father Catrou informs us, read Replet, I ſee no reaſon for changing it: Replet is without doubt the better word in this place; for it intimates a ſecond report, and Virgil explains it in the next verſe, where he expreſsly ſays, that there was a rumour ſpread before, that Pallas was victorious. Conſidering the diſtance between Evander's town and the field of battle, it is natural to ſuppoſe that there muſt be ſeveral reports ſpread about the town concerning their prince.

VER. 148—151.

" At non Evandrum potis eſt vis ulla tenere;
" Sed venit in medios: feretro Pallanta *[1] repoſto
" Procumbit ſuper, atque haeret lacrymansque gemensque:
" Et *[2] via vix tandem voci laxata dolore eſt."

*[1] Dr. Trapp ſays, that this word Repôſto for Depôſto, ſet down, or laid down, is very untoward. But why ſo? Don't we uſe the word Repoſed in the very ſame ſenſe, Reſted?

*[2] The mouth finds ſome difficulty, and labours in pronouncing this verſe; eſpecially the words Vix, Tandem, and Laxata.

VER. 176—181.

" Vadite, et haec memores regi mandata referte:
" Quod * vitam moror inviſam, Pallante perempto,
" Dextera cauſa tua eſt, Turnum gnatoque patrique
" Quam debere vides meritis: vacat hic tibi ſolus
" Fortunaeque locus. Non vitae gaudia quaero,
" Nec fas; ſed gnato manes perferre ſub imos."

* Life cannot but be odious to me after the loſs of Pallas; but the only cauſe why I would prolong it (Dextera cauſa tua eſt) is my dependance upon, or the hopes of ſeeing, the ſucceſs of your right hand; that I may ſee myſelf and ſon revenged of Turnus, and carry the news to the ſhades

ſhades below. Father Catrou raiſes great difficulties on the meaning of this place, and then gives a wrong interpretation.

VER. 200—202.

" Ardentes ſpectant ſocios, ſemuſtaque ſervant
" Buſta: neque avelli poſſunt, nox humida donec
" Invertit caelum ſtellis fulgentibus † aptum."

† " Axem humero torquet ſtellis fulgentibus aptum."
Aen. IV. 482. and VI. 798. (both of Atlas).

" O Fides alma, apta penneis."——— Ennius.

Glorianti cuidam mercatori quòd multas naves in omnem oram maritimam dimiſiſſet; " Non ſanè optabilis iſta quidem eſt (inquit), rudentibus " apta Fortuna." Cic. Tuſc. Quaeſt. lib. V. p. 501. ed. Amſt.

VER. 266—268.

" Ipſe Mycenaeus magnorum ductor Achivûm
" Conjugis infandae prima intra limina dextrâ
" Oppetiit: devictâ Aſiâ ❋ ſubſedit adulter."

❋ The word Sedeo ſeems to have been a word particularly uſed in love-affairs: See Petronius, in the ſpeech of the ſervant of Circe to Polyenos; much more, Subſedit: See the ſame author in another place. Subſedit, Got into poſſeſſion of his bed and his throne, and that by treachery and luſt; which is expreſſed by Sub.

Horace uſes the word Subſidere in the ſame ſenſe with Adulterari; for vile unnatural luſt:

" Novâque monſtra junxerit libidine
" Mirus amor; juvat ut tigres ſubſidere cervis,
" Adulteretur et columba milvio." Epod. xvi. 32.

" Eo in loco ſubſedit, ubi ille noctu venturus eſſet." Cic. Orat. pro Milone.

† Mr. Holdſworth has another note, in which he ſeems inclined to read this paſſage, " Devictam Aſiam ſubſedit adulter; He invaded Aſia by " treachery:" and quotes Lucan to confirm that reading; where he ſays of Appius, after he had conſulted the Oracle of Delphi;

——— " Nec te vicinia leti
" Territat

" Territat ambiguis fruſtratum ſortibus, Appi:
" Jure ſed incerto mundi, ſubſidere regnum
" Chalcidos Euboïcae, vanâ ſpe rapte, parabas." Lib. V. ver. 227.

VER. 316—321.

" Eſt antiquus ager, Tuſco mihi proximus amni,
" ✱[1] Longus in occaſum, fines ſuper uſque Sicanos.
" Aurunci Rutulique ✱[2] ſerunt, et vomere duros
" Exercent colles, atque horum aſperrima paſcunt.
" Haec omnis regio et celſi plaga pinea montis
" Cedat amicitiae Teucrorum."———

✱[1] It muſt be conſidered that their territories being very ſmall, a few miles diſtance would juſtify this expreſſion. Latinus, in his ſpeech to Turnus, ſpeaks of Ardea as at a great diſtance from Laurentum, which it is certain was but few miles from it:

——— " Miſerere parentis
" Longaevi, quem nunc moeſtum patria Ardea longè
" Dividit."——— Aen. XII. ver. 44.

✱[2] The country here propoſed is even at this time cultivated by people from the hills, being poorly inhabited.

VER. 336—342.

" Tum Drances, idem infenſus, quem gloria Turni
" Obliquâ invidiuâ ſtimulisque agitabat amaris:
" Largus opum, et linguâ melior, ſed ✱[1] frigida bello
" Dextera, conſiliis habitus non futilis auctor,
" Seditione potens: genus huic materna ſuperbum
" Nobilitas dabat, incertum de ✱[2] patre ferebat:
" Surgit."———

† I ſhould rather incline a little to their opinion, who think that Virgil had an eye to Cicero in his character of Drances; becauſe he ſeems no friend of Cicero's before. He does not mention any thing of him in his view of the moſt conſiderable Romans in his VIth book; nor gives him any praiſe in the VIIIth, though he had ſo fair an opening for it there, where he ſpeaks of Catiline.

✱[1] The

*[1] The Epitome Liviana, lib. CXI, ſpeaking of the battle of Pharſalia, ſays; " Cicero in caſtris remanſit; vir nihil minus quàm ad bella natus:" And Plutarch, in ſeveral places of his life, repreſents him as a coward and poor ſpirited man.

*[2] This character is ſuppoſed to hint at Tully; and I think this particular fixes it to him. The reſt of the character being more general, could only be conjectured to hint at Tully; but ſuch a particular circumſtance, entirely foreign from the character, ſeems deſigned on purpoſe to mark him out. For it muſt be obſerved, that this remark was made of him: " Ciceronis vero matrem quidem Helviam tradunt claro genere et " honeſtâ vitâ fuiſſe; De patre autem nihil mediocre fertur: Alii enim " fulloniâ officinâ natum et educatum dicunt; alii ad Ap. Tullium clarum " Volſcorum regem generis principium referunt." Plutar. Vit. Cic.

VER. 399—409.

" Nulla ſalus bello? capiti cane talia demens
" Dardanio, rebusque tuis: proinde omnia magno
" Ne ceſſa turbare metu, atque extollere vires
" Gentis bis victae, contra premere arma Latini.
" *[1] Nunc et Myrmidonum proceres Phrygia arma tremiſcunt?
" Nunc et Tydides, et Lariſſaeus Achilles?
" Amnis et Hadriacas retro fugit Aufidus undas?
" *[3] Vel cum ſe pavidum contra mea jurgia fingit
" Artificis ſcelus: et formidine crimen acerbat.
" Nunquam animam talem dextra hâc, abſiſte moveri,
" Amittes: habitet tecum, et ſit pectore in iſto."

*[1] This has no reference to any thing in Drances's ſpeech, but, I ſuppoſe, refers to what was before reported by Venulus, who was of Drances's party: " Si duo praeterea tales," etc. ver. 285: and " Amnis et Hadriacas" relates particularly to the news brought from Diomedes's country Apulia, of which Aufidus is the principal river.

*[2] I ſee no occaſion of connecting this with the preceding words. Connection is not neceſſary in ſuch paſſionate diſcourſes. Turnus now again turns his diſcourſe againſt Drances, and ſays; " Vel cum," etc. " As great " a coward as he is," even when he pretends to be afraid of me or my reproaches, it is only with a wicked intent. " Artifex eſt ſceleris;" or, without any hypallage, " Hoc ſcelus eſt artificis:" This is the villany of

the crafty knave: " Et formidine crimen acerbat." And then follows, " Nunquam animam talem," etc.

VER. 466, 467.

" Pars aditus urbis firment, turresque capeſſant:
" Caetera, quà * juſſo, mecum manus inferat arma."

* Seneca takes notice of Virgil's making uſe of this word for Juſſero. See Epiſt. lviii.

VER. 497.

——— " Luduntque * jubae per colla, per armos."

* This particular, in this very fine compariſon, alludes to Turnus's having his hair looſe, and flowing down his ſhoulders; as may be ſuppoſed from what is ſaid before, " that he had not yet put on his hel-" met," ver. 489.

VER. 522, 523.

" * Eſt curvo anfractu vallis accommoda fraudi
" Armorumque dolis," etc.

* This place ſeems to be a deſcription of the valley of Caudium.

VER. 552—555.

" Telum immane manu validâ quod forte gerebat
" Bellator, ſolidum nodis et robore coćto;
" Huic natam, libro et ſylveſtri † ſubere clauſam,
" Implicat, atque habilem mediae circumligat haſtae."

† There is a large wood of cork-trees, juſt on the other ſide of Piperno (ver. 540 anteh.); and that tree is common all about thoſe parts.

VER. 564—568.

" At Metabus, magnâ propius jam urgente catervâ,
" Dat ſeſe fluvio, atque haſtam cum virgine victor
" Gramineo, donum Triviae, de ceſpite vellit.

" Non

" Non illum tectis ullae, non moenibus urbes
" Accepere: ❋ neque ipſe manus feritate dediſſet."

❋ That is, Neither would Metabus, " prae feritate," have accepted of their hoſpitality; which Virgil has expreſſed by giving the hand, which was always looked upon as a token of hoſpitality and friendſhip. When Aeneas was introduced to Evander, Pallas ſaid to him;

——— " Noſtris ſuccede penatibus hoſpes:
" Accepitque manu, dextramque," etc. Aen. VIII. ver. 123.

So likewiſe, Aen. III. ver. 83:

" Jungimus hoſpitio dextras, et tecta ſubimus."

This interpretation ſeems natural and eaſy; whereas the commentators have rendered this paſſage difficult and obſcure, by putting a forced conſtruction upon " manus dare."

VER. 605, 606.

" Adverſi campo apparent: haſtasque reductis
" Protendunt longe dextris, et ſpicula vibrant."

❋ Ruaeus is certainly miſtaken in his interpretation of this paſſage: " Apparent contra oppoſiti in campo: et immittunt longè haſtas brachiis " contractis, et conjiciunt ſpicula." They are not yet engaged, but only preparing, and ſtill on their march. —— † This will be very evident to any one, who reads the whole paſſage, from ver 597 to 611.

VER. 633—635.

" ❋ Tum vero et gemitus morientum, et ſanguine in alto
" Armaque, corporaque, et permiſti caede virorum
" Semianimes volvuntur equi."———

❋ How much confuſion is there expreſſed in the very ſound of theſe verſes!

VER. 677—681.

——— " Procul Ornitus armis
" Ignotis, et equo venator Iapyge fertur:
" Cui pellis latos humeros erepta juvenco

" Pugnatori operit; † caput ingens oris hiatus,
" Et malae texere lupi cum dentibus albis."

† This was a very common dreſs among the Roman ſoldiers; and occurs perpetually, both on the Trajan and Antonine pillar, at Rome.

Thus Virgil of Aventinus, a ſon of Hercules:

" Ipſe pedes tegmen torquens immani leonis,
" Terribili impexum ſeta, cum dentibus albis,
" Indutus capiti: ſic regia tecta ſubibat
" Horridus, Herculeoque humeros innexus amictu."

Aen. VII. ver. 669.

And others of the Roman Poets of Hercules himſelf:

——" Tergo videt hujus inanem
" Impexis utrinque jubis horrere leonem;
" Illius in ſpeciem quem per Theumeſia Tempe
" Amphitryoniades victum juvenilibus annis,
" Ante Cleonaei veſtitur praelia monſtri."

Statius, Theb. I. ver. 487.

——" Cleonaeo jam tempora cluſus hiatu
" Alcides."—— Val. Flaccus, I. ver. 155.

A figure (perhaps of young Aventinus) is given, Pol. pl. XVII. fig. 5. on purpoſe to ſhew the manner how they wore the lion's ſkin over their heads, the more exactly.

VER. 699—701.

" Incidit huic, ſubitoque aſpectu territus haeſit
" ✱[1] Apenninicolae bellator filius ✱[2] Auni;
" Haud Ligurum extremus, dum fallere fata ſinebant."

✱[1] The limits of the Alpes and Apennines were not aſcertained by the antients, nor are they to this day; and therefore the Ligures who poſſeſſed that ridge of mountains from the Var to the Macra were by ſome authors called Alpini, by others Apennini. " Vulgo tamen pro Apennino ha-
" bitum fuiſſe, ut etiam nunc habetur, quicquid montium ad Varum uſque
" flumen protenditur," as Cluver obſerves, Ital. Ant. lib. I. c. xxxi. Silius, lib. V, makes (I know not by what authority) the country of Aunus to be on the lake afterwards called Thraſymenus:

" Quae

" Quae vada Faunigenae regnata antiquitùs Auno
" Nunc, volvente die, Thraſymeni nomina ſervant."

N. B. Part of the Ligures were called Ingauni, and their city Albingaunum, now Albenga. Vid. Strab. lib. IV.

*[2] It appears from Silius, that the Lacus Thraſymenus was formerly called Lacus Auni:

" Quae vada Faunigenae regnata antiquitùs Auno
" Nunc, volvente die, Thraſymeni nomina ſervant."
De Bel. Pun. lib. V. ver. 8.

As Virgil frequently chooſes the names of rivers for his heroes; Qu. Whether he does not hint at Hannibal's treachery on the ſide of this lake, in making this treacherous fellow the ſon of Aunus?

VER. 768—782.

" *[1] Forte ſacer Cybele Chloreus, olimque ſacerdos,
" Inſignis longe Phrygiis fulgebat in armis:
" Spumantemque agitabat equum, quem pellis ahenis
" In plumam ſquamis auro conſerta tegebat.
" Ipſe peregrinâ ferrugine clarus et oſtro,
" Spicula torquebat Lycio Cortynia cornu:
" Aureus ex humeris ſonat arcus, et aurea vati
" Caſſida: tum croceam chlamydemque ſinusque *[2] crepantes
" Carbaſeos fulvo in nodum collegerat auro;
" Pictus acu tunicas, et barbara tegmina crurum.
" Hunc virgo, ſive ut templis praefigeret arma
" Troïa, captivo ſive ut ſe ferret in auro
" Venatrix, unum ex omni certamine pugnae
" Caeca ſequebatur; totumque incauta per agmen,
" Femineo praedae et ſpoliorum ardebat amore."

*[1] In the concluſion of this ſtory of Camilla, Virgil has very finely touched upon the female paſſion for dreſs and ſhew. Though the heroine ſeems to have ſhaken off all the other weakneſſes of her ſex, ſhe is ſtill deſcribed as a woman in this particular. After having made a great ſlaughter of the enemy, ſhe unfortunately caſts her eye on an embroidered Trojan, " ſingles out this well-dreſſed warrior, is ſeized with a woman's " longing for the pretty trappings he was adorned with. This heedleſs

" purſuit

" purſuit after theſe glittering trifles, the Poet (by a nice concealed mo-
" ral) repreſents to have been the deſtruction of his female hero." See Addiſon's Spectator, Vol. I. N° xv.

* Speaking of one of the prieſts of Cybele, who always wore linen. Martial, ſpeaking of Hermogenes ſtealing linen wherever he ſaw it, ſays;

" Linigeri fugiunt calvi, ſiſtrataque turba,
" Inter adorantes cum ſtetit Hermogenes."

Lib. XII. Ep. xxix.

VER. 783—795.

" Telum ex inſidiis cum tandem tempore capto
" Conjicit, et ſuperos * Aruns ſic voce precatur:
" Summe Deûm, ſancti cuſtos Soractis Apollo,
" Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo
" Paſcitur, et medium freti pietate per ignem
" Cultores multâ premimus veſtigia prunâ:
" Da, pater, hoc noſtris aboleri dedecus armis
" Omnipotens. Non exuvias pulſaeve tropaeum
" Virginis aut ſpolia ulla peto: mihi caetera laudem
" Facta ferent: haec dira meo dum vulnere peſtis
" Pulſa cadat, patriam remeabo inglorius urbem.
" Audiit, et voti Phoebus ſuccedere partem
" Mente dedit; partem volucres diſperſit in auras."

* The character Virgil gives Aruns, who kills Camilla, is a very ſingular, and a very mean one. Camilla was very brave, and had deſtroyed many of the Trojans, but ſtill ſhe was a woman; and therefore the Poet thought her death unbecoming a man of honour, and chuſes to charge it on a ſilly, vain, cowardly, treacherous, and contemptible creature. He was ridiculous in his religious, and vain in his military, boaſts; " Quem " primi colimus," etc. and, " Mihi laudem facta ferent." Cowardly in his manner of attacking Camilla (Tacitus, ver. 763; Furtim, ver. 765; " ex " inſidiis," ver. 783); not daring to meet her face to face: and when he killed her; " Fugit exterritus:"

——— " Nec jam amplius haſtae
" Credere, nec telis occurrere virginis audet." etc. Ver. 808.

So

So contemptible, that when Opes, one of Diana's nymphs, was going to revenge Camilla's death, by killing him; ſhe cries out in a ſcornful manner to him;

——— "Tune etiam telis moriere Dianae?" Ver. 857.

In ſhort, he is repreſented as ſuch a wretch, that when he is killed, his own companions ſhew not the leaſt concern for him.

"Illum expirantem ſocii atque extrema gementem
"Obliti ignoto camporum in pulvere linquunt." Ver. 866.

AENEID THE TWELFTH.

VER. 1—4.

"TURNUS ut infractos adverſo Marte Latinos
"Defeciſſe videt, ſua nunc promiſſa repoſci,
"Se ſignari oculis; * ultro implacabilis ardet,
"Attollitque animos." ———

* Without being provoked by Drances.

VER. 72—74.

"Ne, quaeſo, ne me lacrymis, neve omine tanto
"Proſequere, in duri certamina Martis euntem,
"O mater; * neque enim Turno mora libera mortis."

* Servius imagines difficulties here, perhaps, without reaſon; and, certainly, there is no greater difficulty here than above, in ver. 49, where Turnus ſays in anſwer to Latinus;

——— "Letumque ſinas pro laude paciſci:"

That is, "If death is my fate, ſuffer me to take it in exchange for honour:" and though he ſays this, yet the four verſes which follow ſhew that he does not ſeem to doubt of ſucceſs. So here he tells Amata, that after having promiſed to meet Aeneas in a ſingle combat, it is not in his power to decline or defer it, though he ſhould fall in the battle; and at the ſame

ſame time he ſeems not to fear that it would be his fate to fall, for he adds;

——— " Phrygio mea dicta tyranno
" Haud placitura refer." ——— Ver. 76.

Both theſe paſſages imply only a ſuppoſition of loſing the day.

VER. 161—164.

——— " Ingenti mole Latinus
" * Quadrijugo vehitur curru, cui tempora circum
" Aurati bis ſex radii fulgentia cingunt,
" Solis avi ſpecimen." ———

* Buonarroti, Medagl. p. 178, ſuppoſes that this was intended as a compliment to Auguſtus, in alluſion to what is mentioned by Suetonius in Aug. c. 94. It is certain, the ſtatues of the ſun were formerly crowned with rays as here deſcribed.

VER. 206—211.

" Ut † ſceptrum hoc (dextrâ ſceptrum nam forte gerebat),
" Nunquam fronde levi fundet virgulta nec umbras;
" Cum ſemel in ſylvis imo de ſtirpe reciſum
" Matre caret, poſuitque comas et brachia ferro:
" Olim arbos; nunc artificis manus aere decoro
" Incluſit, patribusque dedit geſtare Latinis."

† Ovid, in ſpeaking of Jupiter, deſcribes him as reſting on his ſcepter; which, if taken in the modern ſenſe of the word, would be almoſt as ridiculous, as if one ſhould deſcribe a general, at the head of his troops, reſting on his truncheon. The old ſcepters being as long as a hunting-pole, may ſerve to explain ſome expreſſions in Virgil, relating to King Latinus's ſcepter; which would not be ſo proper, if applied to a truncheon or modern ſcepter. It was a whole young tree, cut from the root, and ſtripped of its branches.

VER. 287, 288.

" Infraenant alii currus, aut corpora ſaltu
" * Subjiciunt in equos." ———

" Quaer.

* Quaer. If Sub may not ſignify, from below? They throw themſelves, by ſpringing from the ground, at one leap, into the ſaddle.

VER. 384—390.

" Interea Aeneam Mneſtheus, et fidus Achates,
" Aſcaniusque comes, caſtris ſtatuere *[1] cruentum,
" Alternos longâ nitentem cuſpide greſſus.
" Saevit, et infractâ luctatur arundine telum
" Eripere, auxilioque viam, *[2] quae proxima, poſcit:
" Enſe ſecent lato vulnus, telique latebram
" Reſcindant penitus, ſeſeque in bella remittant."

*[1] Auguſtus Caeſar was wounded in a ſkirmiſh between him and Lepidus in Sicily, after they had defeated Sext. Pompeius. Και αυτος ὁ Καισαρ ες τον θωρακα εβληθη. Appian, De Bell. Civ. lib. V. p. 1173. ed. Toll.

*[2] So Alexander falling ill a little before the battle of Iſſus, and being informed of his enemy's approach, cries out; " Lenta remedia, et ſegnes " medicos non expetunt tempora mea." Q. Curt. lib. III.

VER. 395—397.

" Ille, ut * depoſiti proferret fata parentis,
" Scire poteſtates herbarum uſumque medendi
" Maluit." ———

* Morientis; laid down to die, or ſtretched out, being juſt expiring; a dying perſon, naturally ſtretching himſelf out. Thus Ovid uſes Depoſitus;

" Jam propè depoſitus, certe jam frigidus aeger."
Lib. II. Ep. ii. ver. 47.

And Cicero: " Aegram et propè depoſitam reipublicae partem ſuſcepiſſe." In Ver. III. v.

VER. 400—404.

——— " Ille * retorto
" Paeonium in morem ſenior ſuccinctus amictu,
" Multa manu medicâ Phoebique potentibus herbis
" Nequicquam trepidat; nequicquam ſpicula dextrâ
" Sollicitat, prenſatque tenaci forcipe ferrum."

* " Il Pallio fu proprio de' medici, che perciò venivano appreſſo gli " Egizi chiamati παστοφοροι, Palliofori: e lo dovevano portare ſuccinto e " involtato in un modo ſimile alle ſtatue di quel Dio, le quali ſi veggono " avere ſcoperto il petto, e il braccio deſtro." Medagl. di Buonarroti, p. 125. Statius, ſpeaking of Apollo and Aeſculapius, ſays;

——— " Ritu ſe cingit uterque
" Paeonio." ——— Lib. I. Sylv. iv. ver. 108.

And Silius, ſpeaking of Hannibal's phyſician Sinalus, ſays;

——— " Intortos de more accinctus amictus." Lib. V.

† What the manner of dreſſing was appears moſt diſtinctly in the figures of Aeſculapius. See Pol. Pl. XX. fig. iii.

VER. 697—703.

" At pater Aeneas, audito nomine Turni,
" Deſerit et muros, et ſummas deſerit arces,
" Praecipitatque moras omnes; opera omnia rumpit
" Laetitia exultans: horrendumque intonat armis.
" Quantus † Athos, aut quantus Eryx, aut ipſe coruſcis
" Cum fremit ilicibus quantus, gaudetque navali
" Vertice ſe attollens pater + Apenninus ad auras."

† The large ſize of the ſtatues for the Mountain Deities in general, will help to account for ſeveral ſimiles of the antient poets, in which they compare their heroes to mountains. When Aeneas is going to engage Turnus, Virgil ſays that he moved on, " Quantus Athos," etc. This ſimile cannot well be underſtood literally of thoſe mountains; or will at leaſt become much more poetical and juſt, if you underſtand it of the Deities ſuppoſed to preſide over them: whoſe ſtatues were often of a vaſt ſize, among the antients; as they are ſometimes even among the moderns. I never met with any antient figure of father Apenninus: but that famous modern one of him by John de Bologna, at a ſeat of the Great Duke's near Florence, if it ſtood up, would be above ſixty foot high. As the antients were much more magnificent in their works of art than the moderns, they had probably figures of Mountain Deities, even much larger than this.

+ There was a God called Pennus, much worſhiped on the Great St. Bernard; and ſome remains of his temple are ſtill to be ſeen there.

From

From Count Richa, at Turin. ——— † *Pen* ſignified high or chief: hence the Alpes Penninae, and the Apennines in Italy; and with us, Pen ap pen, near High Wicomb, in Buckinghamſhire; the old Pennocruſium, or Penkridge, in Staffordſhire; Pendennis, in Cornwall; and Pen-maen-mawr, and many others, in Wales.

VER. 811—812.

——— " Flammis † cincta ſub ipſâ
" Starem acie, traheremque inimica in praelia Teucros."

† Juno had a joint right of caſting the lightening with Minerva and Jupiter. See note on Aeneid I. 42.

VER. 834—841.

" Sermonem Auſonii patrium moresque tenebunt;
" Utque eſt, nomen erit; commixti corpore tantum
" Subſident Teucri: morem ritusque ſacrorum
" Adjiciam: faciamque omnes uno ore Latinos.
" Hinc genus, Auſonio mixtum quod ſanguine ſurget,
" Supra homines, ſupra ire Deos pietate videbis:
" ✻ Nec gens ulla tuos aeque celebrabit honores.
" Annuit his Juno, et mentem laetata retorſit."

✻ Compare this with Book III. 433 to 439. We are told by Tully that the temple of Juno Soſpita was repaired in his time. " Quinetiam " memoriâ noſtrâ templum Junonis Soſpitae L. Julius, qui cum P. Rutilio " Conſul fuit, de Senatus ſententiâ refecit, ex Caeciliae Balearici filiae " ſomnio." Tull. De Divinitat. lib. I.

VER. 865—868.

" Hanc verſa in faciem, Turni ſe ✻ peſtis ad ora
" Fertque refertque ſonans, clypeumque everberat alis:
" Illi membra novus ſolvit formidine torpor;
" Arrectaeque horrore comae." ———

✻ Theſe are the ſtings of a guilty conſcience for having broken the treaty, he had ſworn to at the altar, by declining the ſingle combat.

VER. 885—886.

" Tantum effata, caput glauco contexit amictu,
" Multa gemens, et ſe † fluvio Dea condidit alto."

† Virgil ſpeaks this of Juturna, ſiſter of Turnus. She was a Naïd; and, in particular, one of the Tiberinides. See her ſtory, in Ovid. Faſt. II. ver. 585—606.

VER. 896—902.

——" Saxum circumſpicit ingens:
" Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo quod forte jacebat
" Limes agro poſitus, litem ut diſcerneret arvis.
" Vix illud lecti bis ſex cervice ſubirent,
" Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus:
" Ille manu raptum trepidâ torquebat in hoſtem
" Altior inſurgens, et curſu concitus heros."

* See Mr. Pope on the Iliad, XXI. ver. 468.

Juvenal ſpeaks in his uſual humorous way:

" Saxa inclinatis per humum quaeſita lacertis
" Incipiunt torquere, domeſtica ſeditione
" Tela; nec hunc lapidem, quali ſe Turnus, et Ajax,
" Vel quo Tydides percuſſit pondere coxam
" Aeneae; ſed quem valeant emittere dextrae
" Illis diſſimiles, et noſtro tempore natae.
" Nam genus hoc vivo jam decreſcebat Homero;
" Terra malos homines nunc educat, atque puſillos:
" Ergo Deus quicunque aſpexit, ridet, et odit."

Juvenal, Sat. XV. 63, etc.

DISSER-

N°. 1. *To be Prefixed to Diſsertation 1.*

_ *Macedonia antiqua sub prioribus Regibus ante Philippum et Alexandrum* .....

____ *Macedoniæ limites diversis temporibus latius extensi Complectentes Theſsaliam, partem Thraciæ ad Neſsi fluminis ostia, ac partem Illyrici ad fluvium Celydnum* .....

_ *Via Egnatia, ab Italiâ per Macedoniam et Thraciam in Asiam tendens. cum numero mill: Roman: prout in itinerariis notantur* .....

† *Campus Pharsalicus ubi inter Iul. Cæsarem et Pompeium pugnatum est. Iste Campus, etsi vulgo dictus Pharsalicus, ita tamen inter Pharsalum et Theſsalos Philippos (sive Thebas Phthias) medius, ut à Philippis æquo jure nominetur: uti et Poëtis usitatius* ✳ *Campi Philippici juxta Philippos (olim Crenidas) ad Macedoniæ et Thraciæ confinia, ubi Brutus et Caſsius ab Octavio Cæsare et Ant°. superati sunt.*

Superioris pars

S M O N S

PONTUS

EUXINUS

T H R A C I A

Hebrus Flu.

Strymon Flu.

Nessus Flu.

Axius Flu.

Thracia

Philippi at Crenides

Amphipolis

Thessalonica

Pella

Thasus Insula

Apollonia

Maronea

Isseus Lac.

Dorisc.

Ænus

Melas Flu.

Serrium Promont.

Melas Sinus

Cardia

Lysimachia

Sestus

Abydus

PROPONTIS

Athos Mons

Larissa

Pharsalus Magnesiæ

Philippi sive Thebæ Phthiæ

Maliacus Sinus

EUBOEA

Sinus Corinthiacus

Sinus Saronicus

Sinus Argolicus

MARE ÆGÆUM

ASIÆ

PARS

TERRANEUM

T. Kitchin Sculp.

The Common Road.
The round about Road w.ch Brutus and Caſsius were oblig'd to take.
A. Philippi.
B. Bacchi Tumulus.
C. Brutus's Camp.
D. Caſsius's Camp.
E. Octavius and Antony's Camp.
F. Symbolon.
G. Neapolis.
H. Acontisma or Streights of y.e Sapæi
I. Streights of the Turpili.
K. Amphipolis.
L. Ganga, a Brook or Torrent.
M. The Marsh thro' w.ch Antony drew Lines to cut off the communication between y.e Enemy's Camp & the Sea.
N. Abdera Urbs Sapæorum.
O. Lacus Bistonis.
M. Pangæus
Strymon Flu.
Zygactes Flu.
Mon.
THE ÆGEAN SEA
Miles.
1 2 4 6 8 10 12

Mariza olim Hebrus Flu.

Hardeme olim Harpessus Flu.

Mon. Rhodope

Carasou olim Nessus Flu.

Mon. Symbolon

Inf. Thasus

A

B

C

D

F

G

H

I

N

O

T. Kitchin Sculp.

DISSERTATION THE FIRST;

ON THE

TWO PHILIPPI:

In Seven LETTERS to C. J. Esq;

LETTER I.

THE TWO BATTLES OF PHILIPPI,

Mentioned by VIRGIL in his Georgics, and copied by ſeveral other Poets, ſeemingly contradictory to Hiſtory.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING formerly had ſome diſcourſe with you concerning Virgil's two battles of Philippi, and wanting time to ſolve all your doubts, and produce ſufficient authorities in favour of my opinion, I beg leave to ſend you my thoughts thereupon in writing. — My principal aim in undertaking this taſk is to ſatisfy your curioſity, and vindicate Virgil from ſome aſperſions thrown on him by the critics; in doing which, I tell you beforehand, I ſhall be very tedious; and, I fear, I ſhall tire your patience ſooner than I can defend your friend. — The ſubject is in itſelf very dry, and the diſcuſſing a point ſo much controverted, and in which, not only Virgil, and ſeveral correſpondent paſſages in other poets, but likewiſe the credit of the old hiſtorians is concerned, muſt neceſſarily ſwell a letter to a very great length, and my manner of treating the ſubject may ſtill make it appear much longer: but if you can have as much patience to read what I have to offer, as I have had to examine the ſeveral articles of this diſpute, I doubt not but you will be fully convinced of the truth of what I before advanced in converſation, and that we ſhall be as perfectly agreed in this, as, I flatter myſelf, we are in all other reſpects.

The difficulty, you know, conſiſts in the contradiction there ſeems to be between the Poets and Hiſtorians in a matter of fact. Virgil tells us, that

that [a] Philippi twice ſaw the Roman armies engaged againſt each other, meaning, firſt, Julius Caeſar againſt Pompey; ſecondly, Octavius Caeſar and Antony againſt Brutus and Caſſius.

" [b] Ergo inter ſeſe paribus concurrere telis
" Romanas acies iterum vidêre Philippi;
" Nec fuit indignum Superis bis ſanguine noſtro
" Aemathiam, et laetos Haemi pingueſcere campos."

All the other poets who have mentioned theſe battles agree with Virgil, and ſeem to have copied from him; thus Ovid [c].

[a] Dr. Lamotte in a letter publiſhed in the Hiſtory of the Works of the Learned, for Jan 1738, thinks he has ſolved this difficulty by ſuppoſing that the battle of Pharſalia is in this place entirely out of the queſtion, and that Virgil had regard only to the two actions that paſſed between the Romans in the plains of Philippi, in the firſt of which Caſſius was defeated, in the latter, Brutus, about a month after the other. It muſt be owned he has improved upon what Ruaeus formerly propoſed to the ſame purpoſe, and his obſervation on the connexion between "Ille etiam extincto," and "Ergo inter "ſeſe," has enforced this argument as far as it will bear; but if he will examine Manilius, and the ſeveral paſſages relating to Philippi, which I ſhall hereafter produce from Lucan, I doubt not but he will be convinced, that all the Poets by their two Philippi underſtand thoſe two memorable actions commonly diſtinguiſhed by the names of Pharſalia and Philippi. At preſent therefore in this ſenſe let us underſtand Virgil.

Catrou, in his diſſertations upon Virgil, mentions the like opinion of another critic upon this paſſage, thus, "Un ſçavant cri-"tique de nos tems tranche le noeud, et "pretend que les deux batailles dont Phi-"lippes fût temoin furent les deux combats "conſecutifs, que Brutus et Caſſius livrerent "contre Octavien et contre Antoine à la vûe "de Philippes en Thrace. De la, dit-il, les "expreſſions de Virgile,

——"Paribus concurrere telis
"Romanas acies *iterum* videre Philippi.
"En effet la bataille qu'on appella de Phi-"lippes conſiſta en deux actions. Dans la "premiere, Caſſius, qui ſe crût vaincu, "quoique ſon parti eût en de l'avantage, "plein d'une terreur precipitée, ſe fit tüer "par Pindare ſon affranchi. Dans la ſe-"conde, qui ſe donna quelques ſemain a-"près, Brutus, defait et vaincu, ſe fit don-"ner la mort par le bras d'un de ſes do-"meſtiques, pour eviter de tomber aux "mains de ſes vainqueurs. Voilà, dit ce "critique, les deux batailles que vit la "Philippes de Thrace.

——"Iterum videre Philippi."

Then Catrou quotes likewiſe the criticiſm of Ruaeus upon the ſame place, and prefers the latter as the more ingenious; but concludes that neither of them can be ſupported; it being very evident, as he ſays, that *bis* and *iterum* relate to two battles, that of Pharſalia, and that of Philippi. His words are theſe,—"Sans toute la difficulté ſeroit "anneantie par ces ſyſtèmes, s'ils etoient "ſoûtenables. Par malheur, il paroît evi-"dent, que le *bis*, et que l'*iterum*, des paſ-"ſages que nous examinons, tombent ſur "la bataille de Pharſale, et ſur celle de "Philippes," etc. Notes on Virgil, Georg. I. note 19.

[b] Georg. lib. I. 489.

[c] Met. lib. XV. 824.

"Aemathiâque

" Aemathiâque iterum madefient caede Philippi."

And Petronius [d],

" Cerno equidem gemino jam ſtratos marte Philippos."

Lucan, whom I ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention hereafter, often ſpeaks of both battles of Philippi; and Manilius is ſtill more expreſs than the reſt, when deſcribing, as Virgil does, the calamities foretold by the heavens, he ſays [e],

" Civiles etiam motus, cognataque bella
" Significant; nec plura aliàs incendia mundus
" Suſtinuit, quàm cum, Ducibus jurata cruentis,
" Arma Philippaeos implerunt agmine campos.
" Vix etiam ſiccâ miles Romanus arenâ
" Oſſa virûm, lacerosque priùs ſuperaſtetit artus;
" Imperiumque ſuis conflixit viribus ipſum;
" Perque Patris Pater Auguſtus veſtigia vicit."

In ſhort, all the Poets concur in fixing the ſcene of both actions at Philippi; and yet, if any credit is to be given to antient hiſtory, nothing can be more certain than that the former battle was fought in Theſſaly, on the plains of Pharſalia; the latter on the fields of Philippi, near the confines of Thrace and Macedonia; above two hundred miles diſtant one from the other.

Upon this appearance of diſagreement between the Poets and Hiſtorians, there is, as one may eaſily imagine, as little agreement between their commentators: if you will give yourſelf the trouble to conſult all their remarks, not only on this paſſage of Virgil, but on the ſeveral other Poets and Hiſtorians, who mention Philippi, you will find ſo much confuſion and contradiction amongſt them, that you will be apt to think Philippi for ever deſtined to be a field of battle, and may ſtill ſay with Virgil,

—" Inter ſeſe paribus concurrere telis
" Romanas acies iterum vidêre Philippi."

I do not intend to engage in all their quarrels, but ſhall conſider only ſuch critics, who take it for granted, that either the Poets or Hiſto-

[d] Satyr. [e] Aſtron. lib. 1.

rians are guilty of a groſs miſtake: and firſt, that in this caſe the charge of a blunder on either is equally injurious and unreaſonable; and then ſhall endeavour to make it appear that without the ſuppoſition of ſuch a blunder they are fairly reconcileable.

Among the Poets, Virgil is principally concerned, being not only accuſed as the prime delinquent, but the occaſion of others falling into the ſame error. Mr. Rowe, not to mention any more, lays this to his charge, in a note on Philippi, at the latter end of the firſt book of his Tranſlation of Lucan [f], where, allowing his author to be miſtaken, he does not attempt to clear him, but ſeems to think it ſufficient excuſe for him and the other Poets, to have blundered after their great maſter. His words are as follow: "It is pretty ſtrange that ſo many great "names of antiquity, as Virgil, Ovid, Petronius, and Lucan ſhould be "guilty of ſuch a blunder in geography, as to confound the field of "battle between Julius Caeſar and Pompey, with that between Octa-"vius Caeſar and Brutus, when it was very plain one was in the middle "of Theſſaly, and the other in Thrace, a great part of Macedonia ly-"ing between. Sulpitius, indeed, one of the Commentators upon Lu-"can, ſays, there was a town called Philippi, in whoſe neighbour-"hood the battle between Caeſar and Pompey was fought; but upon "what authority I know not: but, ſuppoſing that, it is undeniable that "theſe two battles were fought in two different countries. I muſt own, "it ſeems to me to be the fault originally of Virgil (upon what occaſion "ſo correct a writter could commit ſo great an error is not eaſy to ima-"gine), and that the reſt took it very eaſily from him, without making "any farther enquiry."

As great a veneration as you have for Virgil, I believe you do not think it impoſſible that he ſhould err: The beſt writers of antiquity might perhaps now and then nod as well as ours; but in the preſent caſe, where the criticiſm turns purely upon matter of fact, it is not very modeſt to imagine (without evident authority) that we ſhould be better informed of what happened in Virgil's days, than he was himſelf. Had the matter in debate been of little moment, he might, through inadvertency, have made a ſlip; or had it been tranſacted in an obſcure corner of the world, and known to few perſons only, he might have been miſinformed, and the miſtake not diſcovered till this more enlightened

[f] Ver. 1118.

age.

age. But that the famous fields of battle, which decided the fate of the Roman empire, which were ſituated in the moſt frequented part of the world, and which muſt be as well known as the ſtreets of Rome to ſo many thouſands of the moſt illiterate Romans, to every common ſoldier of both armies; that theſe fields ſhould be miſtaken, by ſo correct an author as Virgil, is too abſurd to be conceived. Dr. Lamotte obſerves, "That we ſhould think a poet in our days very careleſs, and "unexact, who ſhould tell us, that the two famous battles of Blenheim "and Ramillies were fought by the Duke of Marlborough upon the "ſame ſpot of ground." I entirely agree with him; it would, I think, be too groſs even for Grubſtreet: how then can it be imagined that the Great Genius of our age could poſſibly commit ſuch a blunder? As little reaſon is there to ſuſpect Virgil. We muſt conſider, that at the time of the battle of Pharſalia, he was about twenty-three years of age; at that of Philippi twenty-nine; was ſoon after introduced to court, and muſt undoubtedly, when he wrote his Georgics, have converſed with ſeveral officers, who had been engaged in both actions: this we are ſure of, that he was very intimate with Horace, [g] who was preſent at the latter battle, if not at both; and conſidering the part he acted there, as he himſelf often tells us, it is not unlikely that it was frequently the ſubject of their converſation, and innocent raillery; and if Virgil had been ſo bad a geographer, he might have been better informed by his friend, unleſs we can ſuppoſe him in ſo great a fright, that he knew not where the battle was fought. But had this eſcaped both Virgil and Horace, can it be conceived that Auguſtus, the principal perſon concerned at Philippi, Maecenas, to whom the Georgics were dedicated, and every one of that polite court, ſhould all overlook ſuch a palpable miſtake, and ſuffer it to paſs uncorrected? And it is ſtill much ſtranger, that none of the critics of that age, eſpecially if they had as much ſagacity and good-nature as ours, ſhould ever diſcover the blunder, or upbraid Virgil with it, which, it is certain, they never did, otherwiſe it would have been impoſſible that ſo many poets, who followed him, ſhould all blindly fall into the ſame error.

Having ſaid thus much in juſtification of Virgil, and, I hope, fully acquitted him, I ſhould proceed next to the Hiſtorians; but I muſt beg

[g] Lib. II. Od. vii.

leave firſt to premiſe, that this plain evidence, not to ſay demonſtration, in favour of Virgil, has, I doubt not, betrayed many eminent modern writers into a belief that both battles were fought exactly on the ſame ſpot, upon an ill-grounded ſuppoſition that this was Virgil's meaning. Thus [h] Hofman in his Univerſal Lexicon, [i] Moreri and Collier in their Hiſtorical Dictionaries, [k] Ferrarius in his Lexicon Geographicum, Baudrand in his edition of the ſame with emendations, and [l] Dr. Wells in his Hiſtorical Geography of the New Teſtament, all agree that Pompey was defeated near Philippi on the borders of Thrace, as well as Brutus and Caſſius; and if there was occaſion to make farther enquiry, I doubt not but we ſhould find many more writers of the ſame ſentiment, notwithſtanding Caeſar himſelf (whoſe authority ſurely cannot be diſputed) aſſures us, in his Commentaries, that the famous battle, between him and Pompey, was fought in Theſſaly on the plains of Pharſalia. —— Indeed theſe authors are ſo far from pretending to produce any teſtimonies from antiquity in favour of this aſſertion, that moſt of them ſtand confuted by themſelves, and in the very ſame page, make Pharſalus in Theſſaly, as well as Philippi on the confines of Thrace, memorable

[h] *Philippi.* "Colonia et urbs Macedoniae, "condita an inſtaurata a Philippo Rege, in "Thraciae confinio, apud montis Pangaei "radices, olim Crenides. Hìc campi Phi-"lippici, ubi inter Caeſarem et Pompeium "pugnatum eſt, poſteà verò inter Auguſtum "et Caſſium." Hofman Lex Univ.

[i] *Philippes.* "Ville de Macedoine.—St. "Paul convertit les peuples de cette ville.— "et leur ecrivit de ſa priſon la lettre que "nous avons entre les Canoniques.—C'eſt "auſſi pres de cette ville que Pompée fût de-"fait par Caeſar en 706 de Rome, et que "Caſſius et Brutus furent vaincus par Au-"guſte et Marc Antoine en 712. Comme "Tite Live, Plutarque, Velleius, Dion, "Appien, Florus, etc. l'ont remarqué." Moreri Dictionaire Hiſt. — This almoſt literally tranſlated by Collier.

[k] *Philippi.* "Apud oram maris Aegeï, "ad 10 mill. paſſ. diſt.—ab Amphipoli 33. "etc. Hìc campi Philipici, ubi inter Cae-"ſarem et Pompeium pugnatum." Phil. Ferrari Lex. Geogr.

[l] Speaking of St. Paul going to Philippi, he ſays, — "Near to it lay the fields, thence "called Campi Philippici, famous for two "great and memorable battles, the former "between Julius Caeſar and Pompey the "Great, the latter between Auguſtus and "Mark Antony on the one ſide, and Caſ-"ſius and Brutus on the other." Hiſt. Hiſtor. Geogr. of the New Teſt. Part II. chap. iv. ſect. 2.

for

for the ſame action. — See [m] Ferrarius, [n] Hofman and [o] Moreri on the word *Pharſalus*.

Nothing therefore need be ſaid more with regard to them but that they are manifeſtly guilty of a groſs miſtake in Hiſtory and Geography. Others again, and thoſe in greater numbers, ſeeing the abſurdity of the former opinion, tell us, that both battles were fought, not at the aforementioned Philippi, on the borders of Thrace, but near a more obſcure town of the ſame name in Theſſaly.

Thus [p] Servius, or rather the compiler of the notes that go under his name (if we may reckon him among the moderns), Stephanus in his Theſaurus Linguae Latinae, [q] Petavius in his Rationarium Temporum, [r] Dr. Heylin in his Coſmography, [s] Torrentius in his notes on Horace, [t] Deſprez in uſum Delphini, [u] Monſ. Dacier, and [x] Father Sanadon, in their ſeveral notes on the ſame author, and [y] Lord Lauderdale in his Tranſ-

[m] *Pharſalus*. "Urbs Theſſaliae ad Enipeum fluvium, qui in Peneum decidit, "pugnâ inter Caeſarem et Pompeium memorabilis." Ferrarii Lex Geog.

[n] *Pharſalus*. "Theſſaliae oppidum, ad "Enipeum fluvium. Hinc Pharſalici Cam-"pi pugnâ inter Caeſarem et Pompeium "memorabiles. Hi poſteà Philippici dicti "ſunt, ſive a Philippo Rege, ſive a Philippis "urbe vicinâ." Hofman

[o] *Pharſale*. "Ville de Theſſalie, célébre "par la bataille que Caeſar y remporta ſur "Pompée dans les campagnes voiſines." Moreri.

[p] *Philippi*. "Civitas eſt Theſſaliae, in "quâ primò Caeſar et Pompeius, poſteà "Auguſtus et Brutus cum Caſſio dimicave-"runt." Serv. Not. in Virg. Georg. lib. I. ver. 490. This copied verbatim by Stephanus.

[q] *Philippi*. "Sequente verò anno cum "M. Bruto et Conjuratorum Principibus "Octavius et Antonius acie decertârunt in "Theſſaliâ, ad urbem Philippos." Pet. Rat. Temp. part I. lib. iv. c. 20.

[r] Dr. Heylin, giving an account of the cities of Theſſaly, and having mentioned Pharſalus, nigh to which was fought the great battle betwixt Caeſar and Pompey, comes next to Philippi, which he deſcribes as ſituated on the farther part of the ſame plains of Pharſalia, and famous for as memorable a battle, as that before, and of no leſs conſequence, viz. that between Auguſtus and M. Antonius on the one ſide, and Brutus and Caſſius on the other. Coſmog. p. 243.

[s] *Philippi*. "Civitas Theſſaliae, a Phi-"lippo inſtaurata, mutato nomine, cùm "Dathos anteà diceretur, geminâ Romano-"rum clade inſignita, Pompeii primum, de-"inde Bruti et Caſſii adverſus Caeſarem et Antonium," etc. Torrent Not. in Hor. lib. II. Ep. ii. ver. 49.

[t] *Philippi*. "Ad quam urbem in Theſſa-"licis campis Auguſtus Brutum profligavit." Not. in Hor. lib. II. Ep. ii. ver. 49. And yet the ſame author in a note on Philippi, Book II. Od. vii. places the ſame Philippi in Macedonia on the confines of Thrace.

[u] See Remarques ſur l'Ode xii. lib. II.

[x] Lib. I. Od. iv. according to his diſtribution.

[y] "Then curs'd Philippi's fields ſaw once again
"Pile againſt pile, by Romans Romans ſlain:
"For to the Pow'rs Immortal it ſeem'd juſt,
"That Roman blood ſhould twice ſtain the Pharſalian duſt."

lation

lation of Virgil, all agree that Brutus and Caſſius were defeated in Theſſaly, on the ſame ſpot, which had been before fatal to Pompey the Great.

But the moſt ſtrenuous aſſerters of this opinion are the two late celebrated writers of the Roman Hiſtory, Fathers Catrou and Rouille, who tell us, [z] tom. XVIII. p. 159 of their Hiſtory, that — Caeſar came and encamped with Antony on the ſame plain of Pharſalia, which had ſome years before been ſo fatal to Pompey the Great. And [a] pag. 173, having premiſed — That it was neceſſary to examine carefully, which of the cities called Philippi, gave title to the famous battle of that name, and having reckoned three; one in the middle of Thrace, now called Philippopoli; the ſecond in Edonia, on the confines of Macedonia and Thrace; the third in Phthiotis, a little province of Theſſaly; they conclude for the laſt. In ſhort, their main drift, during their whole account of the war of Auguſtus and M. Antony againſt Brutus and Caſſius, which takes up above eighty pages, ſeems calculated to prove, that — [b] their famous battle was fought on the plain between Pharſalia and the Theſſalian Philippi; exactly on the ſame ſpot where Pompey the Great had been defeated by Julius Caeſar. And to ſhew how firmly they are attached to this opinion, they add, that — "It ſeemed as if Providence "had ſo ordered it, that the adopted ſon of Caeſar ſhould conquer at the "ſame place, where his father had conquered before him."

I would not have troubled you with ſo many quotations, and thoſe ſo contradictory to one another, but that though they lengthen out my letter, they at the ſame time are a good apology for writing it, as they ſhew how requiſite it is to have a paſſage better underſtood, which has given occaſion to ſo many miſtakes.

[z] "Caeſar malgré ſon infirmité ne ſé-
"journa pas long-tems à Dyrrhachium et
"vint camper avec Antoine dans cette même
"plaine de Pharſale, qui quelques années
"auparavant avoit été ſi funeſte au Grand
"Pompée."

[a] "C'eſt ici qu'il faût examiner avec ſoin,
"quelle fût celle des villes nommées Phi-
"lippes, qui donna ſon nom à la fameuſe
"bataille que nous allons decrire," etc.
Pag. 173, etc.

[b] "Caeſar et Antoine, charmés d'avoir
"ſauvé du danger les huit legions qu'ils
"avoient oppoſées d'abord à Brutus et à
"Caſſius, ſe rabbatirent, enſemble vers la
"Theſſalie, et camperent dans la même
"plaine, entre la troiſième Philippes et Phar-
"ſale, préciſément au même lieu où le Grand
"Pompée avoit été defait par Jule Caeſar.
"—Brutus et Caſſius ne diſcontinuerent
"point de ſuivre en queue les ennemis, et
"arriverent enfin dans ces vaſtes campagnes
"qui ſeparoient les villes de Philippes et
"de Pharſale. Il ſembloit que la Provi-
"dence eût reglé, que le fils adoptif de
"Caeſar vaincroit au même endroit, où ſon
"pere avoit vaincu." Pag. 175, 176.

I ſhall

I ſhall now conſider the account given of the battle of Philippi by the antient hiſtorians, and endeavour to vindicate them from a more ſevere charge brought againſt them, no leſs than forgery. But this ſhall be the ſubject of my next, unleſs you prevent further correſpondence by declaring you are already fully ſatisfied with the explanation I formerly hinted to you, and ſubmit to any terms, rather than meet me any more at Philippi.

LETTER II.

APPIAN's Account of the Battle of PHILIPPI.

SINCE I find by your obliging anſwer to my laſt letter, that you are willing to meet me again at Philippi, I beg leave to bring with me the antient Hiſtorians, and Appian at the head of them. As this author has been more circumſtantial than any other, eſpecially in his plan of the country, the march of both armies, and their different encampments, I ſhall give you his account at large, as exactly as I can. To which I ſhall add the teſtimonies of other Hiſtorians in his favour, and then conſider the objections brought againſt them, and leave you to judge whether they or their adverſaries deſerve moſt credit.

Appian, in the fourth book of his Civil wars, having related the ſeveral conqueſts made by Brutus and Caſſius in the Eaſt, particularly in Aſia Minor and Rhodes, and what forces and ſums of money they had collected from thence to proſecute the war againſt Caeſar and Antony, tells us (pag. [a] 1018) that Brutus ordered his Lycian fleet, and his other ſhips, to ſail round to Abydus, that he marched thither with his foot, and there waited for Caſſius to join him from Ionia, that they might paſs over together to Seſtus. Caeſar and Antony on the other ſide aſſembled their forces at Brunduſium, and, notwithſtanding all attempts to intercept them, ſailed over to Epidamnus. [b] "In the mean time Ceditius and Norbanus, "whom Caeſar and Antony had diſpatched before with eight legions into "Macedonia, marched 1500 furlongs (near 200 miles) towards the

[a] Edit. Toll. Amſt. 1670. [b] Ib. pag. 1023.

"mountains

" mountains of Thrace, till having paſſed beyond the city Philippi, they " made themſelves maſters of the Straits of the [c] Torpidi and Salapaei in " the territories of Raſcupolis, which was the only known or common " paſſage from Aſia to Europe; and therefore the firſt oppoſition was to " be made there to the arms of Brutus and Caſſius, who had now paſſed " from Abydus to Seſtus. This Raſcupolis and his brother Raſcus were " of the royal family of Thrace, joint ſovereigns of the ſame country, " who being at that time divided as to the part they were to act in the " approaching war, Raſcus ſided with Caeſar and Antony, and Raſcupolis " with Brutus and Caſſius, each bringing a body of 3000 horſe. Brutus " and Caſſius enquiring what rout they were to take, Raſcupolis told them " that the road by Aenus and Maronea was the neareſt, the eaſieſt, and " moſt frequented, which led to the Straits of the Salapaei; but, as thoſe " were poſſeſſed by the enemy, that paſs was impracticable. However " he knew another road, but it was three times as far about, and very " difficult. Upon this [d] Brutus and Caſſius ſuppoſing the enemy came not " that way with intent to block up the road and oppoſe their paſſage, but " that ſcarcity of proviſions had forced them to advance from Macedonia " towards Thrace, therefore they determined to take the common road of " Aenus and Maronea.

" Wherefore, marching firſt by Lyſimachia and Cardia, which are, as " it were, the two gates to the Iſthmus of the Thracian peninſula, they " came the next day to the gulf of Melas.—Here the Generals muſtered " their forces, and Caſſius made a ſpeech to the army.—[e] Then marching " for two days by the ſide of the gulf, they came to Aenus, and thence " to Doriſcus, and ſuch other towns as are on the ſea coaſt as far as mount

[c] Or Turpili and Sapaei.

[d] Τὲς δὲ πολεμίες ὑπολαβόνλες ὰκ ἐς κώλυσιν ὁδῶν μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπανλᾶν, τροφῶν δ' ἀπορίᾳ ἐς Θρᾴκην ἀντὶ Μακεδονίας ὑπερβῆναι, ἐβάδιζον ὃν ἐπὶ Αἶνυ κ᾽ Μαρωνείας. Ὅθεν ἐπὶ Λυσιμαχίας τε, καὶ Καρδίας (αἳ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τῆς Θρᾳκίυ χερρονήσυ διαλαμβάνυσιν ὥσπερ πύλαι) μετὰ δὲ ἄλλην ἡμέραν ἐς τὸν Μέλανα κόλπον ἀφίκονλο. Pag. 1024.

In all the editions I have hitherto ſeen of this author, there is a full ſtop after ὑπερβῆναι, and none after Μαρωνείας, by which it ſeems as if Brutus and Caſſius went firſt to Aenus and Maronea, and from thence to Lyſimachia and Cardia: And accordingly Tollius has thus tranſlated it: " Verſus Aenum et Ma- " ronem moverunt, atque inde petierunt " Lyſimachiam et Cardiam." But as this is evidently contrary to Geograpy, there muſt be a miſtake, which may eaſily be rectified, by only pointing it as I have done: And then the ſenſe will be, that, after conſultation which road to take, they reſolved upon that of Aenus and Maronea. And ſo the march of the army begins at Ὅθεν ἐπὶ. This makes the paſſage clear, and agreeable to Geography.

[e] Pag. 1037, etc.

" Serrium.

" Serrium. Now this promontory running out far into the ſea, and their " road leading them higher up into the country, they ordered Tullius " Cimber with the fleet, and one legion well armed, with ſome archers, " to ſail round the cape and along the coaſt."

Here Appian deſcribes this coaſt as deſart, and relates at large how it came to be ſo, and then proceeds thus: ——

" [f] —— Cimber having ſailed beyond this deſart coaſt, was preparing " according to his inſtructions, to mark out proper places for encamping, " and ſtations for their ſhipping, to the end that Norbanus and Ceditius " might abandon their Straits, judging it to no purpoſe to maintain them " any longer. This partly ſucceeded as was expected, for upon appear- " ance of the fleet upon the coaſt, Norbanus was in great conſternation " for the Straits of the Sapaei, and called Ceditius from the Turpili to " come with all expedition to his ſuccour: Who came accordingly. And " thus the Straits of the Turpili being abandoned, the army of Brutus " paſſed them. But their ſtratagem being now diſcovered, Norbanus and " Ceditius ſtrongly fortified the Straits of the Sapaei, and ſecured them " againſt Brutus. Upon this his army began to be diſheartened, fearing " leſt they muſt now at laſt undertake the round-about way they had " before declined, and be obliged to travel back again the ſame way they " came, notwithſtanding it was late in the year. Whilſt they were in " this diſtreſs, Raſcupolis told them that by a circuit of three days they " might get beyond this mountain of the Sapaei, though indeed the way " had been hitherto unpaſſable, by reaſon of precipices, want of water, " and thick cover. But if they would carry water with them, and open " a narrow road ſufficient for the army to march, the cloſe contexture of " the woods would prevent their being diſcovered even by the birds of " the air. That on the fourth day they might reach the river Harpeſſus, " which falls into the [g] Hebrus. [h] From whence, in one day more, they

[f] Pag. 1038.

[g] The original has Ἕρμον, but as we can find no river of that name in the country, the tranſlators have rendered it by Hebrus.

[h] I muſt own that, according to the common maps of this country, it would be impoſſible that from the river Harpeſſus, which falls into the Hebrus, an army could in one day reach Philippi. And indeed conſidering what a mountainous country this is, and that another river, viz. Neſſus, muſt lie between the Harpeſſus and Philippi, this paſſage ſeemed to me at firſt ſight very improbable. And therefore I was inclined to think that Appian was miſtaken herein. But upon examining P. Lucas's account of this country, I find, that, upon a journey from Philippopoli to Macedonia, he happened (luckily for our purpoſe) to travel this croſs road, and agrees very exactly with Appian in this particular.

" might arrive at Philippi, encloſe the enemy, and ſo entirely cut off
" their retreat, that it would be impoſſible for them to eſcape. This
" advice was agreeable to them in their preſent circumſtances, eſpecially
" as it gave them hopes of encompaſſing ſo great an army of the enemy.
" Therefore a detachment was ſent before, under the conduct of L.
" Bibulus and Raſcupolis, with inſtructions to open a defile. They la-
" boured with great fatigue, but briſkly, and with chearfulneſs, eſpecially
" after ſome ſpies, whom they had diſpatched before, returned with
" news, that from an eminence they had diſcovered the river. But on
" the fourth day being tired with toil and thirſt (the water which they
" brought with them beginning to fail), they clamoured that they had
" been forewarned to provide againſt drought for three days only, and
" began to be under terror for want of water, not disbelieving the reports
" of thoſe who had ſeen the river, but on a ſuſpicion that their guides
" were leading them a different way. They were now deſponding and
" mutinous, and whenever they ſaw Raſcupolis running about and en-
" couraging them, they reviled and pelted him. But as Bibulus was
" exhorting them by fair words to perſevere with patience, they who
" were in the front eſpied the river towards the evening, and making
" loud acclamations with great joy, as uſual on ſuch occaſions, their huz-
" zas were communicated from one another quite to the rear. Which
" when Brutus and Caſſius heard, they forthwith marched the reſt of the
" army through this avenue that was cut for them. However, they were
" diſappointed in their deſign of deceiving or intercepting the enemy.
" For Raſcus the brother of Raſcupolis, ſuſpecting the occaſion of theſe
" huzzas, ſent out ſpies, and having diſcovered what was done, was aſto-
" niſhed that ſo great an army had marched where there was no water,
" and where he thought no wild beaſt could paſs, by reaſon of the
" thick woods. Of this he gave intelligence to Norbanus's army, who

He tells us, that upon that journey he came on the 11th of June 1706, to the river Hardeme (certainly the old Harpeſſus), which he ſays falls into the Mariza, formerly Hebrus near Adrianople. That he travelled five hours on the banks of it, and lodged that night near its ſource. The next day having travelled for four hours over ſteep and difficult mountains, he came to the river Caroſou, formerly Neſſus, paſſed it by boat, and arrived the ſame day, viz. June 12, at Drame, in the plains of Philippi.——As to the ſituation of Drame, he ſays, that it is five hours diſtant from the ruins of Philippi, and places it in his map, weſtward of thoſe ruins, and farther from the ſource of the Hardeme than Philippi itſelf. And yet he made but one day's journey from the Hardeme thither. See P. Lucas's ſecond voyage to the Levant, tom. Iſt, from cap 25 to 28 incluſive.

" fled

" fled in the night from the Straits of the Sapaei to Amphipolis. And " the Thracian Princes were celebrated in both armies, one for conduct- " ing an army ſo blind a way, the other for diſcovering it. By this ex- " traordinary attempt the army of Brutus arrived at Philippi, and " Tullius Cimber came alſo on the ſame coaſt, and ſo the whole army " was aſſembled.

" Philippi is a city formerly called Datus, and in earlier times Crenides, " becauſe there are many fountains of running water round the hill. " King Philip fortified this place as lying commodious againſt the incur- " ſions of the Thracians, and called it Philippi after his own name. " The city is built on an eminence, guarded by precipices all round, and " takes up the whole extent of the top of the hill. To the north it has " the thick woods through which Raſcupolis conducted Brutus's army: " To the ſouth is a marſh, and beyond that the ſea: Towards the eaſt " are the Straits of the Sapaei and Turpili, and on the weſt a plain as " far as Murcinus, and Drabiſcus, and the river Strymon, [i] 350 furlongs, " a very fruitful and beautiful country, where ſome place the rape of " Proſerpine, as ſhe was gathering flowers. Here likewiſe is the river " [k] Zygactes, where it is pretended Pluto's chariot broke down as he was " paſſing it; from whence the river took its name. This country lies on " a declivity, deſcending from Philippi and aſcending from Amphipolis. " Not far from Philippi is another hill named Bacchus's Mount, in which " are gold mines, which they call Aſyla. And when one has gone about " ten furlongs farther from Philippi, there are two other hills both within " eighteen furlongs of Philippi itſelf, and eight from each other. On " theſe hills Caſſius and Brutus encamped, the former on that to the " ſouth, the latter on the other to the north; and deſiſted from purſuing " Norbanus's army; being informed that Antony was approaching, " Caeſar being left at Epidamnus ſick. As this plain before them was " proper for an engagement, ſo were theſe craggy hills for encampments, " being well guarded on either ſide. For on one ſide were marſhes and " lakes as far as the river Strymon; on the other, all approaches were " narrow, unfrequented, and impracticable. In the middle between " theſe two hills, which were eight furlongs diſtant, lay the common " road, as it were through a gate, from Aſia to Europe. Here they " built a wall acroſs from hill to hill, leaving gates in the middle, ſo

[i] This probably is a miſtake; the Geographers reckoning no more than 250 furlongs, or about 31 miles. [k] A fracto jugo.

" that both camps were hereby united. Near them ran a little brook
" or torrent which ſome call Ganga, other Gangites, and behind them
" was the ſea, which ſupplied them with all neceſſaries, and was a good
" ſtation for their ſhipping. For they had their magazines at the iſle of
" Thaſus, which was an hundred furlongs diſtant, and the harbour for
" their ſhipping at Neapolis ſeventy furlongs. The two Generals, being
" pleaſed with this ſituation, fortified their camps. In the mean time
" Antony marched with his army, with all expedition, intending to make
" himſelf maſter of Amphipolis, which might be of ſervice to him in the
" war. And finding, to his great joy, that Norbanus had already ſecured
" it for him, he left all his proviſions there, with one legion under the
" command of Pinarius, and himſelf very bravely advanced and encamped
" on the plain, within eight furlongs of the enemy. The advantage
" and diſadvantage between the two camps immediately appeared very
" manifeſtly. They were on hills, theſe in the plain; they had their
" fuel from mountains, theſe from the marſhes; they watered from the
" brook, theſe from the wells which they were forced to ſink on the
" ſpot; they fetched all their proviſions a few furlongs diſtance from
" Thaſus, theſe [l] 350 furlongs from Amphipolis. Antony indeed ſeemed
" obliged to act as he did out of pure neceſſity, becauſe there was no
" other hill, and the reſt of the plain being lower than what he poſſeſſed,
" was ſometimes overflowed by the torrent, from which and the wells
" they had digged, they found plenty of freſh water. But this boldneſs
" of Antony, notwithſtanding it proceeded from neceſſity, alarmed the
" enemy, when they found that immediately from his march he encamped
" ſo near them as it were in contempt. Therefore they raiſed many re-
" doubts, and fortified all places with ditches, walls, and ramparts; the
" enemy likewiſe fortifying all that was neceſſary. Caſſius, obſerving
" this furious violence of Antony, walled up all the ſpace between his
" camp and the marſh, which, as being very narrow, had been before
" neglected; ſo that nothing now ſhould remain unwalled. Beſides, Brutus
" was flanked by precipices, Caſſius by the marſh and ſea, and all between
" was ſecured by ditch, rampart, wall, and gates."

Both armies being thus ſituated, and Caeſar arrived in his camp, Appian proceeds to relate both actions; [m] the former, which ended with the death of Caſſius by the hand of his armour-bearer Pindarus, [n] and the ſecond, which followed about twenty days after the other, in which Brutus loſt

[l] See Note Pag. praeced. [m] P. 1046. [n] P. 1064.

the

the day, and fell by the hand of his friend Strato. In both theſe battles, as well as the ſtratagems uſed on both ſides previous to each action, there are ſeveral circumſtances which ſuit exactly with the ſituation of the camps near Philippi, as before deſcribed, but can by no means agree with the field of Pharſalia. For inſtance, Antony's ſtratagem to draw a line acroſs the marſh which lay between Caſſius and the ſea, in order to cut off all communication between their army and the iſle of Thaſus; and Caſſius's counterwork to fruſtrate [o] the deſign and render it uſeleſs: Again, between the firſt and ſecond battle, after the death of Caſſius, Caeſar's diſpoſition of his camp in ſuch a manner, that by dividing his army into ſeveral ſeparate bodies about half a mile diſtant from each other, they might extend themſelves quite to the ſhore, and ſo cut off the [p] communication between Brutus's army and the ſea.—Thus far Appian.——Let us next enquire, what the other Hiſtorians ſay, to corroborate his account: Of which in my next.

LETTER III.

Teſtimonies of other Hiſtorians in favour of APPIAN's Account. And CATROU's and ROUILLE's Objections.

AS we have loſt all that part of Livy which related to Auguſtus, and have no full and complete hiſtory remaining of thoſe times, but only compendious tracts, written by the Romans themſelves, we can hope but for little aſſiſtance thence, whence we ought chiefly to have expected it.

Velleius Paterculus, who lived neareſt to the time we are ſpeaking of, only mentions the name [a] Philippi, without giving any deſcription of the place, as ſuppoſing it ſufficiently known and agreed on: Yet I think the

[o] P. 1044.

[p] P. 1056.

[a] Tum Caeſar et Antonius trajecerunt exercitus in Macedoniam, et apud urbem Philippos cum M. Bruto Caſſioque acie concurrerunt, Lib. II. cap. 70.

bare

bare naming it in the manner he does, " Urbem Philippos," is a plain indication that he meant the famous city near Thrace; for had he intended the other Philippi in Theſſaly (which was a more obſcure town, and uſually known in hiſtory by its former name Thebes) he would certainly have told us ſo, and given us ſome mark whereby to have diſtinguiſhed it.

Suetonius in his Life of Auguſtus, ſpeaks likewiſe of " Bellum Philip- " penſe," without farther enlarging upon it, or giving any deſcription of the place where the battle was fought: But there is a ſubſequent paſſage in that author too, which accidentally aſcertains it to Philippi on the borders of Thrace: For ſpeaking, in the Life of Tiberius, of omens which foretold the future grandeur of that Prince, he ſays, " [b] that upon " his firſt expedition through Macedonia into Syria, it came to paſs at " Philippi, that the altars formerly conſecrated by the victorious legions " flamed out, of themſelves." Now it is certain that the road through Macedonia into Aſia was by the city Philippi on the borders of Thrace: not through Theſſaly [c]. — But ſuppoſing we had no direct proof in favour of one Philippi more than the other, yet it is a ſtrong preſumption againſt the Theſſalian, that not one of the Hiſtorians, Greek or Roman (except L. Florus, whom I ſhall conſider and explain hereafter), gives the leaſt hint that both battles were fought at the ſame place. It is ſcarce poſſible that ſuch a circumſtance could have eſcaped them all. The Greek Hiſtorians give us the harangues of the ſeveral Generals before the action; and methinks the field itſelf muſt naturally have led them to dwell on ſuch a remarkable topic; or, ſuppoſing Brutus and Caſſius had purpoſely avoided the name Pharſalia as ominous, for the ſame reaſon it muſt have been inſiſted on by Octavius and Antony, who would have gloried in going to revenge the death of Julius on the ſame ſpot where he himſelf had conquered, and had ſpared the life of Brutus. Their ſilence alone is a ſufficient argument againſt the truth of it.

It may farther be obſerved on this head, that Plutarch, in his Life of Antony, ſpeaking of ſeveral ſmart embaſſies which paſſed between Octavius and Antony a little before the battle of Actium, tells us, that in one of them, [d] " Antony returning an haughty anſwer to Octavius, chal-

[b] Ingreſſo primam expeditionem ac per Macedoniam ducente exercitum in Syriam, accidit, ut apud Philippos, ſacratae olim victricium legionum arae, ſponte ſubitis collucerent ignibus. Suet. Vit. Tiber.

[c] See Via Egnatia in the Map of Macedonia.

[d] Τούτοις ἀντικομπάζων Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν μὲν εἰς μονομαχίαν προὐκαλεῖτο καίπερ ὢν πρεσβύτερος, εἰ

" lenged

" lenged him (notwithſtanding their diſparity of age) to a ſingle combat, " or, if that ſhould be refuſed, that he would come to a general deciſive " battle on the plain of Pharſalia, where J. Caeſar and Pompey had " engaged before." Now had this been the ſame place where he himſelf had fought for Octavius, and had been the chief means of gaining the victory, and ſecuring to him a ſhare in the empire, it cannot be conceived that he would, in ſuch an inſulting letter, have omitted ſo material a circumſtance.

But you will ſay all this amounts to no more than a negative evidence. I ſhall now therefore produce ſome poſitive teſtimonies from the other Greek Hiſtorians, and hope to ſhew, that they tally exactly with Appian, and do not in any one thing, as I apprehend, contradict his topography.

Plutarch, in his Life of M. Brutus, tells us, [e] " That when Brutus and " Caſſius had paſſed out of Aſia into Europe, they marched on as far as " the ſea-coaſt over-againſt Thaſus; there the troops under Norbanus be- " ing encamped in a place called the Straits, and near to Symbolon, they " ſurrounded them, forced them to decamp, and quit the place, and Nor- " banus very narrowly eſcaped loſing his whole army."

Dion Caſſius agrees ſtill more expreſsly with Appian, [f] " That when " Brutus and Caſſius had ſettled their affairs in Aſia, they haſtened to

δὲ φεύγοι τοῦτο, περὶ Φάρσαλον ἠξίωσε τοῖς στρατεύμασιν, ὡς πάλαι Καίσαρι καὶ Πομπήϊῳ, διαγωνίσασθαι. Plut. Vit. Ant.

The Fathers Catrou and Rouille, in their Roman Hiſtory, tom. XVIII. p. 668. repreſent this paſſage in a quite different light; and make Antony ſpeak of the field of Pharſalia, as twice before ſtained with Roman blood. Antony's words according to their tranſlation are as follow: " Je ne refuſe pas " même de livrer bataille dans les plaines de " Pharſale, *deja deux fois teintes du ſang Ro-* " *main.*" They do not indeed quote their authority, but the whole challenge is printed by them in Italicks, as the real words of Antony. I leave you to judge whether this is agreeable to truth; or whether the paſſage is not miſrepreſented, in order to give a colour to a favourite ſcheme; as they ſay Appian has done.

[e] Μέχρι τῆς καλὰ Θάσον θαλάσσης προῆλθον, ἐκεῖ δὲ τῶν περὶ Νωρβανὸν ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς λεγομένοις, καὶ περὶ τὸ Σύμβολον στρατοπεδευόντων, περιελθόντες αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκασαν ἀποσῆναι, καὶ προέσθαι τὰ χωρία, μικρῷ δὲ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν ἐδέησαν. Plut. Vit. Brut.

[f] Ταῦτ' ἂν ἀμφότεροι πράξαντες ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἠπείγοντο· καὶ αὐτοὺς, Γαΐός τε Νωρβανὸς, καὶ Δεκίδιος Σέξας ἔφθησαν, τόν τε Ἰόνιον πρὶν τὸν Στάτιον ἐλθεῖν, περαιωθέντες, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν μέχρι τοῦ Παγγαίου γῆν προκαταισχόντες, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς Φιλίπποις στρατοπεδευσάμενοι. Τὸ δὲ δὴ Ἄσυ τοῦτο παρά τε τῷ Παγγαίῳ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Συμβόλῳ κεῖται. Σύμβολον γὰρ τὸ χορίον ὀνομάζουσι, καθ' ὃ τὸ ὄρος ἐκεῖνο ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ἐς μεσόγειαν ἀναλείπονλι συμβάλλει. Καὶ ἔστι μεταξὺ Νεασπόλεως καὶ τῶν Φιλίππων. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τῇ Θαλάσσῃ κατ' ἀνλιπέρας Θάσου ἦν· ἡ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπὶ τῷ πεδίῳ πεπόλισται. — Καὶ (ἔτυχον γὰρ τὴν συνλομωτάτην αὐτοῦ ὑπερβολὴν ὅ,τε Σέξας καὶ ὁ Νωρβανὸς προκαταλαβόντες) ταύτῃ μὲν

Mace-

" Macedonia. That Norbanus and Ceditius Saxa prevented them, hav-
" ing paſſed the Ionian Sea before Statius could come to intercept them,
" and having poſſeſſed themſelves of all the country as far as Pangaeus,
" encamped in the neighbourhood of Philippi." Then he gives a ſhort but very plain deſcription of the ſituation of Philippi. " The city [Phi-
" lippi] ſays he, lies near to Pangaeus and Symbolon. Symbolon is ſo
" called, becauſe there that mountain joins itſelf to another that extends
" itſelf into the Midland, and lies between Neapolis and Philippi. The
" former of which places is on the ſea ſhore over-againſt Thaſus, the
" latter on a plain amidſt the mountains." Then he proceeds to tell us,
" That Saxa and Norbanus having poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſhorteſt
" way over the mountains, Brutus and Caſſius would not attempt to paſs
" that road, but fetched a compaſs round about another way towards
" Crenides." And here we muſt obſerve, there can be no diſpute, which Philippi is here meant, becauſe we find it ſpecified by its ancient name Crenides.

Let us next endeavour to fix, as near as we can, where theſe Straits were, which Saxa and Norbanus made themſelves maſters of; and which Appian calls the Straits of the Sapaei; Plutarch, ſimply, the Straits, which he places near to Symbolon; and Dion Caſſius, the ſhorteſt way over the mountain. In making this enquiry, I find that the ſame paſs (at leaſt one part of it) was called in the Itinerary, [g] Acontiſma. And as it was a Roman ſtation, we may thereby learn its diſtance from Philippi, being computed by ſome [h] at twenty one miles, by others at nineteen; viz. nine from Acontiſma to Neapolis, and ten or twelve from thence to Philippi.

We may farther diſcover from Ammianus Marcellinus, in an account he gives of Thrace, [i] that the ſteep narrow Straits, called Acontiſma, were ſituated near the eaſtern limits of Macedonia; and therefore could not be far from the river Neſſus, which was uſually reckoned the boundary between that country and Thrace. The ſame author tells us in an-

ὁ Βρῆτος ὅ,τε Κάσσιος ἐδὲ ἐπείρασαν διαβῆναι, ἑτέραν δέ τινα μακροτέραν κατὰ τὰς Κρηνίδας ὠνομασμένας περιελθόντες. Dion. Caſſ. Hiſt. Rom. lib. xlvii.

[g] *Acontiſma* was probably ſo named from ἀκοντίζω, *jaculor*, on account of the frequent ſkirmiſhes, which happened there in diſputing the paſs; or elſe from the reſemblance of its craggy mountain to a back-bone, which in the Macedonian language, as Heſychius informs us, was called Ἀκόντιον.

[h] Compare Antoninus's Itinerary with the Itin. Hieroſol.

[i] Ex angulo orientali Macedonicis jungitur collimitiis per arctas praecipitesque vias, quae cognominantur Acontiſma. Amm. Marcell. lib. xxvii. c. 4.

other

other place, [k] That theſe Straits were fortified by one of the Roman Generals as a principal paſs to the Northern nations. And in the ſame ſtate we are aſſured they remain to this day; nature has ſtamped ſome marks upon them which are unalterable; and the additional fortifications have ſo far eſcaped the fury of thoſe northern ſwarms who ſo frequently paſſed them, that Paul Lucas, who travelled this road in the year 1714, ſpeaking of [l] La Cavalla (which is the old Neapolis, or near it) tells us, "That "among the neighbouring mountains there are ſtill to be ſeen very thick "and long walls, and many fortifications which were undoubtedly made "for the defence of that city. One would be ſurpriſed, ſays he, to ſee "ſuch remains of walls reaching up to the tops of the higheſt mountains, "without any tradition concerning them from the people of the country. "But one may eaſily diſcern that they were intended to block up the "paſs by different entrenchments. — Remains of towers and walls are ſtill "to be ſeen, which ſhut up this defile, the road through which is very "narrow."

I am not aware of any objection can be made to the ſituation of the Straits as above deſcribed, unleſs it is, that Appian ſeems to reckon the Straits of the [m] Sapaei in Thrace, by making them part of the dominions of Raſcupolis a Thracian Prince; whereas Symbolon and the Straits near

[k] Obſtruxit tres aditus anguſtiſſimos, per quos provinciae tentantur arctoae: Unum per Ripenſem Daciam, alterum per Suecos notiſſimum, tertium per Macedones, quem appellant Acontiſma. Lib. xxvi. c. 7.

[l] Ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable, c'eſt qu'on voit encore aujourd'hui dans les montagnes, qui ſont voiſines (à la Cavalle), de groſſes et longues murailles, et pluſieurs fortifications, qui avoient ſans doute été faites pour la défenſe de la ville. On eſt ſurpris de voir ces reſtes de murs s'étendre juſqu' au ſommet de plus hautes montagnes, ſans que la tradition du païs puiſſe rien apprendre de particulier ſur ce ſujet. Mais il eſt aiſé de juger qu'on avoit ſongé à fermer ce paſſage par des différens retranchemens, qu'il n'etoit pas aiſé de forcer.—On voit encore dans la campagne des reſtes de tours et de murailles qui fermoient ce defilé, dont les chemins ſont très étroits. Paul Lucas's 3d voyage, tom. I. p. 36.

[m] The maps, which mention the Sapaei, generally place them more Eaſtward than I have done, and near to the river Hebrus. But I know not by what authority: All the ancient Hiſtorians and Geographers, who ſpeak of them, having unanimouſly agreed in fixing them near the city Abdera on the river Neſſus or Neſtus. — Thus Strabo places Abdera on the eaſt ſide of that river. Μετὰ τὸν Νέσσον πολαμὸν πρὸς ἀνάτολὰς Ἄβδηρα πολὶς, etc. See the Epitome, at the end of Strabo's VIIth Book.—And in another place, he ſays, the Sapaei inhabited near it. Σίνλιες ἐκαλεῦνλό τινες τῶν Θρᾳκῶν, εἶτα Σίνλοι, εἶτα Σάϊοι, οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ ἔτοι Σάπαι νῦν ὀνομάζονλαι. Πάνλες γὰρ ἔτοι περὶ Ἄβδηρα τὴν ὄικησιν εἶχον, etc. Strab. lib. xii. p. 549. Edit. Steph. — And Pliny reckoning up the ſeveral nations on the banks of that river, mentions the Sapaei among them. "Ad "Neſtum amnem Pangaei montis ima ambi-"entem, inter Elethos, Diabeſſos, Carbileſos,

it, as deſcribed by Dion Caſſius, etc. were manifeſtly in Macedonia. To this I anſwer, that granting Appian had not been ſo exact as could be wiſhed, yet conſidering the place was ſo near the confines of both countries, which were frequently confounded, the miſtake, if any, is very inconſiderable. But I ſee no neceſſity of allowing even this: For though Raſcupolis is called by him a Thracian Prince, his dominions, as tributary to the Romans, might poſſibly extend over part of the mountains of Macedonia as well as Thrace. [n] Lucan calls him only, Lord of the cold northern coaſt. [o] But Julius Caeſar ſpeaks expreſsly of him as a Macedonian in the liſt he gives us of Pompey's forces before the battle of Pharſalia, when he reckons two hundred Macedonian horſe, commanded by that brave Prince.

Be that as it will, it is plain Appian places thoſe Straits near to Philippi, which, he ſays, was bounded by them on the eaſt, and ſo they anſwer exactly to thoſe mentioned by Dion Caſſius, Plutarch, the Itineraries, Am. Marcellinus, and by the late traveller Paul Lucas; and probably they were one continued difficult road, quite over the mountain, between the river Neſſus, and Symbolon or Philippi. And thus we find it repreſented in De l'Iſle's map of Macedonia, by a wall running acroſs the mountain.

It is ſomewhat more difficult to fix the Straits of the Torpidi, or Turpili, there being no particular deſcription left of them (as I know of) by the ancients. But though Appian does not directly tell us where they were, yet we plainly find by him that they lay eaſtward from the former, and probably not very near; for when [p] "Norbanus was under ſome appre-
"henſion for the Straits of the Sapaei upon diſcovering a fleet on the
"coaſt, and thereupon ſummoned Ceditius from the Turpili to his aſſiſt-

"inde Bryſas, Sapaeos, Odomantes."—And in the ſame place, "Neſti amnis oſtium, Mons "Pangaeus, Abdera libera civitas." Plin. lib. iv. c. 11.—Herodotus giving an account of the march of Xerxes's army from the Helleſpont to Greece, ſays, that near to Abdera he paſſed the river Neſtus, which falls into the ſea. Κατὰ δὲ Ἄβδηρα λίμνην μὲν ὑδρηίην ἐοῦσαν ὑπερβὰς ἐπορεύετο, πολαμὸν δὲ Νέστον ῥέοντα ἐς θάλασσαν. Herod. lib. vii. § 109. And in the ſame place mentions the Sapaei, as lying weſt of the Biſtones; reckoning the Thracian nations from eaſt to weſt, in this order, Paeti, Cicones, Biſtones, Sapaei. Herod. ibid.—See likewiſe in Scylax and Mela the ſituation of Abdera.

[n] Gelidae dominum Raſcupolin orae. Lib. v. ver. 55.

[o] Ex Macedonia cc equites erant, quibus Raſcupolis praeerat excellenti virtute. Caeſ. Comm. de Bell. Civil. lib. iii. c. 4.

[p] Ὑπὸ τῆς φανλασίας τῶν νεῶν ὁ Νωρβανὸς ἐπὶ τῶν Σαπαίων ἐθορυβήθη, καὶ ἐκάλει Κεδίκιον ἐκ τῶν Τυρπίλων κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπικουρεῖν οἱ, καὶ ἐπεκούρει. App. de Bell. Civ. lib. iv. p. 1038.

"ance;

" ance; we may obſerve that he requires him to be expeditious" (κατὰ ταχυδὴν ἐξικουρεῖν οἱ) which ſuppoſes them at leaſt not near enough to join immediately in caſe of any ſudden attack. We may farther gather from Appian at what diſtance Brutus and Caſſius were from Philippi when they were obliged to turn out of the road; for he tells us that after they had paſſed the Straits of the Turpili, and were advancing towards thoſe of the Sapaei, and found them ſecured, Raſcupolis propoſed to them a new road, which was computed by him at five days march from Philippi, and only three out of the way (ᵠ περίοδον ἡμερῶν τριῶν) therefore the direct road muſt be two; this agrees very well with the account ʳ Paul Lucas gives of another defile on the Thracian ſide of the river Caraſou or Neſſus, nine hours diſtant from it, which he deſcribes as fortified in the ſame manner with that of the Sapaei, or La Cavalla; and which (except that of La Cavalla) is the only narrow paſs remarked by him on all that road.

But whether theſe Straits of the Turpili, were on the eaſt or weſt ſide of the river Neſſus, is not material; they were manifeſtly in the neighbourhood, which is all that is requiſite to our preſent purpoſe: I would only obſerve, in order to ſettle this geographical point, that in caſe they were on the Macedonian ſide of the river Neſſus, and near adjoining to the other Straits, then the circuit taken by Brutus and Caſſius was only round that ſingle mountain. But if theſe Straits were on the Thracian ſide of the river, I think they cannot be otherwiſe placed than as I have placed them in the plan annexed.

From this excurſion to the Straits let us return to Philippi, and view the ſeveral encampments. And here we ſhall find our other Hiſtorians concurring with Appian in the bad ſituation of Caeſar and Antony, in a low ground encompaſſed with marſhes; and the advantageous poſts of Brutus and Caſſius, and in ſeveral other circumſtances which agree perfectly with Philippi near Thrace, not with Pharſalia; as the nearneſs and

ᵠ P. 1039.

ʳ Nous paſſames la riviere Noire ou Caraſou à gué; et apres avoir marché ſix heures dans une plaine qu'arroſe la riviere que je viens de nommer, nous couchâmes dans le village d' Inigé.—Le 15 après trois heures de chemin nous trouvâmes encore ſur le bord de la mer un lac, où l'on pêche des truïtes et des anguilles, et un château; d'où l'on a tiré une muraille de 22 pieds d'épaiſſeur, qui s'étend juſques ſur la montagne voiſine à plus 1500 pas de là, et ſur laquelle on remarque encore les reſtes d'un autre château qu'on nomme Bourron Caſtet. Ouvrages ſans doute des derniers Empereurs Romains, qui avoient fortifié ces défilés pour ſe mettre à couvert de l'invaſion des Turcs. See Paul Lucas's 3d Voyage, tom. I. p. 61.

free acceſs to the ſea and iſle of Thaſus, from whence Brutus and Caſſius were ſupplied with proviſions; and Antony's attempt to cut off that communication by making a trench acroſs the marſh which lay between their camp and the ſea [s].

But it is needleſs to produce inſtances of the harmony of theſe three hiſtorians in this reſpect. The Fathers Catrou and Rouille give up that point; they acknowledge [t] "that Appian's account is full of incidents and "deſcriptions which can have no relation to a field of battle on the "plains of Pharſalia, and that Plutarch and Dion Caſſius agree with him "in fixing it on the confines of Thrace and Macedonia." Yet notwithſtanding theſe conceſſions, they entirely reject their account as fabulous, becauſe they cannot reconcile them to the Poets; and tell us, [u] "That "ſetting one authority againſt the other, the teſtimony of Virgil, Manilius, Ovid, and Lucan, almoſt all cotemporaries with Auguſtus, ought "to prevail againſt three hiſtorians who were ſtrangers, and who wrote "above a century after the time we are ſpeaking of." In another place they attack Appian in particular, and condemn the moderns, who, out of too much [x] credulity or affection, have taken him for their guide; in ſhort, they declare, [y] "they have choſen rather to follow the truth, "though abandoned, than fall into the ſame error with the reſt of the "world."

[s] See Dion Caſſius, Book XLVII. and Plutarch's life of Brutus.

[t] "Il ne faut pas diſſimuler, que la narration de cet Ecrivain (Appien) eſt chargée d'incidents et de deſcriptions, qui ne peuvent avoir lieu, ſi l'on place le champ de bataille dans les plaines de Theſſalie. Nous ne diſavouons pas même, que comme lui Plutarch et Dion Caſſius ont fixé la ſcene dans cette vaſte campagne, qui confine avec la Macedoine et la Thrace." Hiſtoire, tom. XVIII. p. 200.

[u] "Eſt il bien vrai que la bataille, que decida du ſort de Caſſius et de Brutus, ne ſe donna point à la vûe de Philippes, vers l'extrémité Orientale de Macedoine, mais dans les plaines d'une autre ville du même nom ſituée en Theſſalie, à peu de diſtance de Pharſale? C'eſt un fait, dit on, qui ne paroit pas pouvoir ſe concilier avec le recit de Plutarche, d'Appien, et de Dion Caſſius; mais, autorité pour autorité, le temoignage de Virgile, d'Ovide, de Manilius, et de Lucain, preſque touts contemporains d'Auguſte, doit prevaloir à celui de trois Hiſtoriens étrangers, et poſtérieurs de plus d'un ſiécle aux tems que nous parcourons." P. 187.

[x] "Leur autorité et leur nombre nous ont paru former un préjugé légitime contre le recit d'Appien, que quelques modernes, ou trop crédules, ou trop prévenus en ſa faveur, ont cru devoir prendre pour leur guide." Rom. Hiſt. tom. XVIII. p. 199.

[y] "Nous avons mieux aimi ſuivre la vérité abandonnée, qu'errer avec la multitude." P. 188.

Who

Who would not infer from ſuch a declaration, that theſe reverend fathers could produce ſufficient proofs to make good their charge, and invalidate the teſtimony of the antient hiſtorians? But, as far as I can find, all they pretend to alledge againſt them, is, "That they were foreigners, "and lived above a century after the time we are ſpeaking of."

I ſhall conſider their arguments, and endeavour to give a full anſwer to them in my next.

LETTER IV.

Anſwers to the foregoing Objections.

WHO would believe that two learned fathers of France, writing the Roman Hiſtory in the eighteenth century, ſhould agree to lay aſide the moſt celebrated Greek writers of the ſame Hiſtory, in one of the principal parts of their work, for no other reaſon, than "Becauſe they were foreigners, and lived above one century after the "time they wrote of?" This, I muſt own, comes from them with ſo bad a grace, that it would ſcarce be worth while to anſwer them in a ſerious manner, were it not more out of regard to their character, than their arguments. But ſuch powerful adverſaries, let their weapons be never ſo weak, may do miſchief by their bare authority; and it is certain their name has ſo far prevailed, as to gain them already many followers.

Let us therefore conſider if there be any force in either of their objections; and, I think, every one is the more concerned to do juſtice to the Greek Hiſtorians, becauſe we depend upon them to ſupply the loſs of the Latin, and, if their credit ſinks, what will become of one of the principal branches of the Roman Hiſtory, the age of Auguſtus?

The firſt objection againſt them is,—"That they were foreigners." But how ſo? It is true they were not natives of Italy, no more was Lucan, nor, perhaps, Manilius. But they were all born ſubjects of Rome,

as

as well as the Poets; and though they choſe to write in a foreign language (if Greek might be called ſo) yet, [a] by their own account, they could not be unacquainted with the Latin Tongue. They ſpent the greateſt part of their lives in the city of Rome, or its neighbourhood, and were advanced to the [b] higheſt dignities in the ſtate, which is more than can be ſaid of the Poets; ſuch honour ſeldom falling to their lot.

Therefore if there were any public records to be conſulted, they could not want opportunities of having recourſe to them, nor any other advantages requiſite to their purpoſe. Again, as to the place of action, if that is material, they muſt at leaſt be as well acquainted with the ground, where the battle was fought, as the Poets were, for I know no reaſon to believe, from what they have ſaid, that any one of them was ever upon the ſpot; whereas, it is probable, that the three Greek Hiſtorians were all there. This may be conjectured of Appian, from the curious plan he has given us of the country; of Dion Caſſius, as it lay directly in his road, between his own country, Bithynia, and Rome; and for Plutarch, ſtill more may be ſaid; he was, by birth, of the city of Chaeronea in Boeotia, the adjoining province to Theſſaly, and, as we are told in his life, was employed in public embaſſies from his own country to other ſtates of Greece, and travelled all over thoſe parts, — "to peruſe "the archives of every city, that he might be better enabled to write "the lives of his Grecian worthies, and deſcribe the laws, cuſtoms, rites, "and ceremonies of every place;" — and therefore, it is more than probable, that he had been both at Philippi and Pharſalia, eſpecially the latter, as it lay but few miles from him; and if both battles had been fought there, it cannot be conceived that a man of ſo great learning and

[a] Plutarch, in the beginning of his Life of Demoſthenes, tells us, that he learned Latin late, and modeſtly owns, that he was not ſo great a critic in it, as to pretend to judge between Demoſthenes and Cicero, which of them was the greateſt maſter of his own tongue; but it is plain, by this account, that he was no ſtranger to the language. Dion Caſſius was a Pleader in the courts of juſtice at Rome. See his Hiſtory, lib. xxxvii. p. 835. And Appian, who is principally concerned, was not only a Pleader in their courts of Juſtice, but had afterwards the honour of preſiding there, as he himſelf tells us at the latter end of the preface to his works — Δίκαις ἐν Ρώμῃ συναγορεύσας ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων, μέχρι με σφῶν ἐπιτροπεύειν ἠξίωσαν.

[b] Plutarch was Conſul under Trajan. — See Suidas. — And Dion Caſſius was a Senator for about forty years, and twice Conſul. See Ger. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Graec. lib. ii. c. 15. and Fabric. Biblioth.

curioſity,

curioſity, could poſſibly have been ſo groſsly ignorant as to fix the latter battle at Philippi on the farther ſide of Macedonia.[1]

The other objection againſt theſe Greek Hiſtorians, is, — "That they "wrote above a century after the battle of Philippi." This argument may have ſome weight with regard to particular circumſtances or ſprings of action, wherewith thoſe who write in after-ages cannot be ſuppoſed to be ſo well acquainted as thoſe who lived at or near the time. But in the preſent enquiry, whether a remarkable battle was fought in this place or that, I cannot think that a century or two can make any great difference, unleſs in times of the groſſeſt ignorance. For if age alone, without other infirmities, may be allowed not only to impair the ſight of Hiſtorians, but ſo entirely to blind them, as not to diſcern the moſt memorable occurrences, it follows that hiſtory muſt be very ſhort-ſighted; and we muſt lie under this ſad neceſſity of believing none, or thoſe only who write the hiſtory of their own times. — The only queſtions, I think, ought to be, Whether theſe Hiſtorians, notwithſtanding that diſtance of time, were furniſhed with proper materials for compiling their hiſtory; and particularly, Whether they had opportunities of being rightly informed of the fact before us: or, whether they erred from inadvertency: or, laſtly, Whether they did not wilfully endeavour to deceive. — The firſt thing to be conſidered, is, Whether they were furniſhed with proper materials. And this, I think, cannot be diſputed, for notwithſtanding they all lived after the reign of Auguſtus, yet undoubtedly that Prince, who was ſo great an encourager of learning, and enjoyed many years of peace to accompliſh his deſigns, could not be ſo far wanting to himſelf, as, when he had built his Palatine Library, to neglect furniſhing it with ſome memorials of his own reign, eſpecially ſo remarkable a part of it, as the battle which eſtabliſhed him in the empire. Nay, we are aſſured, that, after the example of his predeceſſor, he wrote [c] commentaries of his own life (though ſince loſt); and we are farther ſure, that theſe Hiſtorians had the peruſal of them. Plutarch mentions them frequently, and [d] Appian quotes a paſſage from them, relating to Auguſtus's retiring from his tent in this very battle we are now ſpeaking of.

[c] "Multa varii generis proſâ oratione "compoſuit, et aliqua de vitâ ſuâ, quam "tredecim libris, Cantabrico tenus bello, "nec ultra, expoſuit." Suet. Octav. Caeſ. § 85.

[d] Καίσαρ᾽ αὐτὸ δ᾽ ἐνύπνιον ἔνδον ἐκ ὄπλ᾽, ἀλλὰ φυλαξαμένε τὴν ἡμέραν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἔγραψεν. Appian, De Bell. Civ. lib. iv. p. 1045. ed. Toll.

It

It is manifeſt, therefore, that they neither wanted materials, nor neglected to make uſe of them. But you will ſay, the beſt hiſtorians, notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, are liable to miſtakes. I own, few authors, eſpecially voluminous ones, are free from them, nor ſhould I think it any reproach to theſe reverend fathers, if, in ſo extenſive a work as theirs is, they ſhould themſelves, now and then, afford us inſtances of this human frailty: but ſuppoſing they had undertaken to write the hiſtory of the late civil wars of their own country, or even thoſe of England, provided they had lived amongſt us, and had been aſſiſted with all the advantages abovementioned, they would think great injury done them to imagine that they could poſſibly, through diſtance of time, be ſo groſsly miſtaken, as to repreſent the principal action of either of thoſe wars, in a wrong country, two hundred miles diſtant from the place where it was really fought. Why then ſhould they lay this to the charge of three Greek Hiſtorians? They have indeed the complaiſance to make the following excuſe for them, — "[e] That reſemblance of names might give occaſion "to the miſtake." — And being willing to grant every thing that can be deſired, I will acknowledge, in return for their civility, that had the Greek Hiſtorians only named one Philippi inſtead of the other, without enlarging any farther, this might have paſſed for a geographical error, though it is pretty extraordinary it ſhould have eſcaped ſo many. But the caſe here is far different: the diſpute here does not turn upon a word, or a ſingle miſtake of a place or action, but whether the whole relation be true or falſe. For Appian's account is ſuch, that one part confirms another, and all three Hiſtorians agree in general in the ſame account; and, therefore, if the battle was not fought at their Philippi, the whole deſcription of the march of both armies, the geography of the country, the diſpoſition of the camps, and defiles leading to them, and the advantages accruing to Brutus from the fleet, and iſle of Thaſus, muſt be all imaginary: there could be no fleet lying near, no ſea-marſhes, no lines drawn acroſs them to intercept communication; in ſhort, every article of this part of their hiſtory, muſt be pure invention and romance; and what critics would be ſo good-natured to allow all this to be no more than the ſlip of a pen occaſioned by reſemblance of names?

[e] La reſſemblance des noms a pu donner lieu à la mépriſe." Catr. et Rou. Hiſt. Rom. tom. XVIII. note on p. 187.

Since

Since it appears then, that the account given us by Appian, and the other Hiſtorians, if it is fabulous, could not proceed from want of opportunities of being better informed, nor from haſte, or inadvertency, but muſt be merely from deſign, the only thing remaining to be examined, is, Whether we have any reaſon to ſuſpect them of ſuch a wilful premeditated forgery. And here, diſtance of time is entirely out of the queſtion, or, if it comes at all under conſideration, it is to their advantage; for, we know, that paſſion and ſpleen may ſo far blind an Hiſtorian, when he is talking of the affairs of his own time, as to make him proſtitute his character to party zeal, and call God in the moſt ſolemn manner to witneſs to a lie. But, in the preſent caſe, there could be no ſuch motives; no prejudice or affection could induce thoſe Hiſtorians deliberately to fix a battle in a wrong country, and counterfeit deſcriptions which had no relation to the real place of action, and therefore if they had done ſo, it was purely lying for lying's ſake, to indulge an idle, romantic genius: —Indeed theſe fathers do not ſcruple to lay this to Appian's charge. They tell us, "[f] This Greek writer, who lived much after the time, "having fancied that Philippi in Macedonia was the place, where Octa- "vius and Antony gained their famous victory, in order to give ſome "colour of truth to this pretence, has counterfeited camps, marches, lakes, "mountains, and rivers, upon the confines of Macedonia and Thrace, "and that thoſe accumulated circumſtances have led moſt of the moderns "into a miſtake."

Such a character of ingenious fiction, might ſuit very well with the author of Caſſandra or Cleopatra, but is a ſevere attack upon the veracity of a celebrated Hiſtorian, and what, I believe, was never before laid to his charge. [g] Photius, in his Bibliotheca, calls him, "a lover of "truth, and particularly well ſkilled in military hiſtory," and ſo far was he, according to that critic, from having a luxuriant fancy, that he rather taxes him with being too jejune.

[f] "Cet Ecrivain Grec, qui vivoit en des "tems bien poſtérieurs, s'eſt imaginé que la "Philippes de Macédoine avoit ſervi de ſcéne "à la victoire d'Octavien, et d'Antoine. "Pour donner une couleur de vérité à ſa "pretention, il a feint des campemens, des "marches, et des ſituations de lacs, de mon- "tagnes, et de rivieres, aux confins de la "Macédoine, et de la Thrace. Tant de "circonſtances accumulées ont induit dans "l'erreur la plûpart des modernes" Hiſt. Rom. tom. XVIII. p. 188.

[g] Ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν ἀπέριττος καὶ ἰσχνός· τὴν δὲ ἱστορίαν, ὡς οἷόντ' ἐστι, φιλαλήθης, καὶ στρατηγικῶν διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας μεθόδων, εἴτις ἄλλος, ὑποφήτης. Phot. Biblioth.

Other critics have not ſpared their cenſures of him, but they are of a quite different nature from this of the French fathers. Scaliger, in his rough language, calls him, "[h] Alienorum laborum fucum;" and Ger. Voſſius ſays, "[i] That the learned have long obſerved, that he was "much indebted to Polybius, and that he uſed to tranſcribe Plutarch, "word for word." And conſidering how vaſt a work he undertook, this obſervation may probably be very juſt; but then theſe very reflections ſerve to vindicate him from this new charge. Beſides, had he really been ſo much given to flouriſhing, as is here pretended, how came he to chuſe for a fabulous ſcene, one of the moſt remarkable parts of his hiſtory, where he might be ſo eaſily detected? This was the greateſt folly as well as diſhoneſty: he ſhould rather have ſhewed this genius in other parts of his works; his Syrian, Punic, or Mithridatic wars, etc. where he might have expatiated with more ſafety. And, if this be true, we have reaſon to ſuſpect all his works, and ought no longer to rank him among the Hiſtorians, but Romancers. But this would be granting more than his adverſaries will care to allow: the frequent uſe they have made of him, and his aſſociates, through the greateſt part of their hiſtory, is a full proof that they have a better opinion of them, and the ſucceſs of their own works is a manifeſt evidence of what I undertook to prove, that neither difference of country, nor diſtance of a century or two, are ſufficient to deſtroy the credit of Hiſtorians.

In ſhort, there is not the leaſt pretence to ſuſpect that the Greek Hiſtorians have miſrepreſented the battle of Philippi, either through ignorance, inadvertency, or deſign. The evidence is as clear in their favour as the Poets; and, all circumſtances conſidered, if any thing can be more unreaſonable than the former charge againſt Virgil, it is this of the Fathers againſt the Hiſtorians.

The truth is, theſe learned men are themſelves guilty of what they lay to Appian's charge. They firſt perſuade themſelves that both battles were fought on the ſame ſpot, and then reſolve, right or wrong, to make it out [k]. They tranſport both armies, I know not how, by a kind of witchcraft, above two hundred miles from the Straits of the

[h] Scaliger in Animadverſ. Euſebianis. Ed. Commelin. p. 163.

[i] "Sane multum Polybio debere, ac Plutarchum ad verbum exſcribere ſolitum viri "docti jamdiu obſervarunt." Ger. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Graec. lib. II. cap. xiii.

[k] See their Hiſt. vol. XVIII. p. 175, 176, etc.

Sapaei,

Sapaei, into Theſſaly, and there form camps, and counterfeit whatever they think requiſite to give any colour to their ſcheme. And when they thus ſacrifice the reputation of the Hiſtorians, it is not to the Poets, as they pretend, but, in reality, to their own miſinterpretation of them. For the Poets, I am perſuaded, no where affirm that both battles were fought on the ſame ſpot. Their interpreters miſtake them, and affirm ſo for them: as I hope to make appear in my following letters.

LETTER V.

VIRGIL's Two PHILIPPI explained and reconciled to Hiſtory.

MOST of the diſputes we have in the world, are owing to our miſapprehending each others meaning; as ſoon as we come to a right underſtanding, we find no foundation for quarrelling, we are all of the ſame mind.

And as theſe controverſies frequently happen even among thoſe who ſpeak and write the ſame language; with much more reaſon may they be expected between Poets and Hiſtorians, who are obliged to talk, as it were, different dialects. Whenever, therefore, they ſeem to contradict one another in facts, where it is ſcarce poſſible that either of them ſhould err (as in the caſe before us), we ſhould do well to conſider, whether the Poet whoſe language is moſt difficult, and, conſequently, moſt liable to be miſunderſtood, has not ſome hidden meaning different from what his words ſeem at firſt to import. And, upon farther examination, we may probably find, that, as widely as he ſeems to differ from the Hiſtorians, they are perfectly agreed, and mean the ſame thing by different expreſſions.

It is true that ſeveral commentators have canvaſſed this paſſage of Virgil, and endeavoured to explain him in ſuch a manner, as to reconcile him to hiſtory. No one has laboured this point more than Ruaeus. But his interpretation can be of no ſervice to the other Poets, if it is to Virgil:

gil: it is purely an evaſion. And, I am perſuaded, from what I have heard you ſay on this ſubject, that all the other explications you have met with, have given you very little ſatisfaction, and perhaps as little to the generality of the world.

When I have ſaid this, you may think it great preſumption in me to pretend to ſolve a difficulty, which has been ſo often attempted unſucceſsfully. But you know, when people meet with a difficult knot ([a] ſuch as Ruaeus calls this) they chuſe to cut it, rather than give themſelves the trouble to untie it, or elſe they twiſt and entangle it more, by being in too great a hurry, or not taking a right method to examine it as they ought. Yet, after all, it may ſo happen, that a leſs ſkilful hand that has patience to turn and ſearch it round, may luckily hit upon the right thread, and then nothing may appear more eaſy than to unravel it. This I take to be the preſent caſe, and the knotty point, which has occaſioned ſo much perplexity, may, I think, be eaſily ſolved by ſuppoſing — That Virgil means by his two battles of Philippi, not two battles fought on the ſame individual ſpot, but at two diſtant places of the ſame name; the former, at Philippi near Pharſalus in Theſſaly, the latter, at Philippi near the confines of Thrace. And though the Hiſtorians (all except Lucius Florus), for diſtinction's ſake, call the latter battle only by the name of Philippi, yet as there was a Philippi likewiſe near Pharſalia, in ſight of which the former was fought, the Poets (for certain reaſons which I ſhall conſider hereafter) call both by the ſame name. But to ſet this matter in a clearer light, I beg leave to ſhew,

Firſt, That there were two Philippi, near which the two battles were fought.

Secondly, That both Philippi were in Macedonia, otherwiſe called Emathia.

Thirdly, That both were at the foot of mount Haemus.

The former of theſe articles will ſerve to illuſtrate the two firſt verſes,

> " Ergo inter ſeſe paribus concurrere telis
> " Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi."

And the other two articles may explain the two latter,

> " Nec fuit indignum ſuperis bis ſanguine noſtro.
> " Emathiam, et latos Haemi pingueſcere campos."

[a] Difficilem nodum.

And

And firſt, that there were two Philippi.

Every body allows the famous city of that name on the confines of Thrace and Macedonia, in ancient times called Datum, and afterwards Crenides, till it took the name of Philippi, from Philip the father of Alexander. Beſides this famous city, there was another town of leſs note, of the ſame name, in Theſſaly, formerly called Thebae, and ſurnamed Philippopolis, and by contraction Philippi, from Philip the ſon of Demetrius. This place lay in that part of Theſſaly called Phthiotis, and therefore was uſually called the Phthian, or Theſſalian Thebes, to diſtinguiſh it from Thebes in Boeotia. —— [b] See Polybius, Strabo, Ptolemy, Diodorus Siculus, Livy, and Pliny.

Polybius, in the fifth book of his Hiſtory, giving an account of King Philip's war againſt the Aetolians, tells us, "That his principal view in "that expedition, was to take from them Thebae Phthiotides, and there-"fore encamping near the Enipeus, he went and laid ſiege to that town; "which he deſcribes as a place of great importance. That it was about "three hundred furlongs (thirty-ſeven miles and half) from Lariſſa; that "it lay convenient to command Magneſia and Theſſaly, adjoining to that "part of Magneſia, which belonged to the Demetrians, and to that "part of Theſſaly inhabited by the Pharſalians and Pheraeans. That "the Aetolians, who were at that time maſters of it, uſed from thence "to make incurſions on the Demetrians, Pharſalians, and Lariſſeans:" cap. xcix. And then adds, "That when Philip had made himſelf maſter "of the place, he reduced the inhabitants under his yoke, placed there a "colony of Macedonians, and, inſtead of its former name *Thebes*, called "it the city of *Philip*: Φιλίππε τὴν πόλιν ἀντὶ Θηβῶν καλωνόμασεν:" cap. c.

Diodorus, in the paſſage cited above, ſays, it was called in his time, *Philippopolis*: and Stephanus Byzantinus, or (as ſome will have it) his epitomizer Hermolaus, ſays it was called *Philippi*. At leaſt (which is enough for our purpoſe) the Poets certainly call it ſo, particularly Lucan, in ſeveral places of his Pharſalia.

For inſtance, when Sext. Pompeius, a little before the battle of Pharſalia, goes to conſult the Theſſalian witch, Erictho, about their ſucceſs,

[b] Θήβας Φθίας. Polyb. Legat. vi. — Θῆβαι Φθιώτιδες. Strabo, lib. ix. — Θῆβαι Φθιώτιδος. Ptolemy, lib. iii. c. 13. — Ἡ νῦν δὲ καλεμένη Φιλιππόπολις καὶ τὴν Θετταλίαν Φθιώτιδες Θῆβαι ἐκαλοῦντο. Diod. Sic. lib. vi. fragm. — *Thebas Theſſaliae*. Plin. lib. iv. c. 8. — *Thebas Phthias*. Liv. lib. xxxii. c. 33. — Again, lib. xxviii. c. 7. *Thebas Phthioticas*. — And, lib. xxxix. he calls this place by both names within the ſpace of ten lines, *Philippopolis* and *Thebae Phthiae*.

Lucan

Lucan repreſents her ſitting on a rock, which overlooked the Theſſalian plain, and ſpreading her enchantments over Philippi; that the battle might not be transferred to any other place.

——— " Hanc ſidi ſcelerum ſuetique miniſtri,
" Effractos circum tumulos ac buſta vagati,
" Conſpexêre procul praeruptâ in caute ſedentem,
" Quà juga devexus Pharſalica porrigit Haemus.
" Illa magis magicisque Deis incognita verba
" Tentabat, carmenque novos fingebat in uſus,
" Namque timens, nè Mars alium vagus iret in orbem,
" Aemathis et tellus tam multâ caede careret,
" Pollutos cantu, dirisque veneſica ſuccis
" Conſperſos vetuit tranſmittere bella Philippos;
" Tot mortes habitura ſuas, uſuraque mundi
" Sanguine." ——— Lucan VI. 573, etc.

Again, when the ſoldiers who followed Cato into Libya, after the defeat at Pharſalia, were going to deſert, upon the news of Pompey's death, Cato reproaches them with cowardice, and ſays, " Caeſar will eaſily be-
" lieve by this behaviour, that they were the firſt who turned their backs
" at the battle of Philippi;" which muſt be Pharſalia.

——— " Credet faciles ſibi terga dediſſe,
" Credet ab Emathiis primos fugiſſe Philippis." Lib. IX. 271.

There are many other inſtances in Lucan, to this purpoſe, which I may have occaſion to produce hereafter; but I muſt not omit one here, which is very remarkable, that though he gives his poem the title of Pharſalia, yet the firſt time he ſpeaks of that fatal battle, he mentions it by the name of Philippi:

——— " Video [c] Pangaea nivoſis
" Cana jugis, latosque Haemi ſub rupe Philippos." Lib. I. 680.

It is farther obſervable, that Lucan's poem is named indifferently both from Pharſalia and Philippi, by Statius in his Sylvae, where he introduces

[c] Mons Pangaeus is uſually placed by Geographers at the eaſt end of Macedonia, but here the Poet uſes it in a more extenſive ſenſe, for the whole range of mountains ſpreading themſelves over all that country, and therefore he ſpeaks in the plural number, and probably alludes to the etymology of the name.

Calliope

Calliope celebrating that author. When ſhe has ſpoken to him prophetically of his more puerile performances, ſhe concludes with his nobleſt work, and names the ſubject of it from Philippi and Pharſalia, as ſynonymous terms:

" [d] Mox coeptâ generoſior juventâ
" Albus oſſibus Italis Philippos,
" Et Pharſalica bella detonabis."

And it is ſtill more remarkable, that Sidonius Apollinaris ſpeaks of the ſame poem, by the title of Philippi only, when he celebrates the three authors who were natives of Corduba, the two Senecas, and Lucan:

" Pugnam [e] tertius ille Gallicani
" Dixit Caeſaris, ut gener, ſocerque
" Cognata impulerint in arma Romam,
" Tantum dans lachrymis ſuis Philippis,
" Ut credat Cremerae levem ruinam."
Sidon. Carm. IX. ver. 236. etc.

Having thus made it appear, that, beſides the famous city near Thrace, there was another Philippi, in Theſſaly, near the Pharſalian plain, and that the battle between Julius Caeſar and Pompey, was often diſtinguiſhed by the name of That Philippi, as well as by the name of Pharſalia; I proceed next to ſhew,

That both Philippi, were in Macedonia or Emathia.

This country, like many others, underwent ſeveral changes, both as to its extent and name. It was anciently called [f] Paeonia, then Emathia,

[d] Statius Geneth. Lucani, lib. II. carm. vii.

[e] Lucan.

[f] " Emathia quae nunc dicitur, quon-
" dam appellata Paeonia eſt." Liv. lib. xl.
Ἡμαθία ἡ τὸ παλαιὸν Παιονία προσαγορευμένη. Suidas.
" Macedonia, Emathia antea dicta." Plin. lib. iv. § 17.
" Macedonia antea nomine Emathionis
" regis, cujus prima virtutis experimenta
" in illis locis extant, Emathia cognominata
" eſt." Juſtin. l. vii. c. 1.
Ἡμαθία ἡ νῦν Μακεδονία. Stephanus de urbibus et populis — Ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ Μακεδὼν ἡγεμὼν ποτε τῆς ὁμονύμου χώρας, ἥτις καὶ Ἡμαθία πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο. Euſtath. ad Dionyſ. ver. 254.

Lucan makes ſo little ſcruple of uſing *Emathia* for *Macedonia*, that he calls the palace of Alexandria, *Emathia tecta*, becauſe built by Alexander the Macedonian King.

—— " Cum ſe parvâ Cleopatra biremi
" Intulit Emathiis, ignaro Caeſare, tectis,
" Dedecus Aegypti. ——— Lib. x. 58.

and

and afterwards Macedonia, as we learn from Livy, Suidas, and many other writers, both Greek and Latin. Emathia or Paeonia, properly ſo called, were only ſmall diſtricts of what was afterwards called Macedonia: ſo we are informed by [g] Ptolemy, who places Emathia betwixt the rivers Axius and Aliacmon, and reckons the chief cities of that diviſion, Edeſſa and Pella. In proceſs of time, the name Emathia was uſually given to all Macedonia, in its full extent, and both words uſed indifferently, as ſynonymous terms; the proſe writers generally calling it Macedonia, and the Poets, for a very obvious reaſon, as conſtantly, Emathia.

This being premiſed, I ſhall now ſhew, That the two Philippi were within that province.

And, firſt, for the famous city near Thrace.

It muſt be allowed, that, till the time of Philip, the father of Alexander, Macedonia reached no farther eaſtward than the river Strymon, and this city, at that time, muſt conſequently belong to Thrace. So Scylax expreſsly tells us, "Beyond Macedonia is the river [h] Strymon, which is "the boundary between Macedonia and Thrace." But this Geographer lived many years before that country was added to Macedonia (i. e.), before the time of Philip. And, it may be obſerved, that in his catalogue of the cities of Thrace, he mentions no Philippi, but calls it by its ancient name, Datum. Indeed ſome later Geographers ſet the ſame limits. [i] Pliny ſays, "That the river Strymon, which riſes in mount Haemus, is "the boundary of Macedonia." And [k] Strabo, "That all the countries "beyond the Strymon, as far as the mouth of the Pontus, and to mount "Haemus, belong to the Thracians."

But in this they muſt be underſtood according to ancient Geography, not as it was in their own time; for Strabo himſelf, within a few lines after the former paſſage, ſubjoins — "[l] Some reckon that country likewiſe, from the Strymon to the Neſſus in Macedonia," and adds this reaſon, "becauſe Philip took peculiar pains to make himſelf maſter of

[g] See Ptolemy, lib. iii. c. 13.

[h] Μετὰ Μακεδονίαν Στρυμὼν ποταμὸς ἔτι ὁρίσει Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θρᾴκην. Scylacis Periplus, Art. *De Macedonia.*

[i] "Macedoniae terminus amnis Strymon ortus in Haemo." Nat. Hiſt. lib. iv. c. 10.

[k] Τὰ δὲ περὰν Στρυμόνος ἤδη, μέχρι τῆ Πυνικῆ κόμαι καὶ τῆ Αἵμῳ, πάντα Θρᾳκῶν ἐστι. Strabo, lib. vii. p. 323. ed Par.

[l] Τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος μέχρι Νέσσου τῆ Μακεδονίᾳ προσνέμουσιν. — Ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἐσπούδασε διαφερόντως περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, ὥστε ἐξιδιώσασθαι· καὶ συνεχήσαντο προσόδους μεγίστας ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐφυΐας τῶν τόπων. Strabo, lib. vii.

"that

" that diſtrict, and raiſed very great revenues from the mines, and other " products of the country." Again, at the latter end of the ſame book, the epitomizer having curſorily run over Macedonia, ſays, " [m] Then fol- " lows the mouth of the Neſſus, which ſeparates Macedonia and Thrace, " according to the bounds ſet by Philip and his ſon Alexander in their " time."

The ſame boundary ſtill continued when that country fell into the hands of the Romans. Livy tells us expreſsly, that when Paulus Aemilius had taken King Perſeus priſoner, and made Macedonia tributary to the Romans, " [n] He divided the country into four parts: one of which " was all that diſtrict lying between the Strymon and the Neſſus," which was called *Macedonia Prima*, or *Macedonia Thracia*, becauſe it formerly belonged to Thrace. Agreeably to this diviſion, we find this diſtrict reckoned in Holy Scripture, in Macedonia. St. Luke, in his account of St. Paul's travels, calls Philippi, the " [o] chief city of that part of Mace- " donia" (πρώτη τῆς μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις), Acts, cap. xvi. ver. 12.

Thus far for Philippi near Thrace. I ſhall now ſhew, that as Macedonia reached eaſtward as far as the Neſſus, ſo, to the ſouth, it comprehended all Theſſaly, and, conſequently, took in the Pharſalian Philippi.

It is true that Theſſaly did not entirely follow the ſame fate with the other diſtrict. For notwithſtanding Philip, the father of Alexander, had annexed both countries to Macedonia, yet afterwards, Theſſaly was diſmembered from it by the Romans, in the firſt Macedonian war [p]. And though Philip the ſon of Demetrius, who was ſubdued by Titus Quintius Flamininus at the famous battle of Cynoſcephalae, was, on the concluſion of the peace, reſtored to the reſt of his dominions, yet the ſeve-

[m] Εἶτα τὸ Νέσσυ ῥόμα τῦ διορίζονῖος Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θράκην, ὡς Φίλιππος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τότυ παῖς διώρισον, ἐν τοῖς κατ' αὐτὺς χρόνοις. Excerpta ad finem, lib. VII.

[n] " Deinde in quatuor regiones dividi Ma- " cedoniam juſſit. Unam fore et primam " partem quod agri inter Strymonem et " Neſſum amnem ſit," etc. Livy, l. xlv. § 29.

[o] Or rather, " a city of the firſt part," or " diviſion of Macedonia." For, Le Clerc with great probability conjectures, that πρώτης, not πρώτη, is the true reading. And Caſtellio, as if he had read πρώτης in his copy, tranſlates it *Primae Partis*. Τῆς μερίδος is, *the* part: upon which, the queſtion naturally ariſes, *what* part? A queſtion which can no way receive a ſatisfactory anſwer, but by reading πρώτης: It was *that* part, which Livy informs us, was the *firſt* of the four into which Macedonia was divided by Paulus Aemilius.

[p] About the year of Rome 557.

ral ſtates of Greece, which had been long ſubject to the Macedonians, and with them the Theſſalians, were ſet at liberty, and Macedonia, on that ſide, reduced to its ancient limits. This we find atteſted by Livy, who has recorded the decree of the Roman Senate on this occaſion, as it was publicly proclaimed by an herald in the general aſſembly of the Greeks, at their Iſthmian games [q]. Again, when K. Perſeus was conquered and taken priſoner by P. Aemilius, in the ſecond Macedonian war, and that kingdom extinguiſhed, and the country reſtored to liberty, on payment of tribute to the Romans, Theſſaly, which continued faithful to Rome, ſtill preſerved its former freedom. And, therefore, upon the diviſion of Macedonia into four parts, by P. Aemilius, as above-mentioned, Theſſaly, or the greateſt part of it, was not included, but the [r] river Peneus fixed as the boundary of Macedonia on that ſide. During this time, Theſſaly muſt be conſidered as a free country, independent of Macedonia. But it did not long enjoy this liberty, for the Macedonians having taken up arms again under Andriſcus, ſurnamed Pſeudo-philippus, and other uſurpers, were at length totally ſubdued, in the [s] third Macedonian war, by Q. Metellus, thence ſurnamed Macedonicus. And the Achaian war breaking out about the ſame time (occaſioned by the inſult offered to the Roman ambaſſadors at Corinth), the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, properly ſo called, together with Peloponneſus, were conquered by L. Mummius. Thus, that whole country, by the name of [t] Achaia, being reduced, as well as Macedonia, to the form of a Roman province, Theſſaly, which lay between them, could not eſcape being ſwallowed up with them. And as it was ſubjected to the ſame governor, ſo, probably, it was then re-united again to Macedonia. See [u] Ruf. Feſt. and [x] Sigonius. But whe-

[q] "Senatus populusque Romanus, et "Quintius imperator, Philippo Rege Ma- "cedonibusque devictis, liberos, immunes, "ſuis legibus eſſe jubet Corinthios, Pho- "cenſes, Locrenſesque omnes, et inſulam "Euboeam, et Magnetas, THESSALOS, "Perraebos, Achaeos, Phthiotas." Liv. lib. xxxiii. c. 32.

[r] "Tertia pars facta quam Axius amnis "ab oriente, Peneus amnis ab occaſu cin- "gunt." Liv. lib. xlv c. 29.

[s] About the year of Rome 607.

[t] Καλοῦσι δὲ οὐκ Ἑλλάδα, ἀλλ' Ἀχαΐας ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, διότι ἐχειρώσαντο Ἕλληνας δὶ' Ἀχαιῶν τότε τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν προεστηκότων. Pauſanias, lib. vii. c. 16.

[u] "Libera diu ſub amicis noſtris Achaia "fuit. Ad extremum (legatis Romanorum "apud Corinthum violatis) per L. Mum- "mium conſulem, capta Corintho, Achaia "omnis obtenta eſt. Epirotae, qui ali- "quando cum rege Pyrrho in Italiam ve- "nire praeſumpſerant, victi, atque Theſ- "ſali ſimul cum Achivorum et Macedonum "regionibus, nobis acceſſerunt." Rufi Feſti Breviar.

[x] Sigonius, ſpeaking of the recovery of Macedonia from Pſeudo-Philippus, by Q. ther

ther that was the time of their re-union or not, this is certain, that when Virgil wrote (which is all we want to prove), Theſſaly was not only reckoned within the province of Macedonia, and ſubject to the ſame governor, but was ſo far incorporated with it, that at that time it was uſually comprehended under one name.

Strabo, going to deſcribe that part of Europe from the [y] Adriatic to the mouth of the Danube, and reckoning up all the nations contained within that tract, divides them into Greece, Macedonia, Epirus, the Illyrians and [z] Thracians. And his epitomizer, deſcribing that part of the ſame peninſula which is bounded on the north by Haemus, and on all other ſides by the ſea, divides the whole into theſe four general parts, Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, and Achaia; therefore Theſſaly muſt be contained under one of them. [a] Eutropius, ſpeaking of the civil war between J. Caeſar and Pompey, diſtinguiſhes all that country, excluſive of Thrace, into theſe three parts, Epirus, Macedonia, and Achaia; and as Theſſaly was the principal ſcene of action, it muſt neceſſarily be included. Again, [b] Dio Caſſius, ſpeaking of the allotment of the ſeveral provinces of the Roman empire, by Auguſtus, in Virgil's time (about the year of Rome 727), when the emperor gave up the direction of ſome of the provinces to the people and ſenate of Rome, and reſerved others to himſelf, he divides that whole country, including Dalmatia, into theſe three parts, Greece with Epirus, Dalmatia, and Macedonia. — Again, [c] in the following reign of Tiberius, this whole country is comprehended by that accurate writer Tacitus, under the names of Macedonia, and Achaia,

Metellus, has this remark. "Tum vero "Theſſaliam Macedoniae formulae eſſe "aſcriptam facile exiſtimarim," etc. Car. Sigonius de Antiquo Jure Provinciarum, lib. i. c. 8.

[y] Λοιπὴ δ' ἐστὶν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἡ ἐπὶ τὸς τῷ Ἴστρῳ καὶ τῆς κύκλῳ θαλάττης ἀρξαμένη ἀπὸ τῷ μυχῷ τῷ Ἀδριατικῷ, etc. Strabo, lib. vii. p. 313. ed. Steph.

[z] Τὰ γὰρ ὄρη ταῦτα, ἀρξόμενα ἀπὸ τῷ Ἀδρίᾳ, διήκει κατ' εὐθεῖαν γραμμὴν ἕως τῷ Εὐξείνῳ ποιοῦντα χερρόνησον μεγάλην πρὸς Νότον, τήν τι Θρᾴκην, ὁμῷ καὶ Μακεδονίαν, καὶ Ἀχαΐαν. Excerpta ad finem Strabonis, lib. vii.

[a] "Conſules cum Pompeio, Senatusque om- "nis, atque univerſa nobilitas ex urbe fugit, "et in Graeciam tranſivit. Apud Epirum, "Macedoniam, Achaiam, Pompeio duce, "contra Caeſarem bellum paravit." Eutropii Brev. lib. vi. 16.

[b] Ἐνομίσθη διὰ ταῦτα ἡ μὲν Ἀφρικὴ καὶ ἡ Νομιδία ἥτε Ἀσία, καὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς μετὰ τῆς Ἠπείρῳ, καὶ τὸ Δαλματικὸν, τό,τε Μακεδονικὸν, etc. Τῦτε δήμῳ καὶ τῆς γερυσίας εἶναι. Dio Caſſ. lib. liii.

[c] "Achaiam ac Macedoniam onera de- "precantes levari in praeſens proconſulari "imperio, tradi Caeſari placuit." Tac. Annal. lib. i. c. 76. — And again, cap. 80. — "Prorogatur Popaeo Sabino pro- "vincia Maeſia, additis Achaiâ, et Mace- "doniâ."

only; Epirus being included in the latter, as it was part of the ſame province, and Dalmatia omitted, becauſe Auguſtus had before reſumed the government of it to himſelf, [d] as Dio Caſſius informs us in the place above-mentioned.

The Holy Scriptures ſpeak the ſame language with reſpect to Macedonia and Achaia. St. Luke, giving an account of St. Paul's travels, ſays, "When he had paſſed through Macedonia and Achaia," Acts xix. 21. And St. Paul, in his Epiſtle to the Romans, "It hath pleaſed "them of Macedonia and Achaia, to make a certain contribution for the "poor ſaints which are at Jeruſalem," Rom. xv. 26. In ſhort, whereever the Apoſtle ſpeaks of this country (as 2 Cor. ix. 2. and xi. 9, 10. 1 Theſſ. i. 7, 8.), he conſtantly uſes the names Macedonia and Achaia only, though probably he had preached in Theſſaly too, ſince he himſelf tells us in his Epiſtle to the Romans (which was written from Corinth), that from "Jeruſalem and round about (κύκλῳ) unto Illyricum he had "fully preached the Goſpel of Chriſt." And though he muſt neceſſarily have paſſed through Theſſaly, in his ſeveral journies betwixt Philippi and Corinth, yet neither St. Luke, in his account of thoſe journies, nor St. Paul himſelf, ever once mentions the name.——From all theſe teſtimonies both ſacred and profane, it plainly appears, that Theſſaly muſt be included in Macedonia or Achaia; and that it was in the former, is very evident, not only as it had formerly been a member of it, but from Ptolemy's account; who expreſsly tells us, "[e] That the ſouthern bound"ary of Macedonia, was a line drawn from the mouth of the river Ce"lydnus, along the ſide of Epirus, and then of Achaia, to the Malian "Bay, in which line lie mount Pindus and Oeta." This manifeſtly includes all Theſſaly. And, in the ſame chapter, Ptolemy reckons all the Theſſalian towns, particularly our Thebae Phthiotides, (or Philippi), in Macedonia, and never once mentions Theſſaly as a diſtinct province.

Notwithſtanding all I have ſaid, it muſt be acknowledged, that Theſſaly ſeems often to be diſtinguiſhed from Macedonia by the beſt authors. So [f] Caeſar, in his Commentaries, calls the river Haliacmon (not Peneus,

[d] Ὕστερον τὴν μὲν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Γαλαλίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα τῷ δήμῳ ἀπέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Δαλματίαν ἀνείλαβε. Dio Caſſ. ibid.

[e] Ἀπὸ δὲ μεσημβρίας τῇ ἐνιεῦθεν γραμμῇ παρὰ μὲν τὴν Ἤπειρον ἕως πέρατος ἐφ' ἧς γραμμῆς διατείνει τὸ Πίνδου ὄρος. Παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀχαΐαν ἐξῆς μέχρι τοῦ Μαλιακοῦ κόλπου ἐφ' ἧς γραμμῆς ἐστιν ἡ Οἴτη τὸ Ὄρος. Ptol. l. iii. c. 13.

[f] "Quò iter expeditius facerat M. Favo"nium, ad flumen Haliacmonem, quod "Macedoniam a Theſſaliâ dividit, cum co-

as

as Livy and others) the boundary between thoſe countries; and generally, indeed, in his account of that war, he mentions Theſſaly and Macedonia apart. But this he may be ſuppoſed to do, with regard to the ancient diviſion, for clearneſs and diſtinction's ſake, as that part of the country was the principal ſeat of the war. The like diſtinction of names ſtill continues between Wales and England, notwithſtanding they have been ſo long united into one country.

In ſhort, unleſs we allow Theſſaly to be part of Macedonia (or Emathia according to the Poets language), how can we explain many paſſages in Lucan, who generally gives it the epithet, Emathian, almoſt in every page of his poem; and expreſsly calls his Pharſalia, *Emathis* (lib. II. 250.), and the country, which was the ſeat of the campaign between Caeſar and Pompey, *Macetûm Terras*, lib. V. ver. 2. — Nay, what an egregious blunder had he committed, even at firſt ſetting out, to begin his poem with —

" Bella per Emathios campos?"

I have inſiſted the longer on this head, becauſe Geographers differ very much in their maps and deſcriptions of Macedonia, eſpecially on the ſide of Theſſaly, which is repreſented by moſt of them as a diſtinct province. Whereas it appears, that from the time of Philip the father of Alexander (unleſs for about fifty years from the firſt of the third Macedonian war), it was conſtantly reputed as a part of Macedonia, not only in the ſtyle of Poets, who might be allowed to ſtretch a little, but even in vulgar language. And the ſettling this true boundary to Macedonia, ſo as to take in both Philippi, is of ſingular uſe in explaining this paſſage in Virgil, as well as many others in the other Poets. — I muſt now advance one ſtep farther, to ſhew that

Both Philippi were near mount Haemus.

This aſſertion may ſeem at firſt ſight directly contradictory to what we have been before proving. For if the two Philippi were ſo far from each other, at the two moſt diſtant extremities of Macedonia, how could they be both ſituated at the foot of mount Haemus, a mountain of Thrace? The eaſtern Philippi was indeed on the confines of Thrace, and therefore there can be no great difficulty in placing *that* at the foot of this

" hortibus LX, praeſidio impedimentis le- " gionum reliquit, Caſtellumque ibi muniri " juſſit." Caeſ. De Bell. Civ. lib. iii. c. 36.

mountain;

mountain; but to bring Haemus into Theſſaly (which we uſually find in maps at ſo wide a diſtance) may appear as ſtrange as the old fabulous accounts of moving the mountains of that country, Pelion and Oſſa. But if we conſider the matter fairly, we may perhaps find this no hard taſk. Let us look upon Haemus in the ſame view as the Alpes and Apennines, not as a ſingle mountain, but an extenſive chain. Agreeably to this notion, it is commonly called *Cadena del Mondo*, as Father Hardouin informs us in his Pliny, lib. IV. § 18. The [g] old epitomizer of Strabo, ſpeaking of Haemus, tells us (as before obſerved) that theſe mountains reached in a ſtrait line from the Euxine ſea to the Adriatick; and as the ſame [h] ridge ſtill ſtretched itſelf farther on, though not in a ſtrait line, yet uninterrupted, quite through Macedonia and Greece, encompaſſing Theſſaly, why might not the ſame name be continued throughout? It muſt be allowed, that the head, or higheſt part of the mountain, was in Thrace, and one province of that country was from thence called Haemimontana. But all the other mountains, viz. Rhodope, Pangaeus, etc. quite round to Pindus and Oeta, are branched out from the ſame head, and therefore may deſervedly be reckoned limbs of the ſame body. And as St. Bernard, St. Goddard, Mount Senis, Monte Giogo, Maliella, etc. are only different names by which we diſtinguiſh the ſeveral parts of the Alpes and Apennines, with the ſame reaſon that whole length of mountains which begin in Thrace, and run in a continual chain through Macedonia and Greece, might properly be called Haemus, though every link had its different name. Virgil himſelf ſeems likewiſe in another place to take this mountain in the ſame extenſive view, when he cries out,

— " O qui me gelidis in vallibus Haemi
" Siſtat! et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra!"
Georg. II. ver. 488.

The Poet is drawing a compariſon between the pomp of great men, and the innocent pleaſures of a country life; and as all the other places mentioned in this paſſage, were in Theſſaly or Achaia, it is reaſonable

[g] Pag. 8 Note (6).

[h] Servius did not conſider this; but obſerving that the Poets mention Haemus in Theſſaly, therefore he calls it twice Mons Theſſaliae, and ſeems to take it as a diſtinct mountain of that country (Note on Geor. i. ver. 492. and Geor. ii. ver. 488.); whereas the Poets reckon it only as a branch of the Thracian mountain extended into Theſſaly, and called by them, in their figurative language, by the ſame name.

to

to ſuppoſe, that by the valleys of Haemus, he means the ſame country too; and that his wiſh was to retire thither to the fountains of the Muſes, or groves of the Philoſophers. In this ſenſe Father Catrou underſtands him in his note on "[i] O! ubi Tempe," etc. Georg. II. 486.

But as it is poſſible that Virgil (as elegant a taſte as he had) might prefer even the wilds of Thrace, to the vanities of a court, I ſhall inſiſt no farther on this argument, but proceed to quote ſome paſſages from Lucan, which evidently ſhew that Haemus reached to the Theſſalian Philippi. Thus, at the latter end of the firſt book, he propheſies that the battle of Pharſalia (which he calls by the name of Philippi) was to be fought under the rock of Haemus:

—"Latosque Haemi ſub rupe Philippos." Ver. 681.

Again, when he has brought both armies into the plains of Pharſalia, and is deſcribing the frightful dreams which terrified Pompey's army the night before the engagement, he ſays,

"Multis concurrere viſus Olympo
"Pindus, et abruptis mergi convallibus Haemus,
"Edere nocturnas belli Pharſalia voces,
"Ire per Oſſaeam rapidus Baebeïda ſanguis." Lib. VII. 174.

All the other places here mentioned with Pharſalia, were ſtrictly in that neighbourhood; the mountains of Thrace were at too great diſtance to be concerned; and, therefore, it muſt be ſuppoſed, that he means only a branch of Haemus, ſtretched out into Theſſaly, which he fancies ſhaken with the ſame convulſion.

Again (book X.), Lucan, ſpeaking of Julius Caeſar's being beſieged in Cleopatra's palace at Alexandria, expreſsly calls Haemus, *Theſſalian*.

"Audax Theſſalici qui nuper rupe ſub Haemi." Ver. 449.

And (book VI.) when the companions of S. Pompeius are enquiring for the Theſſalian Witch before-mentioned, the Poet brings Haemus even to Pharſalia:

[i] "Le Mont Haemus commence en Theſſalie, ſe repand enſuite dans la Macedoine, puis dans la Thrace, et finit en Scythie. Virgile alors ſoupiroit après la Gréce. Il avoit reſolu d'y aller conſumer le reſte de ſes jours dans l'étude de la philoſophie."—See Catrou's Tranſlation of Virgil.

"Conſpexêre

" Conſpexêre procul praeruptâ in rupe ſedentem,
" Quà [k] juga devexus Pharſalica porrigit Haemus." Ver. 576.

Where it muſt be obſerved, that he deſcribes the Pharſalian hills, as ſpurs of Haemus, and ſtretched out from the declivity of that mountain.

LETTER VI.

Reaſons why VIRGIL choſe to call both Battles by one Name.

FROM what has been ſaid in my former letter, I hope you will allow, that by means of the two Philippi, this controverted paſſage in Virgil, conſidered by itſelf only, may be underſtood. The chief difficulty conſiſted in not thoroughly examining the forementioned articles. Thoſe being cleared up

—— " Circumfuſa repente
" Scindit ſe nubes, et in aethera purgat apertum." Aen. I. 586.

If we farther examine the context, we ſhall ſtill ſee the place in a clearer light, and plainly diſcover for what reaſons Virgil choſe to call both battles by the ſame name, rather than diſtinguiſh them, as the Hiſtorians do, by the two different names of Pharſalia and Philippi.

We muſt obſerve then, that the Poet, in this firſt book of his Georgics having laid down rules for ploughing, ſowing, and reaping, and directed how the huſbandman ſhould be employed during the whole year, according to the variety of ſeaſons and weather, comes (ver. 351.) to ſhew by what ſymptoms we may diſcern thoſe approaching changes of the weather:

[k] The ſpurs or branches of a mountain properly called *Juga:* ſo Ovid, in his ſtory of Atlas, changes his head into the Cacumen, and his hands and ſhoulders into the Juga:

" Quantus erat mons factus Atlas, jam barba comaeque,
" In ſilvas abeunt: *juga ſunt humerique manusque:*
" Quod caput ante fuit ſummo eſt in monte cacumen."
Ovid. Met. lib. IV. fab. xvii.

" Atque

" Atque haec ut certis poſſimus diſcere ſignis."

And having deſcribed the common country prognoſtics, he inſiſts chiefly on thoſe taken from the ſun :

——" Solem certiſſima ſigna ſequuntur." Ver. 439.

And remarks, that the leſſons we have from thence are ſo ſure and inſtructive, that they not only forewarn alterations of weather, but revolutions of ſtates ; and often diſcover the moſt ſecret plots and conſpiracies:

——— " Solem quis dicere falſum
" Audeat? Ille etiam caecos inſtare tumultus
" Saepe monet, fraudemque et operta tumeſcere bella."
Ver. 465.

From hence he takes occaſion, in compliment to Auguſtus, to obſerve, that this his protecting and favourite Deity ſhewed ſo much concern for Rome, upon the murder of Julius Caeſar, that for ſome time he covered his head with an obſcure veil, and ſeemed to threaten the world with perpetual darkneſs :

" Ille etiam extincto miſeratus Caeſare Romam ;
" Cum caput obſcurâ nitidum ferrugine texit,
" Impiaque aeternam timuerunt ſaecula noctem." Ver. 468.

And then enumerating ſeveral other ſtrange phaenomena which happened on that occaſion, he concludes, that all theſe prodigies concurred in portending to the Romans the continuance of their civil wars, and denouncing the vengeance of the Gods againſt the murderers of Caeſar, and that in ſo remarkable a manner, that there appeared in it a particular ſtroke of Providence, according to the Heathen ſuperſtition, that the ſecond battle ſhould be fought in the ſame province with the firſt, and near a ſecond Philippi [a].

[a] Catrou, in his notes on Virgil, has obſerved, that the ſigns which followed the death of Julius Caeſar, were likewiſe prognoſtics of another evil, the civil war between Octavius Caeſar and Antony, and Brutus and Caſſius, which was finiſhed by the battle of Philippi. " A la vérité ces " ſignes qui ſuivirent la mort de Jules Céſar " furent auſſi des pronoſtics d'un autre " malheur, c'eſt de la guerre civile qui s'e- " leva entre Octavien Céſar et Antoine " contre Brutus et Caſſius ; et qui finit par " la bataille de Philippes." Diſſert. on Virg. Georg. I. Note 18. — Now ſince he has advanced ſo far as to find the two Philippi, and to obſerve that Virgil's ſigns

" Ergo inter ſeſe paribus concurrere telis
" Romanas acies *iterum* videre *Philippi*."

Dr. Lamotte very juſtly obſerves (in the [b] remarks, which I referred to in my firſt letter) that there is a manifeſt connection between " Ergo inter " ſeſe," and the preceding lines, and that Ergo is an inference from thoſe prodigies which attended the death of Caeſar. I entirely agree with him therein, but I don't underſtand the concluſion he draws from thence: " That this connection being ſuppoſed, then the fight of Pharſalia muſt " be entirely out of the queſtion. For what relation, ſays he, could this " battle have to the death of Caeſar, which happened above three years " after?" With ſubmiſſion to the Doctor, the bare mentioning a ſecond battle muſt neceſſarily have ſome reference to the firſt; and this relation is ſufficient to juſtify the uſe of the words Iterum and Bis. But there is a farther relation here, viz. the reſemblance between the field of battle where Julius Caeſar conquered, and that where his death was revenged. There was ſomething *ominous* in it; ſomething which correſponded very well with the preceding prodigies; both places near which the two battles were fought were of the ſame name, both within the ſame province, and at the foot of the ſame mountain. And though theſe circumſtances may appear trifling in this critical age, they were certainly very material at that time. Omens have ſtill ſome influence even with us, but much greater regard was univerſally paid to them by the ancients, and, I believe, the modern Romans will allow that no people were more ſuperſtitious in this reſpect than their anceſtors.

Tully, in his book De Divinatione (which was wrote at a time very *à propos* to our preſent ſubject, viz. the year preceding the battle of Philippi), [c] runs over the whole ſyſtem of the ancient divinations, and amongſt

which followed the death of Caeſar, were prognoſtics of another civil war, and that that war was finiſhed by the battle of Philippi; it is ſomewhat ſtrange that he ſhould not make the leaſt diſcovery of Virgil's meaning; and that he ſhould come ſo near the mark without ever touching it.

[b] Hiſt. of the Works of the Learned, for Jan. 1738.

[c] Neque ſolùm Deorum voces Pythagorei obſervitaverunt, ſed etiam hominum, quae vocant Omina. Quae majores noſtri quia valere cenſebant, idcirco omnibus rebus agendis, " Quod Bonum, Fauſtum, Felix, Fortu- " natumque eſſet," praefabantur: Rebusque divinis, quae publice fierent, ut " Faverent " Linguis," imperabatur; inque feriis imperandis, " ut litibus et jurgiis ſe abſtinerent." Itemque in luſtrandâ coloniâ, ab eo, qui eam deduceret; et cum imperator exercitum, cenſor populum luſtraret; bonis nominibus, qui hoſtias ducerent, eligebantur. Quod idem in

the

the reſt reckons that of omens, or obſervations from ſimilitude of names, which, he tells us, made ſo great an impreſſion on the minds of the Romans, as to have a ſhare in all their affairs as well civil as religious. For inſtance, "When a new colony was to be planted, or when a general reviewed an "army, or a cenſor numbered the people, ſuch perſons were choſen to "conduct the ſacrifices, whoſe names ſeemed to promiſe proſperity; and "in levying recruits, the conſul or general took particular care, that the "firſt ſoldier on the muſter-roll ſhould be of a lucky name." In ſhort, nothing was tranſacted without this ſcrupulous care: And, as an inſtance how far this whim prevailed, he relates the following ſtory: "When "L. Paullus returned to his houſe the ſame evening that he was elected a "ſecond time conſul; and that the war againſt Perſes, King of Macedonia, "was allotted to him, he found his little daughter in tears, and enquiring "into the reaſon, ſhe told him, that Perſa was dead, meaning her lap-dog." Upon this, the grave conſul embraced his child with great eagerneſs, and took what ſhe ſaid as a lucky omen.

'Tis true, the Philoſopher, at the ſame time that he relates the ſtory, very deſervedly ridicules any reliance on ſuch ſuperſtitious fancies; but the conſtant regard paid to them by the Romans, and obſerved, as we find, by Tully himſelf when conſul, is a ſufficient reaſon for the Poet, at a time when he is deſcribing all the ſignificant prodigies which followed the murder of Caeſar, and forewarned the civil wars conſequent thereupon, not to omit this ominous circumſtance, that the ſame Emathia, and the ſame name Philippi, ſhould be twice fatal to the Romans.

We find the ancient Hiſtorians full of the ſeveral unlucky tokens which immediately preceded the laſt fatal blow; [d] as the ſwarms of bees hovering over Caſſius's camp; an enſign-bearer making a falſe ſtep, and letting fall an image of victory; the lictors by miſtake turning the crown of laurel upſide down, which adorned their faſces; and many other ſuch minute

delectu conſules obſervant, ut primus miles fiat bono nomine. Quae quidem à te ſcis et conſule et imperatore ſummâ religione eſſe ſervata. Praerogativam etiam majores omen juſtorum comitiorum eſſe voluerunt. Atque ego exempla ominum nota proferam. L. Paullus, conſul iterum, cum ei bellum, ut cum rege Perſe gereret, obtigiſſet, ut eâ ipſâ die domum ad veſperam rediit, filiolam ſuam Tertiam, quae tum erat admodum parva, oſculans, animadvertit triſticulam. Quid eſt, inquit, mea Tertia? quid triſtis es? Mi Pater, inquit, Perſa periit. Tum ille arctius puellam complexus, Accipio omen, inquit, mea filia. Erat autem mortua catella eo nomine. Tull. de Divinat. lib. I. ver. 45, 46.

[d] Μέλισσαι πολλαὶ τὸ τῦ Κασσιῦ στρατόπεδον περίεσχον, etc. Dion Caſſius, edit. Hannov. p. 351.

incidents; ſome of which (as they pretend) affected even Caſſius, though an Epicurean. But the moſt memorable ſtory, and which moſt nearly concerns our preſent purpoſe, is that of the viſion which appeared twice to Brutus, firſt in Aſia juſt before his paſſage into Europe, and again at Philippi, a little before the battle. As Appian relates the firſt appearance, the phantom ſeemed to lay a particular ſtreſs on the name Philippi. Ὀφθήσομαί σοὶ καὶ ἐν Φιλίπποις, I will appear to thee again, and that at Philippi; or, I will meet thee once more at a Philippi. Taking the words in their ominous and emphatical ſenſe, they appear in a ſtronger light; the ambiguity in the name Philippi, gives them a greater force; and as this ſtory muſt be freſh in every body's mouth, when Virgil wrote his Georgics, 'tis not improbable that he thence took the firſt hint of his two Philippi.

It is true there is ſomething equivocal in this expreſſion—"Iterum vi-"dere Philippi." And that has been the occaſion of its being ſo much miſunderſtood; but this ſort of double entendre, which in another place would be a fault, is here a beauty, and Virgil has ſhewn great judgment in knowing when to uſe an ambiguity. The whole drift of this paſſage conſiſts in ſigns and wonders preparatory to a great event; and if he repreſents this event in the ambiguous ſtyle, which was the language of the oracles, he ſpeaks like their Gods.

Before I quit this ſubject, I beg leave to aſk you (but cautiouſly) whether in the laſt two verſes,—"Nec fuit indignum," etc. it is not poſſible that Virgil may continue the double entendre, and allude, in the names Emathia and Haemus, to the derivation from Αἷμα, blood? nor is this a groundleſs conjecture, but an old notion which prevailed long before Virgil's time, that Haemus (at leaſt) took its name from Blood. This appears plainly from Apollodorus, who ſpeaking of the Giants wars, tells us, That Typhon flying from Jupiter into Thrace, [e] "and fighting with him about Haemus, "threw whole mountains at him, which being retorted back upon him by "thunder, much blood was ſpilt upon the mountain; and from thence, "it is ſaid, the mountain was called Haemus."

It muſt farther be remarked, that this blood which gave name to the mountain, was the blood of one of the Giants; and as the complement has frequently been paid to Auguſtus, to compare his ſucceſs in the civil war, with the victories of Jove over the Giants, why may not Virgil allude

[e] Καὶ μαχόμενον περὶ τὸν Αἷμον ὅλα ἔβαλεν ὄρη, πολὺ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει ἐξέκλυσεν αἷμα. Καί φασιν ἐκτέτων δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῦ κεραυνῦ πάλιν ὠθεμένων τότε τὸ ὄρος κληθῆναι Αἷμον. Apoll. Bibl. lib. I.

to

to the ſame ſtory? And as it was too trite a ſubject to dwell long upon, he only juſt hints at the compariſon. — "Nec fuit indignum ſuperis," etc. Nor did the Gods think it unbecoming them, that the ſame country and mountain, which took their names from the blood of the Giant who rebelled againſt Jove, ſhould twice be fattened with the blood of the Romans, who fought againſt the Caeſars.

I fear you will think this obſervation very trifling and ridiculous; but what ſeems monſtrous at firſt ſight, may, when ſeen in a true light, appear very beautiful and regular. Do but conſider what has been ſaid before of the great ſuperſtition of the Romans, with regard to names, and that ſporting with words was the delight of their oracles; and then perhaps you will allow, that this quibble (if you will call it ſo) which would otherwiſe be unbecoming the dignity of Virgil, is in this place very *à propos*. No Poet was ever, perhaps, leſs guilty of this low wit than himſelf; but punning may not always be unſeaſonable in the graveſt writer. He himſelf has ſhewn by the famous inſtance of Aſcanius's trencher, that a little joke, when rightly applied, may (even in an epic poem) have its grace and beauty. And I think that in this ſenſe too it may be juſtly ſaid,

"Dulce eſt deſipere in loco."

However, if you ſtill imagine that in this latter part I have too much indulged an idle fancy, I hope it will not prejudice you againſt the other part of my interpretation. I think nothing can be plainer than that the chief ſpirit of the paſſage conſiſts in the double Philippi. [f] "This makes "the connection clear, and the inference entirely juſt."

Having now done with Virgil, I proceed to conſider all the correſpondent places in the other Poets. My principal aim was to vindicate him; but as the other Poets, by imitating him, are fallen under the ſame or worſe cenſures, they are equally entitled to juſtice. And it ſeems more neceſſary to ſay ſomething in their favour, becauſe they are entirely given up even by thoſe few advocates who have pleaded for Virgil.

[g] Lipſius, in a note on the name Philippi, in Velleius Paterculus, lib. II. c. 70. ſays, "Jure miror quid poetis aliquot in mentem venerit confun- "dere haec loca et urbes, quaſi ſi utrumque bellum in iiſdem campis de- "pugnatum." Then quoting Virgil's "Romanas acies iterum videre "Philippi," he adds, "Quem tamen excuſes, quaſi Philippi iterum vi-

[f] Dr. Lamotte's words.

[g] See Burman's edit. of Velleius.

"derint,

" derint, ſed non iidem." But for Manilius and the other Poets, and the Hiſtorian L. Florus, he thinks them inexcuſable. And Voſſius, in his note on the ſame place, ſays, " Non ſit dubium quin geminos Philippos " intelligat Maro, illos qui in Theſſaliâ ſunt, et alteros qui in Macedoniâ " ad Haemum montem. Reliqui omnes poetae lapſi."

Theſe remarks from ſuch eminent critics in favour of Virgil, muſt have been of ſervice towards explaining him, had there not been many reaſons for paying no more reſpect to their authority.

They don't profeſſedly undertake the defence of Virgil, but only mention him curſorily in their comments on another author. Beſides, they only juſt hint at Virgil's meaning, without ſufficiently enlarging upon it. Again, what they ſay would ſerve only to explain the two firſt verſes relating to the two Philippi, not the two latter, as to the extent of Emathia and Haemus. But the chief reaſon for diſregarding their remark I take to be this: The manifeſt partiality which appears in their ſentence. Therefore, as I obſerved before, it is very neceſſary, even to Virgil's juſtification, to clear his followers as well as himſelf: For when they are all brought to the ſame bar, it ſeems very unjuſt to acquit the principal and condemn his accomplices.

It may be, the other Poets, who copy from Virgil, don't expreſs themſelves ſo artfully as their maſter, and for that reaſon they may be more liable to exception: But we muſt conſider how difficult it is to copy exactly after ſo good an original; yet their deſign in the main may be the ſame: And therefore, making allowances for difference of ſtyles, I doubt not but they may be all explained in the ſame manner. And, if I can make this appear, it will not only clear them from the aſperſions thrown on them, but will be a good evidence in Virgil's favour; that this paſſage, as difficult as it has appeared to the moderns, was not only well underſtood by the ancients, but likewiſe much admired, otherwiſe it would never have been ſo univerſally imitated.

The conſideration of theſe articles muſt be referred to another letter, which ſhall conclude this ſubject.

LETTER

LETTER VII.

Paſſages in other Poets explained in the ſame manner as VIRGIL. And L. FLORUS reconciled with the other Hiſtorians.

THE firſt Poet after Virgil who has puzzled his commentators by his battles of Philippi, is Ovid; who, at the latter end of his Metamorphoſis, introduces Venus complaining in the aſſembly of the Gods, of the barbarous ſtroke which ſhe foreſaw threatened Julius Caeſar in the Senate-houſe. To this Jupiter anſwers, that he could not avert the blow, it being decreed by Fate, that Caeſar muſt fall: But at the ſame time aſſures her for her comfort, "That ſhe ſhould give him a ſeat in Heaven, that "his adopted ſon and heir ſhould ſucceed him in the empire, and that "the Gods would proſper him in his wars to revenge the death of his "father:

" [a] Ut Deus accedat caelo, templisque colatur,
" Tu facies: Natusque ſuus, qui, nominis heres,
" Impoſitum feret urbis onus: caeſique parentis
" Nos in bella ſuos fortiſſimus ultor habebit."

And then concludes:

——— " Pharſalia ſentiet illum,
" Emathiâque iterum madefient caede Philippi."

As theſe verſes manifeſtly relate to Auguſtus, it muſt be owned, they ſeem at firſt to point out the plain of Pharſalia, as the place where he was to conquer as well as Julius, and that the ſame Theſſalian Philippi (according to Catrou and Rouille) were again to be drenched with Roman blood. But as this is evidently contrary to Hiſtory, it follows that either Ovid was miſtaken; or that this was not his meaning. Several of his own

[a] Met. lib. xv. 818, etc.

commentators

commentators give it up as a blunder in their author. But though he was not always the moſt correct writer, yet I think he could not poſſibly be ſo entirely ignorant of public affairs, when he wrote his Metamorphoſis, as to place an action at Pharſalia in Theſſaly, which happened at Philippi on the borders of Thrace. 'Tis true he was not of age to remember the battle of Philippi, as has been before obſerved, that Virgil did; but he was born before the action: And what an unlucky planet muſt we ſuppoſe him born under, to think him capable of committing ſo groſs a blunder in the moſt remarkable tranſaction of his own time? As this cannot well be conceived, let us try if ſuch a conſtruction may not be put on his words as may reconcile them to hiſtory.

[a]Let us conſider then, that the plain of Pharſalia was rendered for ever memorable by the victory obtained there by Julius Caeſar: That he had there ſpared the lives of thoſe by whom he was afterwards aſſaſſinated. And as Jupiter here promiſes to make the adopted ſon revenge that death by another ſignal battle, what impropriety was there in ſaying, that Pharſalia ſhould be ſenſible of this victory, notwithſtanding it was to be obtained in a diſtant part of the province? or, in other words, that Pharſalia ſhould rejoice at the vengeance taken by Auguſtus on the murderers of his father:

——— " Pharſalia ſentiet illum."

This conſtruction ſeems to me very plain and eaſy, and then the laſt verſe may be as eaſily underſtood in the ſame ſenſe with Virgil, of a ſecond Philippi to be ſoaked with Roman blood in the ſame fatal province:

" [b] Emathiâque iterum madefient caede Philippi."

As there has been ſome difficulty in underſtanding this paſſage, it muſt be entirely owing to our being ſo far removed, as we are at preſent, from Pharſalia and Philippi: This diſtance deceives us, and makes the Poet appear in a dubious light. But when he wrote, his countrymen were as well acquainted with thoſe places, and what happened there, as we are with Blenheim, and probably much better, as it was part of their own dominions. And therefore, as the words could not poſſibly, at that time, be taken in the wrong ſenſe which has been ſince put upon them, there could be no ambiguity in comprehending their true meaning.

[b] Or Emathiique, for both are read.

The

The next Poet to be conſidered is Manilius, who, according to the beſt accounts, lived about the ſame time with Ovid. This author, in imitation of Virgil, ſpeaking (at the latter end of the firſt book of his Aſtronomicon) of wars and conſpiracies preſignified by comets and other ſigns from heaven, inſtances particularly in thoſe prognoſtics which attended the battles of Philippi:

" Civiles etiam motus, cognataque bella
" Significant, nec plura aliàs incendia mundus
" Suſtinuit, quàm cum ducibus jurata cruentis
" Arma Philippeos implerunt agmine campos."

From hence he takes occaſion, in farther conformity with Virgil, to obſerve the fatal relation between the two battles:

" Vix etiam ſiccâ miles Romanus arenâ
" Oſſa virûm, lacerosque priùs ſuperaſtitit artus;
" Imperiumque ſuis conflixit viribus ipſum;
" Perque patris pater Auguſtus veſtigia vicit."

Father Catrou, and many others, conclude this paſſage to be a full proof that both battles were fought on the ſame individual ſpot. And indeed, if we underſtand the words in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, and (as that Father ſays) [c] " according to the rigour of the letter," this ſeems to be the moſt obvious meaning. But we may with equal reaſon conclude, that both battles were fought, not only on the ſame ſpot, but within few days, or hours, one of the other. " [Vix etiam ſiccâ arenâ.]" No body could ever ſuppoſe theſe latter words ſhould be taken literally. And it is as inconſiſtent with hiſtory to underſtand the reſt ſo: Therefore let us take the whole figuratively.

The real reſemblance between the two battles conſiſted in this, that Auguſtus purſued his enemies into Macedonia, as Julius had done; in both battles Romans fought againſt Romans; both were fought in the ſame province; and in both the ſame party prevailed: And thus far Auguſtus

[c] Lucain et Manilius, qui ont écrit depuis Virgile, ſervent de commentaire au texte que nous examinons. Ces deux écrivains parlent plus nettement encore que Virgile des deux batailles de Pharſale et de Philippes, qui ſelon eux furent livrées préciſément au même lieu, " a entendre la choſe à la rigueur des " termes." Manilius eſt encore plus formel que Lucain, et ſes vers marquent expreſſément les batailles de Pharſale et des Philippes données " à la lettre" au même lieu. See Catrou's Critical Notes on Virg. Georg. I. note 19.

trod in his father's ſteps. If Manilius has expreſſed this in very bold terms, it is agreeable to his uſual ſtyle; but I ſee nothing in it extravagant: For, what greater hyperbole is there in ſaying, The ſoldiers in the latter action trampled on the bones of thoſe who were ſlain in the former, though at a great diſtance, conſidering both happened in the ſame province, and in the ſame cauſe, than in ſaying, The blood ſpilt in the former battle was ſcarce dried up, when the latter was fought, though there was ſix years diſtance between one and the other?

However, whether we allow this to be too bold a ſtroke in Manilius, or not, I think there can be no doubt but, as he introduces his two battles in the ſame manner with Virgil, he had him in view; and, to uſe his own words, attempts to go "per patris veſtigia;" but as his genius was not equal, it is no wonder if he rambles a little out of the way: "Sequiturque "patrem non paſſibus aequis."

I come next to Petronius, who has the following prophetic verſes relating to the Roman civil wars, ſpoken by Fortune to Pluto; in which, among other diſaſters, ſhe foretells the two fatal blows of Philippi:

"[d] Cerno equidem geminâ jam ſtratos morte Philippos,
"Theſſaliaeque rogos, et funera gentis Iberae
"Et Libyae cerno."

This is expreſſed ſo ſhort, that there is nothing particular in it, more than bare mentioning thoſe fatal blows. Beſides, the "gemina mors" (if that is the true reading) may poſſibly be interpreted in the ſame ſenſe as Dr. Lamotte, and the critic quoted by Catrou, underſtand Virgil, of the death of the two Generals, Brutus and Caſſius, in two different actions. There is ſome greater ground here for this ſuppoſition, becauſe the battle of Pharſalia is ſufficiently denoted, by the beginning of the next verſe — "Theſſaliaeque rogos:" And allowing that to be the caſe, then this paſſage muſt relate only to one Philippi; and can have nothing to do with our preſent diſpute, wherefore I ſhall wave it, and proceed to examine Lucan.

I have already brought this author as an evidence, in my fifth letter to prove, that there was a Philippi in Theſſaly near the plain of Pharſalia. I ſhall now produce ſome other teſtimonies from him; to ſhew that he ſpeaks of both battles by the ſingle name Philippi; and that he lays an

[d] Tornaeſ. in loc. et Nic. Heinſ. in Ov. Met. lib. xv. 824. read "gemino marte."

emphaſis

emphaſis on the name, as if there was a fatality attending it, or, as he expreſſes himſelf on a like ſuperſtitious occaſion:

" Tanquam fortuna locorum
" Bella gerat." Lib. IV. 661.

For inſtance, at the latter end of the firſt book, when the frantic matron runs through the ſtreets of Rome, and prophecies the calamities of the approaching civil wars. She firſt enumerates thoſe brought upon them by Julius Caeſar, as the battle of Pharſalia (which ſhe calls by the name of Philippi, as is before obſerved); the murther of Pompey in Aegypt; the fall of Cato, etc. in Africa; the ruin of their cauſe in Spain; and concludes that part of the tragedy, by the death of Ceaſar in the Senate-houſe. Then ſhe proceeds to the renewal of the war by Octavius: — " Conſurgunt partes iterum:" (ver. 692.) and foreſeeing the fatal battle of Philippi, ſhe cries out in her fury to Apollo,

" Vidi jam, Phoebe, Philippos."

As if ſhe had ſaid, " Whither are you carrying me, to ſee another Philippi! " I have ſeen enough of Philippi already;" meaning that in Theſſaly, or the battle of Pharſalia. This, I think, gives a right enthuſiaſtic ſpirit to this paſſage, and yet renders it plain and eaſy; and without ſuch a conſtruction, it is to me utterly unintelligible.

Again (book VII.) when the two armies of Caeſar and Pompey are actually engaged at Pharſalia, and the Poet ſees his favourite Brutus expoſing himſelf in the hotteſt of the action, he cries out to him in this pathetic apoſtrophe (ver. 590.)

" Ne rue per medios nimium temerarius hoſtes,
" Nec tibi *fatales* admoveris ante Philippos,
" Theſſaliâ periture tuâ."

Don't foreſtall your Philippi, or endeavour by your raſhneſs to precipitate your doom, and miſtake this Philippi for yours. It is decreed indeed by Fate, that you ſhall fall in the ſame province, but not till it is your own. [e] Alluding to his being afterwards made Governor of Macedonia.

[e] See Appian de Bello Civili, lib. iii. p. 856. 864. 892. and 921. edit. Toll. Plutarch likewiſe tells us, that this province was reſigned to Brutus by Hortenſius, ſome time before the battle of Philippi. Plut. Vit. Bruti.

Again, at the latter end of the ſeventh book, immediately after the battle of Pharſalia, Lucan makes an apoſtrophe to Theſſaly, and expoſtulates with her, how it came to paſs that the Gods ſhould deſtine her to be the ruin of the Romans, not only by this fatal battle, but that the ſame country ſhould ſoon be the ſcene of a ſecond no leſs bloody action, meaning that of Philippi. Then expreſſing himſelf with the utmoſt deteſtation againſt her on both theſe accounts, he upon recollection makes an apology, and ſays,—Had ſhe alone been criminal, ſhe might deſerve all his imprecations, but the deſtruction was now become ſo univerſal, that one country, as it were, abſolved another, and all were equally guilty; then concludes with theſe two verſes:

" Heſperiae clades, et flebilis unda Pachyni,
" Et Mutina, et Leucas puros fecêre Philippos."

That is, Theſe ſeveral places having participated of the guilt, have, in ſome meaſure, wiped off the ſtain from the two Philippi. For I think nothing can be more evident than that both are here intended. The Theſſalian or Pharſalian could not be omitted, becauſe it was the principal ſubject of the poem. Of this Mr. Rowe was ſo ſenſible, that, without any authority, he takes the liberty, in his tranſlation, to change Philippi into Pharſalia, and renders the laſt verſe thus:

" And Actium juſtify Pharſalia's plain."

But how does that mend the matter? It would have been equally abſurd, conſidering all that precedes, to have ſaid nothing of the other Philippi, or to imagine, that, when Philippi is named, Pharſalia only is to be underſtood.

The whole tenor of the apoſtrophe evidently ſhews the neceſſity of mentioning both battles, which Lucan does by one word, Philippos: As Mr. Rowe might have done too, had he underſtood his author's double Philippi. In ſhort, I believe, one may venture to affirm, that wherever Lucan, thro' the whole courſe of this poem, ſpeaks of, or hints at, both battles jointly, he never once mentions Pharſalia, but conſtantly makes uſe of Philippi to comprehend both. And I am perſuaded, that the paſſages I have before cited (Letter V.) from Statius and Sidonius Apollinaris, relating to Lucan, are likewiſe to be underſtood of his double Philippi, viz.

" Albos oſſibus Italis Philippos." Statius.

And,

And,

" Tantum dans lacrymas ſuis Philippis," etc. Sidon.

And I cannot but think that this notion of the two Philippi, ſets all theſe paſſages in a new light, and gives them an additional ſtrength and beauty. The only ſeeming difficulty I can find in Lucan, with regard to this diſpute, is, that by his Theſſalia, we muſt ſometimes underſtand all Macedonia; as particularly in the place above-mentioned relating to Brutus, — "Theſſaliâ periture tuâ." And again, in the apoſtrophe to Theſſalia, at the latter end of the ſame book:

" Theſſalia infelix, quo tantos crimine tellus
" Laeſiſti ſuperos, ut te tot mortibus unam,
" Tot ſcelerum fatis premerent? quod ſufficit aevum,
" Immemor ut donet belli tibi damna vetuſtas?
" Quae ſeges infectâ ſurget non decolor herbâ?
" Quo non Romanos violabis vomere manes?
" Ante novae venient acies, ſcelerique ſecundo
" Praeſtabis nondum ſiccos hoc ſanguine campos."

Meaning, by the two laſt verſes, the battle of Octavius and Antony againſt Brutus and Caſſius. Lib. VII. from ver. 847 to 854.

Father Catrou, in his Critical Notes on Virgil, [f] urges this paſſage as an evident proof, that both battles were fought on the ſame individual ſpot, the plain of Pharſalia. But pray which is moſt reaſonable to be believed, that all the ancient Hiſtorians (at leaſt, all except L. Florus) were miſtaken in the account they give us of thoſe battles, or that Lucan, by a figure not unuſual to Poets, puts one diſtrict of a province to ſignify the whole? It may be that no other author before him ever uſed Theſſalia in this extenſive ſenſe; and perhaps Virgil's great modeſty would not have permitted him to have taken ſuch a liberty; but it is not much to

[f] Lucain apoſtrophe la Theſſalie, et lui prophétiſe, qu'elle ſera le théatre de deux combats deciſifs, l'un de Jule contre Pompée, l'autre d'Octavien et d'Antoine contre Brutus et Caſſius, etc. Il faut donc, qu'en effet les deux batailles ſe ſoient données réelment à la vûe d'une ville de Philippes qui ait été voiſine de Pharſalie. Catrou's Critical Notes on Virg. Georg. i. note 19. And again with Rouille in their Roman Hiſtory.—Le texte de Lucain et de Manilius eſt encore plus deciſif, et peut tenir lieu de commentaire à celui de Virgile, *Malheureuſe Theſſalie*, etc. Hiſt. Rom. tom. XVIII. liv. i. p. 187.

be

be wondered at in a Poet, who being young, and of great fire and vivacity, was remarkably bold in his poetic licences, and often overleaped the bounds which other Poets preſcribed themſelves; and perhaps never more than in his geography, as may be ſeen in his deſcription of Cato's march over the ſandy deſerts of Libya, and his excurſion to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, Book IX.

However, I think in the preſent caſe he is very excuſable. We know that Latium was frequently put for all Italy; and the country we are now ſpeaking of, Macedonia, was almoſt conſtantly by the Poets, and often by other writers (as has been before remarked), called Emathia, which, ſtrictly ſpeaking, was only a ſmall part of it. And why might not Theſſaly have the ſame privilege, eſpecially conſidering how great a ſhare it bore in the civil wars? For this likewiſe muſt be taken into the account, that ſome remarkable accident, or the peculiar intereſt one diſtrict has above others, or the great ſhare it bore in the revolution of the ſtate, frequently gives occaſion to new-name a country, or to extend the name of one diſtrict to its neighbouring provinces. This happened in the caſe of Holland, Switzerland, and many other countries; and thus Achaia of old, was, till the time of the Achaian war, no more than a ſmall part of Greece; but becauſe it was principally concerned in that league againſt the Romans, therefore, at the concluſion of the war, when Greece became a Roman province, that whole country, together with Peloponneſus, was uſually known by the name of Achaia. Lucan takes no greater liberty with Theſſaly: That diſtrict had been the chief ſcene of the civil war, and had ruined his darling Pompey; therefore the Poet, through his whole poem, takes all opportunities to brand it with marks of his abhorrence, and to expreſs his utmoſt deteſtation againſt the country which had given the firſt fatal blow: He extends the ſame curſed name to the reſt of the province, which was to prove fatal to the ſame favourite cauſe.

Thus much for the Poets. But there is one thing more to be conſidered before I have done, and that is, the authority of one ancient Hiſtorian againſt the others. This argument ſeems, I know, to ſome whom I have converſed with on this ſubject, to have more weight with it than any thing I have before mentioned; and, if unanſwered, may deſtroy, or at leaſt weaken, whatever I have urged with regard to the Poets. For, notwithſtanding they may be allowed to ſpeak figuratively, yet certainly they ought rather to be underſtood in a ſtrict literal ſenſe, when that is moſt agreeable to Hiſtory. The author here meant is L. Florus, who, in his account

account of the Civil Wars between J. Caeſar and Pompey, ſpeaks of their laſt famous battle, that is, the battle of Pharſalia, as fought on the plains of Pharſalia.—" Sic praecipitantibus fatis, praelio ſumpta eſt Theſſalia: " et Philippicis campis urbis, imperii, generis humani *fata* commiſſa ſunt," lib. IV. c. ii. Again, in the following chapter, when he comes to the renewal of the war by Auguſtus Caeſar, he places the chief ſcene of it in Theſſaly.—" Dum Octavius mortem patris ulciſcitur, iterum fuit mo- " venda Theſſalia," c. iii. And more expreſsly ſtill in the ſeventh chapter, entitled " Bellum Caſſii et Bruti," he ſpeaks of the battle of Octavius and Antony againſt Brutus and Caſſius, as fought preciſely on the ſame ſpot with that of J. Caeſar and Pompey.—" Ordinatâ, magis ut poterat, quam " ut debebat, in triumviros republicâ, relicto ad urbis praeſidium Lepido, " Caeſar cum Antonio in Caſſium Brutumque ſuccingitur. Illi, comparatis " ingentibus copiis, *eandem illam, quae fatalis Cnaeo Pompeio fuit, arenam* " *inſederant*," c. vii. All theſe articles agree ſo exactly with the ſcheme of Catrou and Rouille, that methinks words could not well be invented, better adapted to their purpoſe; and indeed, [g] they ſeem to glory much therein, as a ſure evidence in favour of their opinion. But perhaps upon farther examination, we may find the Hiſtorian of as little ſervice to them, as any of their poetical friends.

Let us firſt then conſider, that L. Florus is unſupported by any other ancient Hiſtorian (for Paulus Diaconus cannot properly be reckoned of that number), and I think it would be doing too much honour to his little epitome, to put it in the ſcale againſt the whole body of ancient Hiſtorians, ſuppoſing him of equal value with any of the reſt: Much leſs reaſonable is it to give credit to him in oppoſition to them all, conſidering that he is not allowed by the critics to be very correct.

It is by no means honourable to detract from an author's character, in order to carry a point; and therefore, granting him his due praiſes, and that ſome cenſures paſſed upon him are too ſevere, yet even the moſt candid muſt at leaſt allow, that he is ſometimes inaccurate.

[g] Voici quelque choſe encore de plus convaincant. L'Hiſtoire vient ici au ſecours des poétes, et les autoriſe. Florus parlant de bataille de Pharſale, etc. Catrou's Differt. on Virg. Georg. i. note 19. And again, in the Rom. Hiſt. tom. XVIII. p. 188.—L'Hiſtorien Florus et Paul Diacre ſe réuniſſent aux quatre premiers (*that is, to the four Poets*) pour placer la ſcene en Theſſalie entre Pharſale et Philippes, quoiqu'ils euſſent ſous leurs yeux. les auteurs qu'on cite pour le ſentiment contraire.

For-

For this we need go no farther than the chapter laſt mentioned (De Bello Caſſii et Bruti) where that ſtory is repreſented in ſuch a manner [h] as if there was no diſtance of time between the death of Caſſius and Brutus; that both fell immediately, the one after the other, in the ſame engagement. One cannot well ſuppoſe Florus ſo ignorant as not to have known better; but his conciſe way of writing led him into this negligent way of expreſſing himſelf. And by this it appears, that he is not always to be underſtood in the ſtricteſt ſenſe.

But without ſaying any more with regard to him, in compariſon with the other Hiſtorians, as to his being only one againſt many, and not the moſt exact, let us farther obſerve, that he every where affects poetic flights; and if we conſider him in that view only, we may perhaps without more ado eaſily reconcile him with his brethren.

Allowing then, according to my former poſition, that the battle between J. Caeſar and Pompey was fought on a plain between Pharſalus and the Theſſalian Philippi, and that there being little diſtance between theſe two places, it might be denominated indifferently from either; allowing likewiſe, notwithſtanding the other Hiſtorians always diſtinguiſh that battle by the name of Pharſalia, yet that the Poets, for certain reaſons before offered, often give it the name of Philippi, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that L. Florus, who affected to imitate them, chuſes here their language; and whilſt by his "Philippicis campis" he means Pharſalia, he tacitly alludes, as they do, to the ſecond battle fought on a plain of the ſame name. There is very good reaſon for this ſuppoſition, becauſe, whenever elſe he mentions this battle (which he does [i] three ſeveral times in this ſame chapter), he conſtantly calls it in the hiſtorical language, Pharſalia, and in this one place only names it from Philippi, and then prefaces the ſentence with "praecipitantibus fatis," and repeats the word Fata again at the latter end of the ſame ſentence, thereby manifeſtly, I think, intimat-

[h] Caſſius inclinato cornu ſuorum, cùm, captis Caeſaris caſtris, rapido impetu recipientes ſe equites videret, fugere arbitratus, evadit in tumulum, inde pulvere et ſtrepitu, etiam nocte vicinâ, eximentibus geſtae rei ſenſum, cum ſpeculator quoque in id miſſus, tardius renunciaret, tranſactum de partibus ratus, uni de proximis auferendum praebuit caput. Brutus etiam cum in Caſſio ſuum animum perdidiſſet, ne quid ex conſtituti fide reſignaret (ita enim par ſupereſſe bello convenerat) ipſe quoque uni comitum ſuorum confodiendum praebuit latus. Lib. iv. c. 7.

[i] In Africa cum civibus multò atrocius quàm in Pharſalia.

Nihil inter Pharſaliam et Thapſon, niſi quod amplior, eoque acrior Caeſarianorum impetus fuit.

Quartus triumphus, Jubam, et Mauros, et bis ſubactam oſtendebat Hiſpaniam. Pharſalia et Thapſos, et Munda nuſquam. L. Flor. lib. iv. c. 2.

ing

ing the fatality which attended the Commonwealth at the two Philippi. Secondly, as Theſſaly was the principal ſcene of the ſubverſion of the ſtate, we may ſuppoſe that Florus uſes it, in the ſecond article, poetically for all Macedonia, a part for the whole. And then, Thirdly, it eaſily follows, that by "Eandem illam arenam," etc. no more is meant, than that Brutus and Caſſius had poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſame province, that amphitheatre which had before been fatal to Pompey.

And here it may be remarked, that the ſame author, in another place, ſpeaking of the beginning of this civil war, uſes the ſame metaphor, Arena, to ſignify, not a ſingle field, but expreſsly a whole province: "Prima civilis belli arena Italia fuit; cujus arces levibus praeſidiis Pom-"peius inſederat." Lib. IV. c. ii. It is true, the ſenſe I have put upon theſe paſſages, is very different from what appears to be the more obvious meaning, and therefore they have been very liable to be miſtaken; but the difficulty ceaſes, if we only conſider what this Hiſtorian, as well as the Poets, chiefly aimed at, a ſuperſtitious fatality, that the two famous battles which completed the ruin of the commonwealth, ſhould both be fought in the ſame province, and both near a Philippi.

Florus was very ſuperſtitious with regard to little incidents, which he looked upon as the orders of Deſtiny. So lib. II. c. xiv. ſpeaking of the third Macedonian and Punic wars happening at the ſame time, he ſays, "Quodam fato, quaſi ita conveniſſet inter Poenos et Macedonas, ut tertio "quoque vincerentur, eodem tempore utrique arma moverunt." This prevailed eſpecially as to names. So in the following chapter, when the Conſul Mancinus had taken Carthage, excepting only the Byrſa, Florus obſerves, that the finiſhing ſtroke was by Fate reſerved to the name of Scipio. "Quamvis profligato urbis excidio, tamen fatale Africae nomen "Scipionum videbatur. Igitur in alium Scipionem converſa reſpublica, "finem belli repoſcebat. Hunc Paulo Macedonico procreatum Africani "illius magni filius in decus gentis aſſumpſerat; hoc ſcilicet Fato, ut quam "urbem concuſſerat avus, nepos everteret." Again, lib. II. c. vi, upon the ſudden taking of Carthage in Spain, he remarks thus, "Omen Afri-"canae victoriae fuit, quod tam facile victa eſt Hiſpana Carthago." I own, theſe may ſeem very trifling circumſtances; but I only mention them to ſhew, that an Hiſtorian of ſuch a turn may eaſily be ſuppoſed capable of calling the battle of Pharſalia by the name of Philippi, for the ſake of the ominous conceit, if there was any town in the neighbourhood which could in the leaſt juſtify him in ſo doing.

It may be likewiſe urged, that the poetical turn given to theſe expreſſions is by no means ſuitable to hiſtory, whatever liberty may be allowed to Poets. Be that as it will, I will not pretend to juſtify them on that ſcore. It is certain, that at the time Florus wrote, the ſimplicity of the Roman ſtyle was very much adulterated; but every author's manner of writing is the beſt comment upon him. And it is ſufficient to our preſent purpoſe, if what Dr. Lamotte (in the letter before mentioned) ſays of this author be true, "that he is full of flights and poetical conceits, and every where "gives into the wonderful." By this means, all that he has ſaid may eaſily be accounted for, without ſuppoſing him guilty of a groſs blunder, or charging him with contradicting the concurrent teſtimony of all the other Hiſtorians.

It may farther be obſerved, that as Florus through all his work is fond of poetical expreſſions, ſo it is probable, that in his account of the civil wars, he particularly follows the author of the Pharſalia, who choſe them for his ſubject: From him he learnt to place the battle of Pharſalia in the fields of Philippi, and to extend the name of Theſſaly to all Macedonia. According to the beſt accounts, they were both of the ſame family, and the Hiſtorian inherited not only the Poet's name, Annaeus, but his ſpirit, and manner of writing, with this difference only, that one was an hiſtorical Poet, the other a poetical Hiſtorian.

I have now gone through the ſeveral windings and turnings of this perplexed controverſy; and hope, I have made out what I firſt undertook to prove: That neither Virgil, nor the ancient Hiſtorians, can, with any reaſon, be ſuppoſed ignorant where the battles of Pharſalia and Philippi were fought: And that, notwithſtanding they ſeem to have been long at variance on that account, they mean the ſame thing; the difference between them being entirely owing to their being miſunderſtood by their interpreters; as it often happens that old friends quarrel, when thoſe who are employed between them miſtake their maſter's meaning, and blunder in delivering their meſſage. I have ſaid a great deal on ſo ſmall a ſubject, but if agreeable to truth, I hope you will pardon the length, eſpecially conſidering that ſeveral other conjectures on this affair, which are manifeſtly wrong, and ſerve only to embarraſs it, would (if put together) make a much larger volume.

It is true, the ſubject itſelf muſt appear to many very trifling. They would ſay, that diſputing ſo long about a ſingle expreſſion, was making much ado about nothing; and that it is of little conſequence whether this

this or that paſſage in Virgil, or any other author, is rightly underſtood or not. To ſuch, the length of one of theſe letters would be ſufficient to prevent their reading it. But I knew to whom I wrote, and therefore thought I could not be too full and particular, in ſettling a point, which has been ſo long controverted; and if I have done this to your ſatisfaction, I ſhall think my time not ill employed.

My principal deſign, as I at firſt informed you, was only to acquit Virgil; but I found his cauſe ſo interwoven with that of the other Poets, and one of the Hiſtorians, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to explain them, in order to clear him, and make one entire reconciliation. The doing this brought me into ſuch a wilderneſs, that it required ſome time to find the way out; and puts me in mind of that intricate paſs, mentioned from Appian in my ſecond letter, through which Raſcupolis led Brutus and Caſſius, when he undertook to ſhew them a new way to Philippi. They were obliged, as you may remember, to open a defile through a thicket of woods and briars, and the ſoldiers found themſelves entangled in ſo many difficulties, that they were ready to ſtone their guide, on a ſuſpicion that he was leading them out of the way. But I hope, after all, you will acknowledge with them, that, though the road has been bad, I have at laſt brought you to the true Philippi.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your moſt Obedient,

And moſt Affectionate Humble Servant,

E. HOLDSWORTH.

DISSERTATION THE SECOND;

ON

VIRGIL'S SIBYL:

In a LETTER to the ſame.

VIRGIL's SIBYLLA,

Not to be confounded with

DEIPHOBE[a].

YOUR favourable acceptance of my late Remarks on Virgil's Two Philippi may, perhaps, put you to more trouble than you are aware of, having given me the aſſurance to communicate to you ſome farther thoughts on other parts of Virgil. That which I beg leave to ſubmit to your judgment at preſent is the beginning of the ſixth Aeneid, ſo far as it relates to the Sibylla; which, according to the common acceptation, appears to me ſo very perplexed, that, methinks, it looks like one of Sibyl's own prophecies; "Obſcuris vera involvit."

The commentators and interpreters generally take it for granted, without further enquiry, that Deïphobe Glauci is the name Virgil gives his Sibyl. Upon a ſtricter examination, I am apt to believe, this will be found to be a miſtake, and ſeems purely owing to negligence, and want of due attention to the whole tenor of this part of the Aeneid. I ſhall offer you my reaſons for thinking ſo; and doubt not but, when you have conſidered all the circumſtances preparatory to the deſcent into hell, you will be fully perſuaded, notwithſtanding the prejudice you may poſſibly have received in favour of the contrary and commonly received opinion, that

[a] This Diſſertation is not only one of the ſtrongeſt inſtances of what is ſaid in the advertiſement prefixed to this work, in relation to Mr. Holdſworth's papers being left unfiniſhed, and uncorrected; but much the greater part of it was alſo written on looſe and unconnected papers. The Editor was unwilling that they ſhould be wholly loſt to the world; and has endeavoured to bring them as much toward a conſiſtency as he poſſibly could under ſuch diſadvantages.

theſe

theſe were two different perſons; and that Deïphobe was no more than a prieſteſs, or one of the prieſteſſes, attending on the Sibyl.

In the firſt place then I conceive, that if Virgil is ſpeaking only of one perſon here, he had no occaſion to call her by any other name than that of Sibylla, which was ſufficiently known. What the name means, or whether a family or proper name, is not agreed on; nor is it material: but becauſe it may be deemed by ſome a general term, and that therefore Virgil added another name the better to diſtinguiſh his Sibyl, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething on this head. Pauſanias [b], ſpeaking of Delphi and its oracles, tells us, that this name is originally African. He ſays the Greeks make the firſt woman, who ever delivered oracles, to be daughter of Jupiter by Lamia, one of the daughters of Neptune; and that ſhe was named Sibylla by the people of Africa. Varro, in his books De Rebus Divinis, written to Julius Caeſar, ſays (as we are informed by Lactantius [c]) that all the Sibyls were ſo called, either from a propheteſs of that name at Delphi; or that the name imported, or was given to intimate, their being admitted into the ſecrets of the Gods. "Sibylla "quaſi Θεοβλη," or in the Aeolic dialect Σιοβυλη. The ſame etymology is confirmed by St. Jerom [d], and others. Now, according to this etymology one may eaſily imagine, that it was ſometimes uſed rather as a common than a proper name; and applied both by Greeks and Romans to any women pretending to divine inſpiration. In this ſenſe Ariſtotle ſpeaks of Sibyls in the plural number; when diſcourſing of different tempers and conſtitutions, he obſerves that overheated brains produce Sibyls [e] and Bacchae, and all ſuch who are thought to be divinely inſpired.

[b] Lib. x. cap. 12.

[c] —Sibyllinos libros non fuiſſe unius Sibyllae; ſed appellari uno nomine Sibyllinos, quod omnes feminae vates Sibyllae ſunt a veteribus nuncupatae, vel ab unius Delphidis nomine, vel a conſiliis Deorum denunciandis; σιος enim Deos non θεος, et conſilium non βουλην ſed βυλην appellabant Aeolico genere ſermonis: itaque Sibyllam dictam eſſe, quaſi Σιοβυλην. Lactant. De Falſâ Relig. lib. i. cap. 6.

[d] Quod ſi Aeolico genere ſermonis Sibylla σιοβυλη appellatur, recte conſilium Dei ſola ſcribitur noſſe virginitas. S. Hieronymus contra Jovinianum, lib. i.

[e] In quibus multa et frigida bilis eſt atra, hi ſtolidi ſunt et ignavi; in quibus permulta et calida, ii perciti et ingenioſi, amaſii, propenſi ad omnem excandeſcentiam et cupiditatem; nonnulli etiam loquaciores. Multi etiam propterea quod ille calor ſedi mentis in vicino eſt, morbis veſaniae implicantur, aut inſtinctu lymphatico inferveſcunt; ex quo Sibyllae efficiuntur et Bacchae, et omnes qui divino ſpiraculo inſtigari creduntur. Ariſtot. Probl. § 30.

But

But notwithſtanding this general acceptation of the word, it is certain that the antients were not ſo laviſh as to beſtow it at random on all the enthuſiaſts. We find very few, in all antiquity, diſtinguiſhed with this name; and thoſe are diſtinguiſhed, generally, either by the places of their abode, or of their nativity.

Thoſe authors who have made it their buſineſs to ſearch into the hiſtory of Sibyls (on account of the Sibylline oracles), tell us, that ſome of the antients allow only one [f], others two [g], ſome three [h], others four [i], and ſome five [k]. Varro, who counts the moſt, reckons ten [l].

Although there have been ſo many different notions about the Sibyl or Sibyls, yet a Roman Hiſtorian, remarkable for his caution and reſerve, does not ſcruple to oppoſe the opinion of there having been only one [m], to all the reſt; and, indeed, upon a farther enquiry, that opinion

[f] See Caſimir Oudin, De Scriptoribus Eccleſiaſticis antiquis, tom. i. § ii. p. 142.

[g] Sibyllas, non decem, ut aſſerunt, ſed duas fuiſſe non neſcis. Marcianus Capilla, De Nupt. Phil. lib. ii.

[h] Delphicam, Heriphilem Erythraeam, et Cumanam. Solinus, c. vii.

[i] Pauſanias admits four. Lamiam, alias Sibyllam Libycam; Herophilem, alias Delphicam vel Erythraeam; Demo, whom he calls the Cumaean; and Sabba, a Sibyl of the Hebrews, whom ſome call the Babylonian, and others the Egyptian Sibyl. Lib. x. cap. xii.

Quaer. Whether Aelian (Var. Hiſt. lib. xii. c. 35.) does not name four only? Ed. Var. Hazetius's note on his account of the Sibyls.

[k] Tibullus mentions the Sibyl (or the Cumaean Sibyl); — Amalthaea; — Herophile; — the Albunean Sibyl; — and the Marpeſſian, or rather Mermeſſian Sibyl. Lib. ii. El. v.

The Mermeſſian Sibyl (as Mr. Holdſworth chuſes to read it) was the ſame with the Erythraean; ſo called from Mermeſſus, near mount Ida in Phrygia; about which city all the ground is of a reddiſh colour, and very dry; according to Pauſanias. So Stephanus Byzantinus calls the city itſelf, *red:* ΜΕΡΜΗΣΣΟΣ. Πολις Τρωικη, ἀφ' ἡς ἡ Ερυθραια Σιβυλλα· ην δε ἡ πολις αὐτη ερύθρα τῳ χρωματι.

[l] He names them thus: 1. Perſicam; 2. Libycam; 3. Delphicam; 4. Cumaeam in Italiâ; 5. Erythraeam; 6. Samiam; 7. Cumanam, nomine Amalthaeam, quae ab aliis, Demophile vel Herophile nominatur; eamque novem libros attuliſſe ad regem Tarquinium; 8. Helleſponticam; 9. Phrygiam; 10. Tyburtem, nomine Albuneam. Varro; from Lactantius, De Divin. Inſtitut. lib. i. cap. 6.

The practice of our modern painters, who uſually repreſent the Sibyls as ten, ſeems to be founded ſolely on this authority from Varro. Michael Angelo was firſt led aſtray by it, in his great work in the Vatican, at Rome; and all the herd of inferior painters ſince have followed him implicitly.

[m] Tacitus, ſpeaking of a motion made for admitting a new book of the Sibyls, in the reign of Tiberius; and obſerving what great caution had been uſed, by order of Auguſtus, in receiving any ſuch book as genuine; goes on thus: Quod a majoribus quoque decretum erat, poſt exuſtum Sociali bello Capitolium; quaeſitis Samo, Ilio, Erythris, per Africam etiam ac Siciliam et Italicas Colonias, carminibus Sibyllae; *una*

will be found to have much more to ſupport it than all the reſt; for both the Greek and Latin writers ſpeak more frequently of one, than of all the other numbers taken together.

Livy ſpeaks of her in the ſingular number; and calls her by the plain name [n] Sibylla, without any addition to it. So does Pliny [o], and [p] Ti-

ſeu plures fuere; datoque ſacerdotibus negotio, quantum humanâ ope potuiſſent, vera diſcernere. Tacitus, Annal. lib. vi. § 12.

[n] It is where he is ſpeaking of Evander; and ſays he was — Venerabilis vir, miraculo literarum; venerabilior, divinitate creditâ Carmentae matris: quam fatiloquam ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum miratae hae gentes fuerant.

Virgil aſſerts the fame of Carmenta; and that ſhe foretold Aeneas's coming to ſettle in Italy.

— Cecinit quae prima futuros
Aeneadas magnos, et nobile Pallantaeum.
Aen. viii. 341.

[o] Divinitas, et quaedam Caelitum ſocietas, nobiliſſima ex feminis in Sibyllâ fuit; ex viris, in Melampode apud Graecos, apud Romanos in Marcio. Hiſt. Nat. lib. vii. cap. 33.

[p] Tibullus wrote the fifth Elegy of his ſecond Book, on Meſſalinus's being choſen to be one of the Quindecimviri; who, among other religious charges, had the inſpection of the Sibylline propheſies. Tho' he mentions four other antient propheteſſes in it, he takes care to diſtinguiſh Sibylla from them, in a very eminent manner. He begins the Poem with a prayer to Phoebus (ver. 1 to 10.), the inſpirer of all prophets and augurs (ver. 11 to 14.); and particularly of Sibylla:

Te duce, Romanos nunquam fruſtrata Sibylla eſt,
Abdita quae ſenis fata canit pedibus:
Phoebe, ſacras Meſſallinum fine tangere chartas
Vatis; et ipſe precor, quod canat illa, doce.
Haec dedit Aeneae ſortes, poſtquam ille parentem
Dicitur et raptos ſuſtinuiſſe Lares:
Haec fore credebat Romam, cum moeſtus ab alto
Ilion ardentes reſpiceretque Deos.
Ver. 15 to 22.

He then deſcribes the low eſtate of Rome, in Evander's time; and then burſts into a ſpeech of Sibylla to Aeneas (ver. 39.) which ſhe concludes thus:

Vera cano: ſic usque ſacras innoxia lauros
Veſcar, et aeternum ſit mihi virginitas.
Ver. 64.

Tibullus then adds:

Haec cecinit Vates; et te ſibi, Phoebe, vocavit;
Jactavit fuſâ ſed caput ante comâ.
Ver. 66.

and then ſpeaks of the other propheteſſes, curſorily, and all together.

Quicquid Amalthaea, quicquid Mermeſſia dixit,
Herophile Phoebo grata quod admonuit;
Quasque Albuna ſacris Tiberis per flumina ſortes
Portarit, ſicco perlueritque ſinu;
Hae fore dixerunt, belli mala ſigna, cometen, etc. Ver. 71.

bullus,

bullus, and Ovid [q], of the writers in Latin: and Plato [r], and Ariſtides [s], and Strabo [t], and Plutarch [u], among ſuch as have writ in Greek.

In mentioning the authorities from the Roman writers juſt now, I did not forget ſo capital an one as Cicero; but reſerved him on purpoſe, to cloſe the evidence as to this part of the argument. Cicero has frequently occaſion to ſpeak of the Sibyl, and Sibylline oracles, in his books De Divinatione: but both in thoſe, and in all the other parts of his works where he mentions her, he ſpeaks of her in the ſingular number; and

[q] Ovid, in deſcribing Aeneas's voyage to Italy, after his having paſt by Pithecuſae, ſays;

Has ubi praeteriit et Parthenopeïa dextrâ
Moenia deſeruit, laevâ de parte canori
Aolidae tumulum et loca foeta paluſtribus ulvis;
Littora Cumarum, vivacisque antra Sibyllae
Intrat: et ut manes adeat per Averna paternos
Orat. —— Met. xiv. ver. 106.

Ovid, in their returning from hell, calls her Dux Cumaea, ver. 121; and Virgo Cumaea, ver. 135; makes her ſay ſhe was 700 years old then, and had 300 more to live, ver. 144; and concludes, as he began, with calling her by the plain name of Sibylla.

Talia convexum per iter memorante Sibyllâ,
Sedibus Euboïcam Stygiis emergit in urbem
Troïus Aeneas —— Ver. 156.

[r] Σωκρ. Ειποις αν μοι τινα επωνυμιαν εχει Βακις τε και Σιβυλλα, και ὁ ημεδαπος Αμφιλυτος; Θεαγ. Τινα γαρ αλλην, ω Σωκρατες, πλην γε χρησμῳδοι; Σωκρ. Ορθως λεγεις· αλλα και τους δε μοι ετω πηρω αποκρινασθαι· τινα επωνυμιαν εχει Ιππιας, και Περιανδρος, δια την αυτην αρχην. Θεαγ. Οιμαι μεν τυραννοι· τι γαρ αλλο. Plato in Theag. ſive de Sapientiâ.

[s] Ariſtides (in his Oratio Platonica pro Rhetoricâ, § 22.), ſpeaking of thoſe who had ever been divinely inſpired, mentions particularly the ſame Bacis and Sibylla, as two ſingle perſons; and at the ſame time obſerves, "that very few had ever been fa-"voured with thoſe ſupernatural powers; "ſuch great gifts not falling to the lot of "many:" which, by the way, it would not have been ſo proper to have added, had there been ſo many as ten Sibyls.

[t] Strabo, where he is ſpeaking of Erythrae, a city in Ionia, ſays; "from thence "is the inſpired Sibylla, the propheteſs of "the antients:" (εκ δ'Ερυθρων Σιβυλλα εστιν ενθους, και μαντικη γυνη των αρχαιων. Lib. xiii.) And again (lib. xvii.), he ſpeaks of the oracles of Sibylla, which the Romans preferred to any other; and calls her by no other name, but plain Sibylla there; and "the "old Erythraean Sibyl," in the next page.

[u] Τι δε; εαν ποιητικην παλιν η μιμητικην αποφαινουτες, ουχ ετεραν μεν ανδρων, ετεραν δε γυναικων ουσαν, αλλα την επι την τα Σαπφους μελη τοις Ανακρεοντος, η τα Σιβυλλης λογια τοις Βακιδος ανιπαραβαλλοιμεν, εξει τις αιτιασασθαι την αποδειξιν, ὁτι χαιρουσα και τερπομενον επαγει τη πιστει τον ακροατην; ουδε τελος αν ειποις. Plut. de Virtutibus Mulierum, § 1.

He makes much the ſame oppoſition in another place. — Τι δε απολιπειν τω λεγοντος ερωτικην μονην γεγονεναι Σαπφω γυναικων· μαντικην γεγονεναι Σιβυλλαν, και Αριστονικαν, και ὁσαι δια μελων εθεμιτευσαν. Plutarch, De Pythiae Oraculis.

calls her by her name, plain Sibylla: without any additional title, except only in one place; where he calls her Sibylla Erythraea, from her native country; and his reaſon for uſing that additional title there is very evident; ſhe being mentioned in that paſſage together with two prophets, Bacis and Epimenides; each of whom is diſtinguiſhed there by Cicero, by names from their native country.

One thing, by the way, may ſeem very unaccountable, as to theſe quotations from Cicero: that he, who was ſo well acquainted with Varro, and his writings, ſhould take no manner of notice of his [x] Ten Sibyls. Would not this almoſt juſtify one's doubting the authenticity for the world's having ſo long aſcribed this opinion to Varro? For the proof of it is not bottomed on any thing in Varro's works, that are extant; but only quoted as from him, by an author who lived in the fourth century. A great name indeed; and one of the moſt celebrated writers among the Fathers of the Church: but as one does not ſee, in a quotation only, what preceded and followed that ſentence; it cannot ſo thoroughly prove the opinion of Varro, as if it had been publiſhed in any compleat treatiſe of his own. He might give many of them as aſſumed names only; or mention them in ſome other ſenſe, than we can poſſibly know, from this quotation only. All proper enquiry about this muſt lie out of our reach at preſent: and all that can be certain now, is, That if Cicero, in his time, underſtood that paſſage of his eſteemed friend, the learned Varro, as an abſolute aſſertion of Ten different Sibyls; it is exceeding ſtrange, that he himſelf in all his works ſhould, without taking any notice, or having any manner of ſcruple, always go on in repreſenting the Sibyl as only one.

It appears from ſome of the paſſages which have been already cited from the antients [y] of the beſt ages, that the Cumaean and Erythraean Sibyls (as they are called) are but one and the ſame perſon: and this is expreſsly aſſerted by Ariſtotle, in the following paſſage: "Cumae," ſays he [z], "is a city of Italy; in which (as is apparent) is the opening of the "earth which leads to the ſubterraneous cell of the propheteſs Sibylla; "who, they ſay, preſerved her virginity there to a vaſt age: and though "ſhe was the (Sibylla) Erythraea, ſhe is called by ſome of the inhabi-

[x] See p. 441, note [l] anteh. Cicero.

[y] Strabo, as quoted p. 443, note [t], and

[z] Ariſtotle, De Admir. §90.

"tants

" tants of Italy, Cumana; and by others, Melachraena [a]." This Sibyl was called the Erythraean, as Erythrae was the place of her birth: and it was on that account that the Romans, whenever they ſent any perſons to collect Sibylline verſes into foreign countries, took ſuch particular care to name that city [b] among the places where they were to enquire the moſt carefully after them.

This Cumaean (or Erythraean) Sibyl was looked upon as favoured with ſo high a degree of inſpiration by the antients, that they [c] prefer it greatly to that of the prieſteſſes of Apollo at Delphi. Her inſpiration was conſtant, theirs temporary; her's (as Cicero ſays [d]) from nature, theirs from the place only; her's univerſal [e], theirs confined. She was alſo diſtinguiſhed by her perpetual virginity [f]; and had the ſingu-

[a] Tzetzes, the old commentator on Lycophron, ſuppoſes the name Μελαχραινα (or Μελαϛραιρα), to be taken from the obſcurity of the Sibyl's prophecies: παρα το μελαινειν την φρασιν, και τας χρησμους. — Quaſi μελαινων την κραιραν και την κεφαλην, ητοι τοι νεν. See note on Lycophron, ver. 1464.

[b] Tacitus ſays; That when the Capitol was burnt, in the Social War, ſeveral were commiſſioned to go to enquire for the Sibylline verſes, " at Samos, Ilium, and Ery-" thrae; and even in Africa, Sicily, and " the Italian colonies." Annal. lib. vi. § 12.

Agreeably to this Lactantius ſays; Ex omnibus civitatibus et Italicis, et Graecis, *praecipuè* Erythraeis (libri), coacti alla ique ſunt Romam; cujuſcunque Sibyllae nomine fuerunt. De Divin. Inſtitut. lib. i. cap. 6. Again, he ſays in another piece; Sibyllas plurimi et maximi autores tradiderunt, Graecorum Ariſtarchus, et Apollodorus Erythraeus; noſtrorum, Varro et Feneſtella; hi omnes praecipuam, et nobilem praeter caeteras, Erythraeam fuiſſe commemorant. Apollodorus quidem, ut de civi et populari ſuâ gloriatur: Feneſtella verò etiam legatos Erythras a ſenatu eſſe miſſos refert, ut hujus Sibyllae carmina Romam deportarentur: et ea Conſules Curio et Octavius in Capitolio, quod tunc erat curante Q. Catulo reſtitutum, ponenda curarent. Lact. De Irâ Dei, cap. 22.

[c] Ariſtides, Orat. Plat. pro Rhetoricâ, § 20, etc.

[d] Dii immortales quidem ipſi ſe nobis non offerunt, vim autem ſuam longè latéque diffundunt; quam cum terrae cavernis includunt, tum hominum naturis implicant: nam terrae vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, naturae Sibyllam. De Divinatione, lib. i. § 36.

[e] Silius Italicus, for ſo tame a Poet, carries this very high.

—— Haec, haec, veri facunda ſacerdos!
Cui tantum patuit rerum, quantum ipſe negarit
Plus noviſſe Deus. ——
Lib. xiii. ver. 492.

[f] Lycophron, ſpeaking of her cell at Cumae, calls it,

Παρθενε Σιβυλλης Οικητηριον. Ver. 1279.

— Ovid calls her, " The Cumaean Vir-" gin;" Met xiv. 135. — Silius Italicus, " The chaſte Sibylla," lib. xiii. 444. " The " celebrated Virgin," ib. 520. and, " The " Virgin," by way of eminence ſeveral times, ibid. 762, 781, etc. and Tibullus makes her ſpeak of "Eternal Virginity," as her wiſh:

lar

lar privilege granted to her of living to be a [g] thouſand years old.

Several authors pretend to give us the Cumaean Sibyl's name; but with much diſagreement, no two of them giving the ſame. Marcianus Capella, who makes the Cumaean and Erythraean Sibyl the ſame (and on very ſufficient grounds, as has been proved above), in ſpeaking of the latter, calls her Symmachia; and makes Hippoteuſis her father: others call her Hermophile [h]; Solinus calls the Cumaean Sibyl [i], Heriphile. But what ſeems of more weight than any of the former is to be found in Pauſanias. It is where, in reckoning up the four moſt celebrated propheteſſes of the higheſt antiquity, he calls the third of them Demo of Cumae [k]; and that on no leſs authority than that of Hyperochus, a writer who was a citizen of Cumae himſelf.

Now after ſo large an enquiry concerning the Sibyls in general, and the Cumaean Sibyl in particular, it is time to return to the point which gave occaſion to it: and the chief thing I would obſerve from it is, that in all this variety of names and titles given to the Sibyls by the Greek and Latin writers of the beſt ages, there is not any ſuch name given to any one of them as that of Virgil's Deïphobe; nor any one pointed out as the daughter of Glaucus. Had Virgil's Sibyl been a character introduced by that Poet, and unknown to the Romans; he might then certainly give her any poetical name he thought proper, and make her the daughter of Glaucus, or whomſoever he pleaſed: but this was far from being the caſe of their Sibyl. They were much intereſted in her from the beginning of their ſtate; the oracles on which their fate, in a great meaſure, depended, were ſuppoſed to come from her: and her books were conſulted by them, on all great emergencies. They had ſtill ſome general accounts of her; and could not be ignorant, that ſhe came from

Vera cano: ſic usque ſacras innoxia lauros
Veſcar, et aeternum ſit mihi virginitas.
Lib. ii. El. v. ver. 64.

Ovid calls her, Vivax Sibylla, Met. xiv. 104: and makes her ſay to Aeneas, that ſhe was 700 years old, when ſhe arrived in Italy; and was to live 300 years more. Ib. ver. 144—146.

[g] Ariſtotle mentions her being ſaid to have lived *to a vaſt old-age*, p. 441, note [z] anteh.

Phlegon Trallianus ſays, ſhe lived ten generations; and refers to her own oracles, as the authority for it. Δεκα γενεας κατ' ανθρωπες γεϛονεναι, ὡς αυλη φησιν εν τοις χρησμοις: as he is quoted by Oudin.

[h] Marcian. cap. De Nupt. Phil. lib. ii.

[i] Sol. cap. vii.

[k] Την δε επι ταυλη χρησμες καλα ταυλα ειπεσαν, εκ Κυμης της εν Οπικοις ειναι· καλεισθαι δε αυλην, Δημω· συνεγραψεν Υπεροχ☉, ανηρ Κυμαι☉. Pauſanias, lib. x. cap. 12.

Erythrae;

Erythrae; lived to the age of a thouſand years; continued always in many palaces; and particularly at Cumae, where ſhe was at the time of Aeneas's arrival into Italy.

Deïphobe ſeems to be only an inferior prieſteſs, or one of the common prieſteſſes, belonging to this celebrated temple of Apollo, and the grove of Hecate; but no propheteſs herſelf: at leaſt one only of a lower order, and very limited knowledge; ſubordinate to the Sibyl. Virgil, whenever he ſpeaks of her directly, never gives her the title of Vates; but only Virgo or Sacerdos, without any other mark of diſtinction: whereas the Sibyl was of a ſuperior character; not only Arch-prieſteſs and ſuperintendant, as ſhe [l] ſays herſelf, of the groves of Hecate, but a great Propheteſs too: endowed, at leaſt according to the opinion of the Romans, with the largeſt gifts of divine inſpiration that ever was pretended to in the Heathen world. The titles Virgil gives her are Vates, and that [m] Sanctiſſima et [n] Alma; or Virgo [o], as ſhe was eminently ſo, having refuſed immortality to preſerve her virginity; and, laſtly, Sacerdos: but it muſt be obſerved, that he never calls her ſimply Sacerdos, but always gives ſome additional epithet [p] to it, to diſtinguiſh her from the other prieſteſſes over whom ſhe preſided.

The buſineſs of the prieſteſs (ſuch as Deïphobe) was, as I take it, to introduce thoſe, who came to conſult the Sibyl; and therefore Aeneas ſends Achates to fetch her to him; which freedom he would not have taken with ſo ſacred a perſon as the Sibyl, whom he was forewarned by Helenus to worſhip. And we find that when Deïphobe comes to him, there is not the leaſt ceremony obſerved toward her, as unneceſſary to a prieſteſs of her inferior character: whereas, when he approaches the Sibyl, it is with awe and reſpect.

——— "Tuque, O ſanctiſſima vates
"Praeſcia venturi, da (non indebita poſco
"Regna meis fatis) Latio conſidere Teucros,
"Errantesque Deos, agitataque numina Trojae.
"Tum Phoebo et Triviae ſolido de marmore templa
"Inſtituam; feſtosque dies de nomine Phoebi.

[l] Sed me cum lucis Hecate praefecit Avernis. Aen. vi. ver. 564.
[m] Aen. vi. 65. [n] Ib. 74 et 117. [o] Ibid. 104.
[p] Thus, Longaeva Sacerdos, Aen. vi. 321. et Magna Sacerdos, Ib. 544.

"Te

" Te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia noſtris."
Aen. VI. 65.

The buſineſs of this prieſteſs was likewiſe to direct and attend the ſacrifices; and, as this charge required, ſhe attends without the cell. Deïphobe comes to Aeneas in the veſtibule, or outward court of the temple; orders the proper offerings; conducts the Trojans up to the temple; and inſtructs Aeneas what time to pay his devotions. Nor do I find that ſhe is ever admitted into the cell, or innermoſt part of the temple; or even approaches to touch the doors; for thoſe fly open of themſelves [q].

The reſidence of the Sibyl was within the cave: there ſhe was employed in writing her prophecies; and from thence ſhe delivered them. Thus Helenus deſcribes her to Aeneas, " Rupe [r] ſub imâ; et [s] antro ſe-" cluſa." And when Aeneas approaches the holy place, and ſtands with Deïphobe " ante [t] fores;" the Sibyl is ſhut up in the cave; " in antro [u] " bacchatur Vates;" and when the doors fly open, her prophecies are ſtill delivered " ex [x] adyto, antroque [y]."

When Deïphobe is conducting Aeneas toward the temple, and on approaching the ſacred cell, informs him that the God is near, and is thereby ſeized with fanatic convulſions; ſhe is then without doors:

" Talia fanti
" Ante fores, ſubito non vultus, non color unus,
" Non comptae manſere comae [z]."

Again, when ſhe calls upon Aeneas, with ſome vehemence, to offer his vows immediately; and tells him, the doors could not be open, till thoſe were paid, ſhe muſt ſtill be without: for how could ſhe enter in while the doors were ſhut?

" Neque enim ante dehiſcent
" Attonitae magna ora domus. [a]"

And it is as plain, that the doors continued ſhut till the concluſion of his devotions. For when Aeneas had offered up his prayers to Phoebus

[q] Oſtia jamque domûs patuere ingentia centum
Sponte ſuâ. Aen. vi. 82.
[r] Aen. iii. 443.
[s] Ibid. ver. 447.
[t] Aen. ...
[u] Ibid. ver. 78.
[x] Ibid. 98.
[y] Ibid. 99.
[z] Ibid. 48.
[a] Ibid. 52.

and

and the other Gods, and his vows to the Sibyl; he concludes with this petition to her, as adviſed by Helenus; "that ſhe would deliver her pre-"dictions verbally [b], not written upon leaves as uſual;" for fear [c] the opening of the doors ſhould diſperſe them: which would have been very abſurd, had the doors been already open.

Thus far then the ſacred cave continues ſhut, and Aeneas and Deïphobe ſtanding without; and at the ſame time the Sibyl is actually in her cell:

"At Phoebi nondum patiens immanis in antro
"Bacchatur Vates [c]:"

and then, immediately upon the concluſion of the vows, and not till then, the doors fly open:

"Oſtia jamque domûs patuere ingentia centum
"Sponte ſuâ, Vatisque ferunt reſponſa per auras [d]."

Whoever reads theſe paſſages, and conſiders their connection, muſt, I think, be convinced that Deïphobe cannot be the Sibyl; without making the ſame perſon to be both within doors and without, at the ſame time: which would be too much conjuration, even for a Sibyl's cave.

On the other ſide, if we allow that theſe were two perſons, the whole relation is clear and conſiſtent. From verſe 35th to the 54th, is the part of Deïphobe. From thence to verſe 76th, is the prayer which ſhe had preſſed Aeneas to make; and his addreſs and petitions to the Sibyl. At the next verſe, the 77th, begins the part of the Sibyl herſelf: and her predictions, together with Aeneas's further petition to have an interview with his father, and the Sibyl's directions about the preparations neceſſary to his deſcent into hell, continue from the 77th verſe to the 155th. After this, when Aeneas had [e] found the golden bough, and carried it to Sibylla [f], and had performed [g] the funeral to Miſenus, he goes to the ſuppoſed mouth of hell, the cave at the lake Avernus (which Sibyl preſided over as prieſteſs of Hecate, as ſhe did over the other as prieſteſs of Apollo); and there prepares the neceſſary [h] ſacrifices, in obedience [i] to the Sibyl's commands.

[b] Aen. vi. 74.
[c] This is founded on what Helenus ſays, when he gives this advice. Aen. iii. 441 to 457.
[d] Aen. vi. 78.
[e] Ibid. 82.
[f] Ibid. 204.
[g] Ibid. 211.
[h] Ibid. 232.
[i] Ibid. 236.

As the ſcene changes at this place, the attendance of the prieſteſs (Deïphobe) is here again neceſſary, to aſſiſt in performing the ſacrifices; which ſhe does from verſe 243d, to the 254th. This done, and the time come for the deſcent (which I take to be immediately after midnight [k], or the firſt hour after midnight, which we, as well as the Romans, call morning); then the Sibyl appears, with dreadful ſolemnity, ſuitable to the occaſion; and orders all to [l] withdraw, as not being allowed to enter with Aeneas. Among thoſe who are diſmiſſed, I reckon not only the companions of Aeneas, but Deïphobe herſelf, and all who aſſiſted at the ſacrifices: as will appear more fully, by a parallel paſſage [m], which I ſhall produce, by and by [n], from Silius Italicus.

And here it muſt be obſerved, that as the Sibyl is now inveſted with power to conduct Aeneas to the ſhades, and return again, the Poet, on this occaſion, firſt gives her the title of Goddeſs: "Adventante Deâ [o]." The commentators ſuppoſe the Goddeſs here meant to be Hecate; and, indeed, it is impoſſible they ſhould underſtand it of the Sibyl, as they take Deïphobe and the Sibyl to be one and the ſame perſon: but if it muſt be an infernal Deity, why do not they rather ſuppoſe Proſerpina to be meant here? ſince the Golden Bough, the key to hell, belonged to her: unleſs they make Hecate and Proſerpina to be one Goddeſs (which I cannot think they are, the contrary appearing plainly from many authorities that might be produced, and particulary becauſe Virgil names them both [p] ſeparately within the compaſs of five verſes, but juſt before this very paſſage); or if this was Hecate, what becomes of her? She muſt vaniſh again immediately; we hear nothing of her more through the whole voyage; Aeneas being left entirely to the conduct of the Sibyl. Since then Hecate, nor any of the Infernal Deities appear perſonally, I rather believe that the Sibyl is intended by, "Adventante Deâ." Neither is this too great a title for her (eſpecially in poetry); but very agreeable to Virgil's own account of her. When Helenus firſt mentions her to Aeneas, it is

[k] Aen. vi. 153.

[l] Primi ſub lumina ſolis et ortus.
Aen. vi. 255.

[m] Aen. vi. 258.

[n] See p. 452, 453. poſthac.

[o] Aen. vi. 258.

[p] Voce vocans Hecaten, caeloque Ereboque potentem.
Supponunt alii cultros, tepidumque cruorem
Suſcipiunt pateris: ipſe atri velleris agnam
Aeneas matri Eumenidum, magnaeque ſorori,
Enſe ferit; ſterilemque tibi, Proſerpina, vaccam:
Tum Stygio regi, etc. Aen. vi. 252.

in

in ſuch terms as ſeem to declare her more than mortal; and admoniſh him to worſhip her,

" Adeas vatem; precibusque oracula poſcas
" Ipſa canat, vocemque volens atque ora reſolvat:
" Illa tibi Italiae populos, venturaque bella,
" Et quo quemque modo fugiasque ferasque laborem,
" Expediet; curſusque dabit venerata ſecundos [q]."

According to this advice, when Aeneas addreſſes himſelf to her in her cell, he worſhips her with the title of Sanctiſſima; and when he vows temples to Phoebus and Diana, he promiſes little leſs to her:

" Te quoque magna manent regnis penetralia noſtris:
" Hic ego namque tuas ſortes, arcanaque fata
" Dicta meae genti ponam; lectosque ſacrabo,
" Alma, viros [s]:"

Palinurus, ſeeing Aeneas on the banks of the Stygian lake, concludes his guide could be no leſs a Goddeſs than his mother Venus:

" Si qua via eſt, ſi quam tibi Diva Creatrix
" Oſtendit (neque enim credo ſine numine Divôm
" Flumina tanta paras Stygiamque innare paludem);
" Da dextram miſero, et tecum me tolle per undas [t]."

And, according to Ovid's account of this expedition, Aeneas himſelf thought his guide a Goddeſs [u]; till, on their return from the ſhades, ſhe undeceives him and [x] relates her hiſtory. It is true, that hiſtory ſhews her not to be immortal; as ſhe refuſed the bribe of immortality, offered her by Phoebus for her virginity: but as ſhe had a leaſe of life (beyond all other mortals), for a thouſand years; and after that leaſe expired, being to be immortalized by her predictions; ſhe became by this little inferior to the lower claſs of Deities: and ſhe was generally reſpected by the antients.

Let us next conſider that, to prevent any miſtake, Virgil has given the prieſteſs and propheteſs different names; which, one would think, ſhould

[q] Aen. iii. 460.
[s] Aen vi. 74.
[t] Ibid. 370.
[u] Seu Dea tu praeſens, ſeu Diis gratiſſima (dixit),
Numinis inſtar eris ſemper mihi,
ſays Aeneas, Met. xiv. 124.
[x] Met. xiv. 130, etc.

be ſufficient in this caſe, if there was no other diſtinction. For notwithſtanding ſo many authors ſpeak of the Sibyl; no body (as was obſerved before) calls her Deïphobe Glauci: nor indeed is ſhe known by any other proper name, but that of Sibylla only; with the addition of ſome epithets, to diſtinguiſh her from other Sibyls; that is, other propheteſſes called by her name.

What reaſon can there then be, to make Deïphobe the Sibyl? Virgil having ſo ſtrongly diſtinguiſhed them by name; by different titles, character, and employments: and particularly by ſuch great honours, amounting almoſt to adoration, paid to the one and not the other.

Beſides, all this may be further confirmed, by the practice of the Roman [y] Poets that ſucceeded Virgil; and particularly, by that of Silius Italicus, who profeſſes himſelf to be the conſtant imitator of Virgil: and we always find him in theſe caſes obſerving the ſame method of diſtinguiſhing the principal from the inferior, and making one perſon introduce thoſe who came to conſult the oracle, and another deliver it.

Thus when Boſtar and his companions, in his poem, go to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to conſult on Hannibal's enterprize, they are received and brought into the houſe by Ariſbas, whom the Poet calls, Hoſpes Sacerdos [z]. This prieſt conducts them to the holy fountain, and ſacred groves, which he bids [a] Boſtar adore; and relates to them [b] their miraculous origin. When he has finiſhed this account, and they are in admiration of what they have heard, and what they ſee, the doors on a ſudden fly open [c]; a greater light ſhines round them, and diſcovers the ſuperior prieſt or prophet, in his ſacred veſtments, ſtanding within before the altar. Then Boſtar makes his petitions to him [d], as he had been inſtructed to do; and then the prophet at the altar is inſpired [e], and delivers the oracle [f]. It is manifeſt here, that the perſon who delivers the oracle cannot be the ſame with the prieſt who conducted them.

Yet nearer to our purpoſe is the other inſtance I ſhall produce from Silius. The young Scipio, afterwards ſurnamed Africanus, being at Puteoli when he received the news that the two Scipios, his father and uncle, were killed in Spain, is tempted by the place he is in (ſo near [g] the Sibyl's cave), to try to obtain an interview with their ghoſts, and learn from

[y] See, Lucan Pharſ. v. 146.

[z] Laeta fronte ſacerdos
Exceptos hoſpes tectis inducit Ariſbas.
De Bell. Pun. 2do lib. iii. 669.

[a] Silius, iii. 677.
[b] Ib. 678. to 692.
[c] Ib. 693. to 696.
[d] Ib. 697.
[e] Ib. 698.
[f] Ib. 701 to 713.
[g] Ib. xiii. 397.

them

them his own future deſtiny. Upon this, he goes to conſult the neighbouring prieſteſs of Apollo at Cumae. The old Sibyl then had been long ſince dead; the name of the prieſteſs who reſided there then was, Grynaea; [h] furnamed, as prieſteſs, Autonoë. He opens his mind to her, and entreats her to bring him to the ſight [i] of his departed anceſtors. She grants his [k] petition, promiſes to raiſe the ghoſts of the [l] departed, and among the reſt, that of [m] Sibylla, who may inform him of what he wants: and directs him as to the ſacrifices that are neceſſary to be made, [n] in order to raiſe the ghoſts. And though ſhe herſelf was in poſſeſſion of the cave, in conſequence of the death of the Sibyl, yet ſhe does not pretend to great power of prophecy; but tells Scipio, that his further enquiries ſhould be anſwered by a greater propheteſs, meaning the ſpirit of Sibylla herſelf.

" Caetera quae poſcis majori vate canentur:
" Namque tibi Elyſio repetita oracula campo
" Eliciam; veteriſque dabo inter ſacra Sibyllae
" Cernere fatidicam Phoebei pectoris umbram [p]."

When the ſacrifices were now performing at the cave near the lake Avernus, and the ghoſts ariſe, and among others that of Sibylla; then Autonoë cries out to Scipio, " that this was the true inſpired prieſteſs, " who was perfectly well acquainted with the ſecrets of Apollo; and that " it was time for her and his companions to retire."

" Haec, haec, veri foecunda ſacerdos!
" Cui tantum patuit rerum, quantum ipſe negârit
" Plus noviſſe Deus. Me jam comitante tuorum
" Tempus abire globo [q]."

She muſt then evidently be ſuppoſed, from what ſhe has juſt ſaid, to depart with the companions of Scipio; as Deïphobe probably did with thoſe of Aeneas, on the Sibyl's approaching him; and crying out, as ſhe comes toward him:

" Procul, O, procul eſte, profani [r]!"

I have inſiſted the longer on this ſubject, becauſe I think that without this diſtinction of Deïphobe from Sibylla (the ſuperior prieſteſs from the inferior),

[h] Silius, xiii. 400.
[i] Ib. 403.
[k] Ib. 404.
[l] Ib. 408.
[m] Ib. 412.
[n] Ib. 405 and 415.
[p] Ib. 412.
[q] Ib. 493.
[r] Aen. vi. 258.

inferior), the firſt part of Virgil's ſixth Aeneid is not well to be underſtood; but though I have ſaid ſo much in relation to it already, before I conclude, I muſt yet beg to add a word or two in regard to the time which is taken up by Aeneas and the Sibyl in the infernal regions. There is a great diſcord among the commentators upon Virgil as to this point. Ruaeus, who is, in my opinion, the beſt of them, reckons that they were there one whole day, and part of two nights. This is in his note on the following paſſage:

" Hâc vice ſermonum roſeis Aurora quadrigis
" Jam medium aethereo curſu trajecerat axem;
" Et fors omne datum traherent per talia tempus.
" Sed comes admonuit breviterque affata Sibylla eſt:
" Nox ruit, Aenea[s]," etc.

in ſpeaking of which, Ruaeus, by a ſtrange ſort of conſtruction, makes the Medium Aurorae[t], mid-day: but to have works of darkneſs, and which relate only to the Shades, tranſacted in day-time, ſeems to me ſuch an abſurdity, as Virgil could never have been guilty of.

If we conſider the old Roman way of beginning their day, which we ſhall find, by Aulus Gellius[u], was juſt the ſame as we ſtill uſe; that is, to reckon morning immediately after mid-night; then, I think, this whole affair is very clear and conſiſtent; as will appear from conſidering the following particulars.

The ſacrifices are performed, or at leaſt begun, about mid-night:

" Tum Stygio regi nocturnas inchoat aras,
" Et ſolida imponit taurorum viſcera flammis,
" Pingue ſuper oleum fundens ardentibus extis.
" Ecce autem, primi ſub lumina ſolis et ortus,
" Sub pedibus mugire ſolum, et juga coepta moveri
" Sylvarum, viſaeque canes ululare per umbram,
" Adventante Deâ[x]."

Midnight was the proper time for this ſolemnity. So, when Dido is preparing her funeral pile, under colour of a ſacrifice to the Infernal Deities, Virgil marks this time preciſely:

[s] Aen. vi. 539.
[t] See Ruaeus's Note on Aen. vi. 535.
[u] See his Noctes Atticae, lib. iii. cap. 2.
[x] Aen. vi. 258.

—" Cum

" Cum medio volvuntur ſidera lapſu [y]."

Silius Italicus, giving an account of Scipio's ceremony (at the ſame place, and on the ſame occaſion with that of Aeneas), tells us; that the prieſteſs orders the ſacrifices to be made, " ſub lucem :"

" Nec cunctata diu vates, mactare repoſtis
" Mox umbris, inquit, conſueta piacula, nigras
" *Sub lucem* pecudes, recluſaeque abdere terrae
" Manantem jugulis ſpirantum caede cruorem ;
" Tunc populos tibi regna ſuos pallentia mittent [z] :"

which appears manifeſtly, by what follows, to mean immediately after midnight.

" Vade, age ; et a medio cum ſe nox humida curſu
" Flexerit, ad fauces vicini caſtus Averni
" Duc praedicta ſacris duro placamina Diti ;
" Mella ſimul tecum, et puri fer dona Lyaei [a]."

Scipio prepares what is ordered, and goes to the place directed, juſt at midnight, for thus it follows :

" Hoc alacer monitu et promiſſae nomine Vatis
" Apparat occulto monſtrata piacula coepto.
" Inde, ubi nox juſſam procedens contigit horam
" Et ſpatia aequarunt tenebras tranſacta futuras,
" Conſurgit ſtratis pergitque ad turbida portae
" Oſtia Tartarae [b]."

The prieſteſs, who was waiting there for him as ſhe had promiſed, immediately conducts him into the cave :

" Tum quà ſe primùm ruptâ tellure recludit
" Inviſum caelo ſpecus, atque eructat acerbam
" Cocyti laxo ſuſpirans ore paludem,
" Inducit juvenem : ferroque cavare refoſſam
" Ocyus urget humum : atque arcanum murmur anhelans,
" Ordine mactari pecudes jubet [c]."

[y] Aen. iv. 524.
[z] Silius, xiii. 408.
[a] Ib. 416.
[b] Ib. 422.
[c] Ib. 429.

From

From comparing theſe parallel paſſages, it may very well be concluded, that, "Prima ſub lumina ſolis et ortus," in Virgil, means the ſame as "ſub lucem," in Silius; morning, in the largeſt ſenſe: that is, immediately after midnight.

And it plainly appears by a following paſſage in Silius, that this viſit to the Shades was to be entirely finiſhed before the break of day, or the actual appearance of light. For while Scipio is admiring the ghoſts of the old heroes, ſuch as Hector, Achilles, etc. the Sibyl admoniſhes him to haſten, for fear the "lux alma" (that gentle firſt appearance of the morning, which the Romans now call Alba) ſhould overtake them, and call her away before they had finiſhed their work:

"Nam Virgo admonuit tempus cognoſcere manes
"Femineos, ne cunctantem lux alma vocaret [d]."

From hence we may reaſonably conclude, that by

"Roſeis Aurora quadrigis
"Jam medium aethereo curſu trajecerat axem."

Virgil's Sibylla means, that half the time allotted them was paſt: that is, half the time between midnight and day. So that the whole courſe of Aurora was, from morning taken in the largeſt ſenſe, to morning taken in the ſtricter ſenſe. The ſame ſpace of time might likewiſe be called night. So, "Nox, ruit [e]," in what Sibyl ſays juſt after, is to be underſtood; "The night is almoſt gone; haſtens away:" which might well be ſaid by her, ſo long as it continued dark; notwithſtanding the ſame time is, by Virgil himſelf, called Aurora: in like manner as with us the ſame time (to wit, from after midnight to day-break) is called indifferently, either Night or Morning.

[d] Silius, xiii. 809.

[e] Aen. vi. 539. It is true, that Virgil in another place (Aen. viii. 369), as Ruaeus obſerves, uſes "nox ruit," to ſignify, "the "night haſtens on;" but it muſt likewiſe be obſerved, that Virgil there adds, "Et "fuſcis tellurem amplectitur alis," as it were to explain it: for certainly that expreſſion, "Nox ruit," by itſelf, may ſignify either, night comes on, or goes off, a-pace.

DISSERTATION THE THIRD;

UPON EIGHT VERSES IN

VIRGIL'S GEORGICS.

DISSERTATION ON THE THIRD

DISSERTATION THE THIRD:

Upon the following VERSES in

VIRGIL's GEORGICS.

" PLANTIS [a] edurae coryli naſcuntur, et ingens
" Fraixnus, Herculeaeque arbos umbroſa coronae,
" Chaoniique Patris glandes: etiam ardua palma
" Naſcitur, et caſus abies viſura marinos.
" Inſeritur verò ex foetu nucis arbutus horrida,
" Et ſteriles platani malos geſſere valentes,
" Caſtaneae fagos, ornusque incanuit albo
" Flore pyri, glandemque ſues fregere ſub ulmis."

Georg. II. ver. 72.

Every one will allow, I am perſuaded, that the eight foregoing verſes, as they are commonly underſtood, are full of great difficulties, not to ſay, abſurdities. I need not repeat all which has been ſaid on this ſubject, as that would be giving a very unneceſſary trouble; but ſhall conſider only Dr. Martyn's Remarks, and beg leave to make ſome obſervations.

In his firſt note on the four firſt verſes, he tells us, that by Plantis Virgil means Suckers, and preſently after adds, "It muſt not be de-
" nied, that notwithſtanding our Poet ſeems to mention the Oak, Palm,
" and Fir, as being propagated by Suckers, yet theſe trees are never
" known to produce any, nor were they ever propagated any other

[a] Servius reads it "et durae;" and Dr. Martyn allows, that the King's, Cambridge, and Bodleian, and the greater part of the ancient Manuſcripts have it ſo.

" way than by ſeeds." This is no ſmall objection, to be miſtaken in three inſtances out of ſix: and, to ſay no worſe, reflects on the Poet's accuracy. And as the Doctor offers only one Solution, ſuggeſted by a friend, and which he himſelf queſtions whether the words will bear, he ſeems to give up this as a miſtake.

Without diſputing, whether what is objected be true in every article or not; pray, let me aſk, what neceſſity there is for confining Virgil's meaning to Suckers? And whether the Doctor has any authority from him for ſo doing? Suckers, as I take it, properly ſo called, are ſuch ſhoots as ſpring from the root. Theſe in Latin may certainly be called Plantae; but generally, I believe, with the addition of Radicis or Ab Radice, to aſcertain their meaning. See Plin. lib. XVII. c. x. Virgil, ſpeaking of theſe in the beginning of this book, does not ſo much as mention the word Plantae, but expreſſes himſelf very elegantly by "Sil-"va pullulans ab radice," ver. 17. Six verſes after, he calls ſhoots, either from the root, or rather body of a tree (which may be another ſort of Suckers), Plantas; but at the ſame time explains what he means, by adding,

" Tenero abſcindens de corpore matrum."

Again, ver. 80. he uſes the word for ſlips or cions to be ingrafted.

" Finditur in ſolidum cuneis via: deinde feraces
" Plantae immittuntur."

Here he does not determine, from what part theſe Plantae are to be taken; but by the epithet Feraces he cannot probably mean the root, becauſe thoſe were generally reckoned the moſt barren; and Virgil himſelf ſtiles them Steriles, ver. 53. — Again, ver. 300, he applies the word Plantas to ſprigs taken as far from the root as poſſible, viz. the top.

" Neve flagella
" Summa pete, aut ſumma [b] deſtringe ex arbore plantas.

So that it is plain he uſes the word indiſcriminately for any ſhoots, ſprigs, ſlips, or cuttings whatever, to be ingrafted, or planted

The word is likewiſe uſed in the ſame ſenſe as a *plant* with us, for young trees drawn out of woods or nurſeries; which indeed I take to be

[b] Or Deſtringe.

its

its principal ſignification, when uſed ſimply, without any additional word to determine its meaning. See Plin. [c] lib. XII. c. xvii. [d] lib. XVII. c. xi. and [e] xiii. And Columella [f] lib. III. c. xv. [g] lib. V. c. vi. — Virgil himſelf too, ſome verſes above, ſpeaking of layers taking root, and being as it were nurſed at home by the mother, calls theſe

"Viva ſuâ *plantaria* terrâ." Ver. 27.

We find the word Planta ſtill uſed in a larger ſenſe. Columella, in a chapter where he treats of Olive-trees, tells us, as Virgil does here, that they are raiſed beſt from truncheons: and when he ſpeaks of thoſe truncheons, either ſet in a nurſery, or removed thence into the olive-yard, he calls them Plantas; and ſeveral times in the ſame chapter uſes indifferently the words Arbuſculae, Arbores, and Plantae, as ſynonymous terms, lib. V. c. ix. Pliny too, ſpeaking of trees which take deep root, mentions [h] a Fir, whoſe root had run above eight cubits deep in the ground, when it was taken up to be tranſplanted; and yet he calls this a plant. In ſhort, Planta ſeems to be a general term for any vegetable, in whatever ſhape, or of whatever age, when ſet, or grafted.

The word thus explained, let us next conſider, in what ſenſe we muſt here underſtand it in Virgil. This, I think, will beſt appear by examining his plan, from the beginning of the book to this place.

After the Introduction, he begins with ſuch trees as grow purely by nature, from ver. 10 to 21; from thence to ver. 34 he names ſix different ways of propagating, which are learned by art and experience. Then, after an apoſtrophe to huſband-men to encourage them to improvement, and after invoking his patron, he proceeds ver. 47. to ſhew, in a very conciſe eaſy manner, how thoſe artificial ways of managing trees, which he before touched on in general, may be applied to particulars; and that

[c] Nec non et (Ladanum) fruticem eſſe dicunt in Carmania, et ſuper Aegyptum per Ptolemaeos tranſlatis *plantis*.

[d] *Plantas* ex ſeminario transferre in aliud, priusquam ſuo loco ponantur, operoſè praecipi arbitror, licet tranſlatione folia latiora fieri ſpondeant.

[e] Propaginum duo genera Ramo ab arbore depreſſo in ſcrobem quatuor pedum quoquo, et poſt biennium amputato flexu, plantâque tranſlatâ poſt trimatum, etc.

[f] De ſeminario transferre *plantam* diligenter exemtam et integram.

[g] Cùm *plantas* in aliud ſeminarium tranſferre volumus. — Collectae cum ſtirpibus plantae, etc.

[h] Apud Auctores certè invenitur *Abietis planta* cùm transferretur octo cubitorum in altitudine, nec totam refoſſam, ſed abruptam. Lib. xvi. c. 31.

all

all trees may be improved by art, which would run wild, if left to themſelves.

Thus far he is very regular. But how the four verſes in debate come in, as Dr. Martyn underſtands them, or what connection they can have with what goes before, is what I do not comprehend. If the ſeveral trees here named are ſuppoſed to grow from Suckers, purely by nature, unaſſiſted by art; then the proper place to have mentioned them would have been above; where ſome of that ſort are named, and this general concluſion drawn of them and ſuch other natural growths.

" Hos natura modos primùm dedit: his genus omne
" Sylvarum fruticumque viret, nemorumque ſacrorum."
Ver. 21.

Or if we ſuppoſe the trees here named to mean ſuch as grow from Suckers improved, that is, planted out; then the proper place to have ſpecified them would have been under that head, ver 53.

" Nec non et ſterilis quae," etc.

which is particularly appropriated to that purpoſe. To bring them in in this place ſeems to me very irregular and incoherent: which I ſhould be more ſurprized at in Virgil, than at his giving Suckers to trees which have none. Becauſe this concerns him as a Poet, on which his character certainly depends, more than on being a Gardener. He is generally, I believe, very exact even in the moſt minute things; and I ſcarce imagine he ſhould be miſtaken in ſo many articles together as he is here charged with: yet, ſuppoſing him now and then to ſlip, or occaſionally to differ from others in ſuch matters, this would be of no great importance; but to be confuſed and perplexed in his method, touches him in a more tender point.

Since then there are ſuch reaſons for not admitting Dr. Martyn's interpretation of theſe four verſes; I beg leave to offer another.

In my humble opinion, after the general concluſion about planting out

" Scilicet omnibus eſt labor impendendus, et omnes
" Cogendae in ſulcum, ac multâ mercede domandae."

and the ſhort remark added, that ſome trees thrive beſt, not by the ordinary way of planting, but by layers and truncheons,

" Sed

"Sed truncis oleae melius," etc.

Virgil proceeds next to another ſort of planting, ſtill more difficult; and tells us, that not only young plants and truncheons may be removed, but even grown trees. This is methodical, and conſiſtent with what preceded, the tranſition eaſy, and the climax juſt. We continue ſtill in the plantation, but we are led into a part we had ſeen nothing of before, a grove of ſome conſiderable growth, newly planted. And therefore we may obſerve, all the epithets and decorations, uſed here to enliven the ſubject, are ſuited to trees of an advanced age.

"Plantis et durae coryli," etc.

By this interpretation it muſt appear already, that the epithet Ardua, which is another difficulty with Dr. Martyn, becomes plain and eaſy: and indeed it was ſo far from embarraſſing me, that it helped to explain what went before. We advance farther in the plantation, and are ſhewn, that even the Palm too (an Exotic) may be tranſplanted when tall, or in poetic language, be [i] *born a tree*; and ſo likewiſe the Fir, when grown fit for a maſt.

We may very reaſonably imagine, that in Virgil's time, that age of luxury, the great men of Rome tranſplanted tall trees from woods and nurſeries, as is frequently done with us, into their walks and gardens. Maecenas, to whom this book is dedicated, had a garden, we know, on the Eſquiline hill, celebrated by Horace and others: and it is not improbable, that in order to bring it ſooner to perfection, this might be practiſed there, perhaps [k] juſt at the time Virgil was writing this Georgic. If ſo, how artfully does the Poet here inſinuate, with his uſual addreſs, a compliment to his patron? I only hint this as a conjecture; but am the more inclined to believe, that ſomething of the wilderneſs part of a garden is intended, by the Palm being placed among the others; which, though

[i] If any doubt about *naſcuntur*, be pleaſed to conſult Pliny, lib. xix. c. 7. Naſcuntur *autem omnia, aut ſemine, aut avulſione*. And lib. xvii. c. 17. ſpeaking of ſix different ways of propagating trees; he ſays figs grow by all, and yet to all theſe he uſes the word *naſci*. In ſhort, I think, without any forced metaphor, *naſci* may be ſaid not only of ſeed or plant, when it firſt peeps out of the ground, but of any tree, or part thereof, when it is tranſplanted, ſet, or grafted, in any form, and begins a new life.

[k] Dr. Martyn obſerves, that in both Dr. Mead's MSS. inſtead of *etiam* it is *et jam ardua palma*. Now granting this paſſage to have any relation to Maecenas's garden juſt then making, and that tranſplanting tall Palms was then firſt attempted; it juſtifies this reading, and heightens the compliment.

a fruit-

a fruit-tree in its own country, yet is not improperly put here in the company of foreſt-trees, becauſe it did not bear fruit, nor was counted a fruit-tree at that time in Italy: as Pliny informs us [l] lib. XIII. c. iv. and therefore could be planted only, as the others might, for beauty and ornament to gardens.

Whether Virgil had any ſuch view or not, there can at leaſt be no doubt, but that removing tall trees was practiſed among the Romans. We find by Pliny, that the common method of making their Arbuſta, or Plantations for ſupporting vines, was by planting out Elms, when about five years old, or about twenty foot high: [m] lib. XVII. c. xi. And the fir mentioned above, which Pliny tells us had ſo deep a root, muſt certainly have been a tall tree, and yet, he ſays, was removed. As to the palm, though it did not arrive to ſuch perfection in Italy, as to bear fruit, yet we find [n] it was common there; and a tree which not only would bear removing, but thrive the better for it.

And to put this matter about removing tall trees beyond diſpute, Virgil himſelf confirms it in another place, and makes his Corycius Senex put it in practice, Georg. IV. 144. etc.

> " Ille etiam ſeras in verſum diſtulit ulmos,
> " Eduramque pyrum, et ſpinos jam pruna ferentes,
> " Jamque miniſtrantem platanum potantibus umbras."

It is true, moſt of the commentators and tranſlators ſeem not to have rightly apprehended the meaning of this paſſage, as Dr. Martyn obſerves, and thereby have loſt much of its ſpirit: but ſince he has rendered it juſtly, and given it its full force, I doubt not, but when he compares the expreſſions of both paſſages together, he will more eaſily agree to my interpretation; and will be ſurprized, as indeed I am, how it before eſcaped him.

Granting then the explanation here given to be ſupportable, it muſt, I believe, at the ſame time be allowed, that this is a proper concluſion of

[l] Judaea verò inclyta eſt vel magis palmis. Quarum natura nunc dicetur. Sunt quidem et in Europa, vulgóque Italia, ſed ſteriles. Quamobrem jure dicentur externae. Nulla eſt in Italia ſponte genita, nec in alia parte terrarum, niſi in calida: frugifera verò nuſquam niſi in fervida.

[m] In Arbuſtum quinquennes ſub urbe transferunt, aut, ut quibuſdam placet, quae vicenûm pedum eſſe coeperunt.

[n] Seruntur autem *Palmae* et trunco, duorum cubitorum longitudine, à cerebro ipſo arboris, fiſſuris diviſo atque defoſſo. Et ab radice avulſae, etc. Ergo Plantaria inſtituunt, anniculasque transferunt, et iterum bimas. Gaudent enim mutatione ſedis. Plin. lib. xiii. ſect. 8. edit. Harduin.

what

what Virgil had to offer with regard to planting in general. As from ver. 22 to 23, where he ſpeaks of the ſeveral artificial ways of managing trees, he begins with the moſt ſimple, and riſes gradually to what requires more art and experience: ſo under this head of improving by planting out, he raiſes his ſubject by advancing by degrees to what is moſt difficult in tranſplanting. The force of which will further appear more fully, when we have examined the true intent of the four next verſes immediately following.

" Inſeritur verò ex foetu nucis arbutus horrida,
" Et ſteriles platani malos geſſere valentes,
" Caſtaneae fagos, ornusque incanuit albo
" Flore pyri, glandemque ſues fregere ſub ulmis."

Dr. Martyn ſays on this place, that "He believes there is no paſſage " in all the Georgics, which has been more cenſured than this about " graffing, it being a received opinion, that no graff will ſucceed, unleſs " it be upon a ſtock which bears a fruit of the ſame kind. Hence, he " ſays, this is looked upon as a *mere poetical rant*," etc. He afterwards ſoftens this hard expreſſion by adding, "that he will not determine, whe- " ther the preſent art falls ſhort of that of the ancients, or whether our " climate will not admit of the ſame advantages with the better air of " Italy." And then endeavours to ſtrengthen what our Poet has ſaid by the authority of Columella, whom he calls "the beſt, the moſt expe- " rienced, and moſt judicious proſe-writer on agriculture amongſt the an- " cients," to ſhew how any cion may be graffed on any ſtock: which he thinks ſufficient to juſtify what the Poet has related.

But then again, on the other ſide of the queſtion, he quotes the following obſervations of Mr. Miller. "As to the different kind of trees " which are mentioned by the Poet to be ingraffed on each other, I dare " affirm it was never practiſed in any country: ſo that we muſt either " ſuppoſe the trees, which now paſs under the ſame appellation, to be " different from thoſe known at that time under ſuch names; or that it " is a licence taken by the Poet to embelliſh his poem." As Dr. Martyn makes no direct anſwer to theſe criticiſms, he leaves us ſtill in the dark, and Virgil undefended, and in danger of being condemned. For ſuch cenſures, or, to ſay the beſt we can, ſuch feeble defences, from a perſon eminent for his knowledge of plants, muſt reaſonably ſuppoſe the Poet's cauſe to be very bad; and may fix on him a charge, either of utter ignorance of what he was about, or at leaſt of great negligence. And there-

fore I beg leave to offer ſome Remarks, which I hope may ſerve to illuſtrate him, and wipe off theſe aſperſions.

As to the ſuppoſed miſapplication of names, this cannot be pretended with regard to many of the trees here mentioned, moſt of them having never been diſputed. And for the *licence* ſuppoſed to be "taken by the "Poet to embelliſh his poem;" this is only the common ſubterfuge, when we do not underſtand a Poet's meaning, a ſalvo for all difficulties.

If what Mr. Miller ſays is really true, that Virgil talks of ingraffing different kinds of trees, which never was done in any country; this, in my opinion, would be ſo far from being an "embelliſhment to his poem," it would well deſerve to be cenſured. But I cannot think he can be charged with ſuch *poetical rants* in any part of his works, eſpecially his Georgics. Dr. Martyn has remarked on this place in his 82d Note, "that the phraſes are particularly elegant, and that the variety of ex-"preſſion our Poet has uſed in ſpeaking of the different ſorts of in-"graffed trees, and the various epithets he beſtows on them, render this "paſſage exceedingly delightful." I readily agree with him, that it ſeems impoſſible not to obſerve the beautiful manner in which he has deſcribed them: but if at the ſame time he gives inſtructions for doing what was abſolutely impracticable, he muſt have been as negligent with regard to his ſubject, as he is delicate in his expreſſions. And can we ſuſpect Virgil of ſuch unpardonable careleſſneſs, as not to have endeavoured to be better informed, as he eaſily might have been, of the moſt vulgar rules? In the beginning of the Firſt Book, he ſolemnly invokes Auguſtus to aſſiſt him in taking pity on the ignorant huſband-man:

"Ignarosque viae mecum miſeratus agreſtes
"Ingredere;"

and in this Book, a few verſes above, addreſſes in like manner his patron Maecenas,

"Tuque ades, inceptumque unà decurre laborem."

We cannot doubt then, but that he had all the aſſiſtance his prince or patron, or their gardeners, could give him: and ſuppoſing himſelf utterly unacquainted with his art, he might eaſily have been better inſtructed by them; ſo as not to advance precepts directly contrary to experience, and which muſt be ridiculed by every common gardener. Nor

can

can it be imagined, that ſo many miſtakes together, in ſo few lines, ſhould paſs unobſerved in a poem, which is ſuppoſed to have lain long under correction. The only thing I can think can be pretended, is, that ſuch miſtakes might, in that age, be owing to want of opportunities of being better informed in an affair, of which the world might then be ſuppoſed to be ignorant, and to have never examined. But this cannot be pleaded. For Columella, who aſſerts, as Dr. Martyn obſerves, this general ingraffing, tells us, at the ſame time, that [o] " the ancients denied " it, and determined this (with Mr. Miller), as a perpetual law, that " thoſe cions only could ſucceed, which were like in outer and inner " bark, and fruit, to thoſe trees on which they were ingraffed." If then this was looked upon as a known and ſettled point among the ancients, we cannot eaſily conceive Virgil, and every body about him, ſo great ſtrangers to the ſubject he was treating of, as to know nothing of ſuch old maxims. It is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that he was acquainted with the ancient rule, but that he had the authority of the virtuoſi of his time, as Columella had after him, for the contrary practice, and well knew what he was about. And therefore not only gives one inſtance, which we will ſuppoſe for once might poſſibly happen through inadvertency, but names five different ſorts of trees to be graffed on five others; and in every one goes contrary to the common rule: which cannot well be ſuppoſed to be done, but by deſign; as I hope to make appear.

Virgil had before ſpoken of graffing in the common method, from ver. 32 to 34.

" Et ſaepe alterius ramos impune videmus
" Vertere in alterius; mutatamque inſita mala
" Ferre pyrum, et prunis lapidoſa rubeſcere corna."

As he here graffs only kernel fruit on kernel, and ſtone on ſtone, he ſhews plainly, that he underſtood what was the common method, and con-

[o] Sed cùm antiqui negaverint poſſe omne genus ſurculorum in omnem arborem inſeri, et illam quaſi finitionem, quâ nos paulò antè uſi ſumus, veluti quandam legem ſanxerint, eos tantùm ſurculos poſſe coaleſcere, qui ſint cortice, ac libro, et fructu conſimiles iis arboribus, quibus inſeruntur; exiſtimavimus errorem hujus opinionis diſcutiendum, tradendamque poſteris rationem, quâ poſſit omne genus ſurculi omni generi arboris inſeri, etc. De Arboribus, c. xxvii. The ſame is aſſerted, almoſt word for word, in the body of his Book, De Re Ruſtica, lib. v. cap. 11.

forms to it. Again, from ver. 49 to 51, under the articles of improvements, he obſerves, that chance plants, which are naturally wild, may be civilized by graffing, as crabs, ſloes, or wild plums, etc.

" Tamen haec quoque ſi quis
" Inſerat, aut ſcrobibus mandet mutata ſubactis,
" Exuerint ſylveſtrem animum."

Having thus ſufficiently mentioned this practice, and there being no neceſſity to repeat it, as he endeavours to be as conciſe as poſſible; he proceeds in the next place to tell us, that trees of different kinds may likewiſe be graffed on each other. And as he had before ſhewed, in the four preceding verſes, what art could do in tranſplanting tall trees, he advances here to ſhew what may likewiſe be done by the help of art in graffing, viz. that any cion may be ingraffed on any ſtock.

But what ſhall we ſay then to Mr. Miller's aſſertion, " That all theſe " ſorts of trees have been tried on each other, not only in England, but " alſo in Italy; and from all the different experiments which have been " made, it is found, that no trees of a different kind will take on each " other?" Be that as it will; yet, notwithſtanding theſe modern trials, it by no means follows, and I think Mr. Miller is too bold, when he dares affirm, " that it was never practiſed in any country." Columella affirms, that it was practiſed in his time, and that without any ſuch juggling, as Mr. Miller inſinuates: why ſhould we doubt then, that it was done, ſuppoſing the art to be now loſt?

This is likewiſe confirmed by Pliny, who ſpeaking of ſeveral [P] bold or *impudent* ways, as he calls them, of ingraffing, concludes with telling us, that this art was long ſince brought to the greateſt degree of perfection; and probably means about Virgil's time, becauſe he refers to this very paſſage. — 'Pars haec vitae jampridem pervenit ad culmen, expertis 'cuncta hominibus; quippe cùm Virgilius " inſitam nucibus arbutum, ma- " lis platanum, ceraſis (he ſhould have ſaid quercubus) ulmum" dicat: 'nec quicquam amplius excogitari poteſt. Nullum certè pomum novum 'diu jam invenitur:' lib. XV. c. xv. — Again, afterwards, when he ſets down the different methods of ingraffing, he has this remarkable account of a tree loaded with different ſorts of fruits. — " Tot modis inſitam " arborem vidimus juxta Tiburtes Tuſias, omni genere *pomorum onuſtam*; " alio ramo nucibus, alio baccis, aliunde vite, ficis, pyris, punicis, malo-

[P] Peculiaris impudentia eſt (prunorum) nucibus inſitorum. Lib. xv. c. 13.

" rumque

" rumque generibus." It is true he adds, " Huic brevis fuit vita :" yet ſuppoſing it to live ever ſo ſhort a time, this may ſerve to ſhew, in anſwer to Mr. Miller, that the thing was practicable. And even allowing that Pliny might ſometimes be impoſed upon, and give in too much to vulgar errors, we muſt obſerve, that in this place he ſays Vidimus. See lib. XVII. cap. xvi. His teſtimony is the more to be regarded, becauſe he ſometimes diſſents from Virgil's rules, as appears lib. XVII. ſect. iii. not. 5. Harduin. And therefore, if theſe relating to ingraffing had been ſo notoriouſly falſe, as is pretended, it is probable he would have cenſured, inſtead of confirming them. — To theſe authorities from Columella and Pliny, we may add another, though of ſomewhat later date, Palladius ; whoſe little poem De Inſitione almoſt wholly conſiſts of this ſort of ingraffing : and which, if falſe, muſt be looked upon as no better than one continued *rant* from the beginning to the end. But enough of this.

Amongſt other delicacies of the Auguſtan age, planting and gardening was certainly much improved by thoſe who, after the concluſion of the civil wars, had time and fortunes to retire, and indulge an eaſy luxurious life. Of this number was Cn. Matius, of whom Dr. Middleton, in his Life of Tully, gives an excellent character, for parts, learning, and virtue ; and tells us, " that he lived in ſuch favour and fa-
" miliarity [q] with Auguſtus, as to be diſtinguiſhed by the title of *His*
" *Friend*, etc. This man, he ſays, firſt taught how to inoculate and pro-
" pagate ſome of their moſt curious and foreign fruits, and introduced
" the way of cutting trees and groves into regular forms. On which
" ſubjects he publiſhed ſeveral books mentioned by later writers [r]."

This taſte of the great men of that age in their retirement might probably induce Auguſtus and Maecenas to put Virgil on this taſk of writing the Georgics, and give birth to this excellent poem. And ſince Matius

[q] See vol. iii. from p. 40 to 45.

[r] Columella, lib. vi. cap. 12. and lib. v. cap. 10. And Pliny, lib. xii. cap. 2. Primus Cn. Matius ex equeſtri ordine, Divi Auguſti amicus, invenit nemora tonſilia intra hos LXXX annos. Again, Pliny, lib. xv. cap. 14. mentions the ſame Matius as having given name to a new ſpecies of apples ; and hints that this vanity of naming any new ſort of fruit occaſioned making ſo many experiments in graffing — " Reliqua cur pigeat nominatim indicare, cùm conditoribus ſuis aeternam propagaverint memoriam, tanquam ob egregium aliquod in vita factum ? Niſi fallor, apparebit ex eo ingenium inſerendi : nihilque tam parvum eſſe, quod non gloriam parere poſſit. Ergo habent originem à Matio, etc.

was

was ſo dear to Auguſtus, it is very likely that the Favourite Poet, eſpecially in this part of his work, would conſult the Friend; who would not have ſuffered him to have made eight miſtakes in as many lines.

Another objection, urged by Mr. Miller, and quoted by Dr. Martyn, againſt Virgil's doctrine of ingraffing is, that "there could no advantage "ariſe from it to the practitioner; and it would be only a matter of cu- "rioſity to ſee the ſtock of one kind ſupporting a tree of a very "different one." Allowing this to be true, and that theſe are only whims in graffing: yet ſuppoſing the thing practicable, as I think cannot be queſtioned after ſuch authorities, this is ſufficient to juſtify the Poet in taking ſo fair an opportunity to compliment his friends and patrons, and diverſify his ſubject in an elegant manner, by ſhewing in theſe beautiful lines what might be done, though only out of curioſity. This I take to be his true deſign: and therefore, the trees he has named are not at random; but he has purpoſely choſen ſuch inſtances, as do not any one of them come within the common rules of graffing.

Let us fancy ourſelves walking with Virgil in the gardens of Maecenas, and that after taking a view of the ſeveral nurſeries and plantations, and ſeeing many trees inoculated or graffed in the common methods, he leads us at laſt to a part deſtined purely to new experiments in that art. There he bids us obſerve ſeveral ſtrange intermarriages between trees of different nations and no ways related. How agreeably muſt our curioſity then be gratified with ſeeing the extraordinary offſprings of theſe foreign alliances, whilſt we are charmed with his elegant manner of ſhewing them, and his delicate expreſſions!

I ſubmit to the Critics, whether the manner in which I have explained theſe Eight Verſes do not remove all difficulties, give greater force to the ſubject, and more variety (which is one of the principal beauties in this poem), and at the ſame time make it more methodical and unembarraſſed. In ſhort, in this, as I take it, conſiſts the whole life and ſpirit of this paſſage; which otherwiſe ſeems loſt in confuſion and abſurdities, and made up only of fine words without truth or common ſenſe.

DISSER-

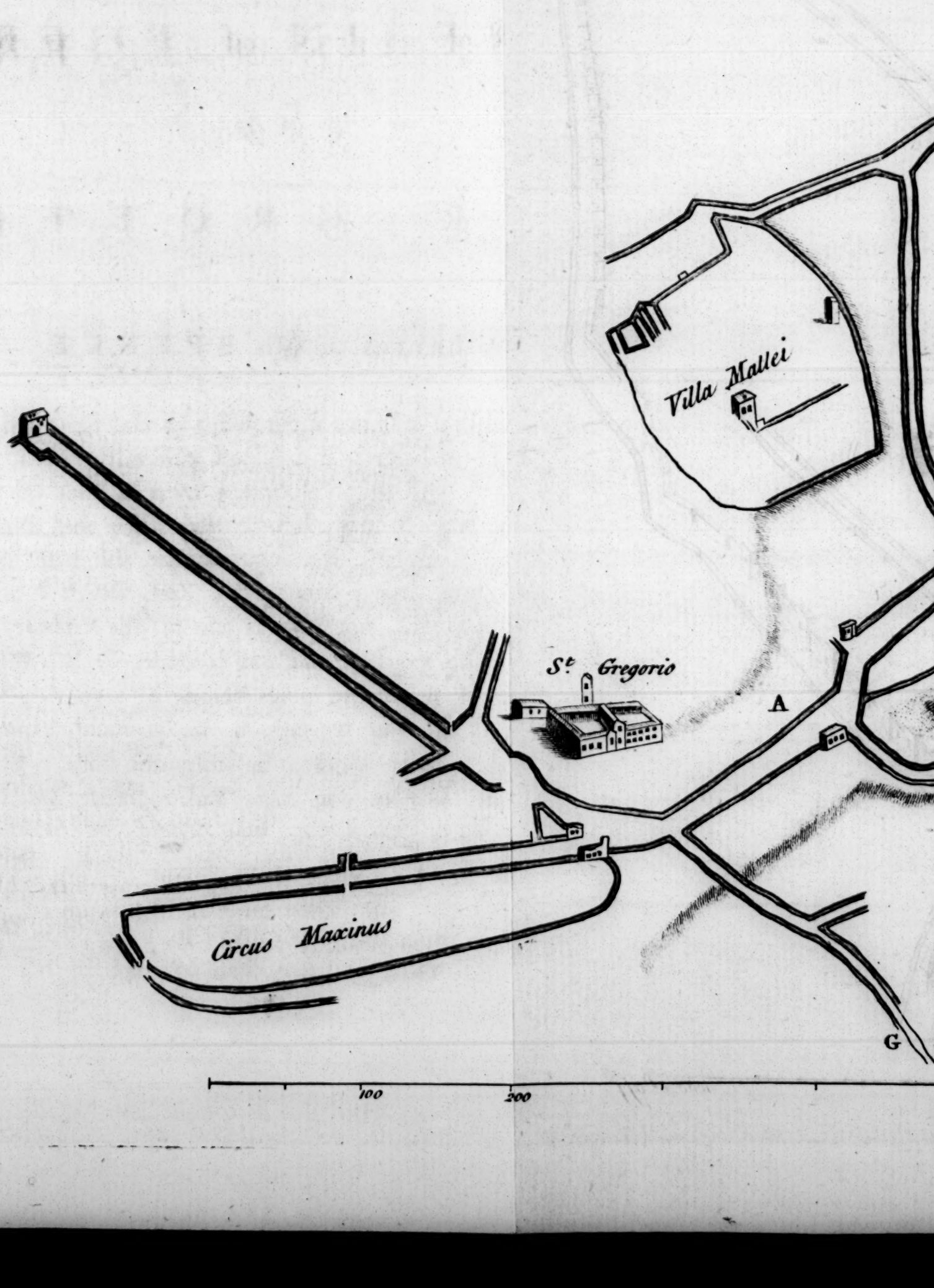
DISSERTATION THE FOURTH;

ON THE

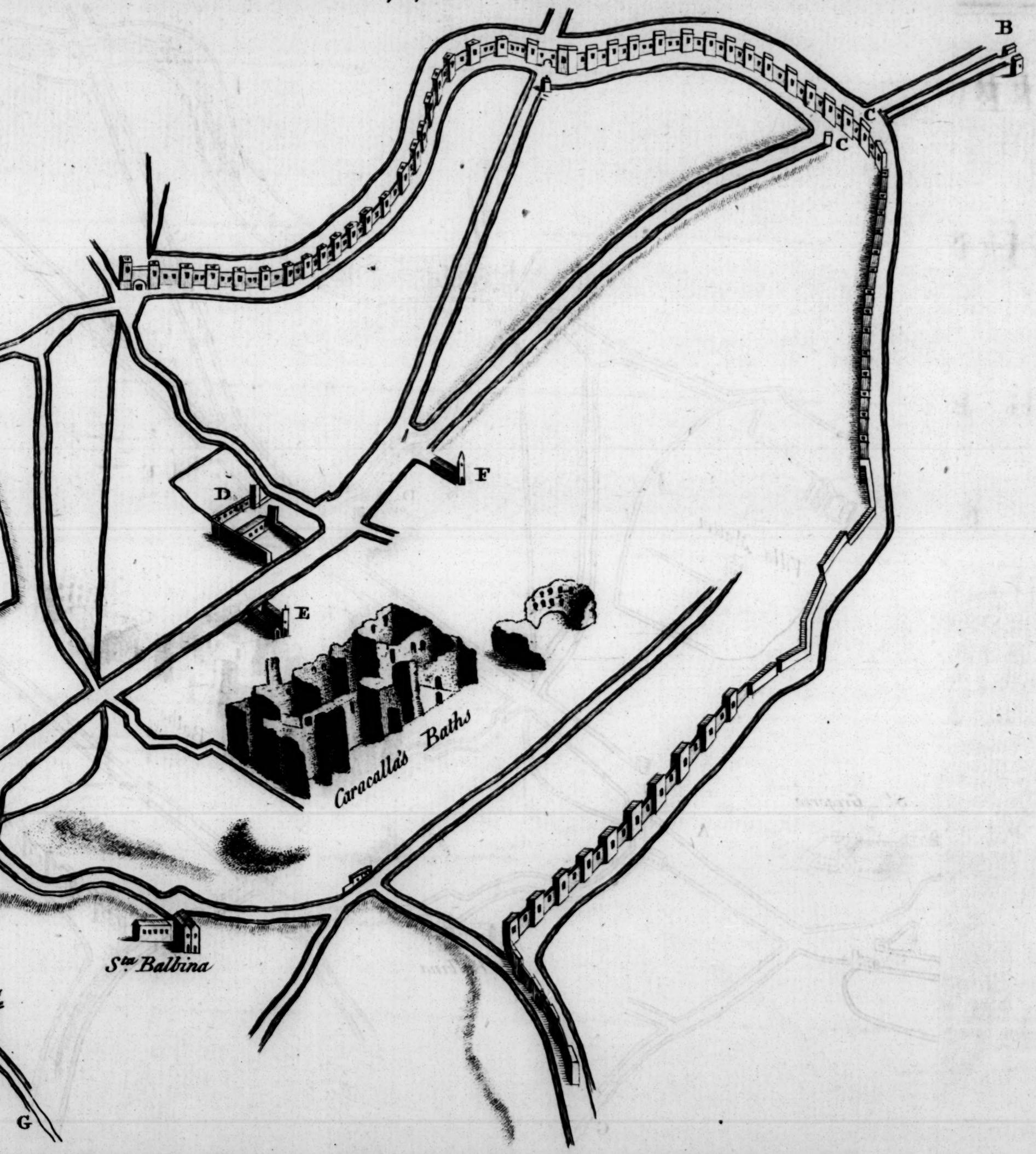
FOUNTAIN of EGERIA and her GROTTO.

In a LETTER to Mr. SPENCE.

A. *The old Porta Capena.* - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
B. *The first mile stone on the Via Appia* - - - - - -
C. *The present Porta S^t. Sebastiano* - - - - - - - - - -
D. *S^t. Dominico and Sisto, a Convent Irish Dominicans.*
E. *S^t. Nereo and Achilleo* - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
F. *S^t. Cesareo.* -
G. *The way to the Porta Ostiensis* - - - - - - - - - -



This, to be Prefixt to Dissertation the Fourth.



Kitchin Sculp.

DISSERTATION THE FOURTH:

ON THE

FOUNTAIN of EGERIA,

AND

HER GROTTO.

In a LETTER to Mr. SPENCE.

THE agreeable day I once ſpent with you and ſome other friends at the Fountain of Egeria, as it is now generally called, made me ſo much in love with that celebrated nymph, that on my late return to Rome I ſoon went to make her another viſit; and, during my ſtay there, I endeavoured to improve that acquaintance, and made ſome enquiry into her family, fortune, and circumſtances. All which I now take the liberty to acquaint you with, not only as one of the company, but more particularly becauſe ſhe was a friend and favourite of the Muſes as well as you. And as ſhe is one of the ladies belonging to your province, you ſeemed, I thought, at the time we met, to be as much enamoured with her, as myſelf; but a flame kindled in Italy does not, you know, always laſt to England. Beſides you have had ſo many Goddeſſes to engage your attention here, that I may well ſuppoſe you could not ſpare much time to think of this Italian lady; whoſe family, which is very numerous, have been for ſome time, and are ſtill, under your care; and as a common friend to them all, you would not, I am ſure, ſuffer one to engroſs your affection. Give me leave then to diſcover to you my par-

ticular attachment to this one of your nymphs among ſo many; and I will be ſo free on my part, without any reſerve or jealouſy, to communicate to you all my thoughts concerning her. If I ſhould happen to be too circumſtantial in my account, you may impute this to over-fondneſs, or, if you pleaſe to call it dotage. Lovers, at my time of life, know not when to have done, when once they begin to talk of their miſtreſſes. They are often, on ſuch occaſions, tireſome to their friends, and too apt to expoſe themſelves.

But to be ſerious. You know there are great diſputes about the ſituation of the Grove and Fountain of Egeria, and the place of her interview with Numa. Some ſuppoſing it to be at or near Aricia, about ſixteen miles from Rome, on the Via Appia; others at or very near Rome, by the Porta Capena; and others at the place where we went to wait on her; which is about two miles without the preſent Porta S. Sebaſtiano, on a croſs road between the Via Appia and Latina, now called Caffarelli, from the family to which it belongs. I have examined her title to theſe ſeveral places, which I ſhall lay before you in order. And though the Caffarelli is the favourite, I muſt poſtpone that to the other two, to which ſhe has undoubtedly a prior claim. To begin then with Aricia.

SECTION I.

Of the FOUNTAIN of EGERIA at ARICIA.

WHEN Virgil is reckoning up the forces which came to the aſſiſtance of Turnus, he ſays thus of Aricia:

" Ibat et Hippolyti proles pulcherrima bello
" Virbius: inſignem quem mater Aricia miſit,
" Eductum Egeriae lucis, humentia circum
" Littora, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Dianae." Aen. VII. 761.

And

And again within few verſes, after having related the ſtory of Hippolytus, he adds;

" At Trivia Hippolytum ſecretis alma recondit
" Sedibus, et Nymphae Egeriae, nemorique relegat."

From theſe paſſages (was there no other authority), it is plain that her reſidence was at Aricia. And ſhe was ſo far eſteemed the principal nymph preſiding over thoſe woods, under the Goddeſs Diana; that Valerius Flaccus, relating the ſtory of Hypſipyle and Thoas, names Nemus Egeriae (as Virgil has done before), as a ſynonymous term for Nemus Dianae. Argonaut. lib. II. ver. 304.

" Jam nemus Egeriae, jam te ciet altus ab Albâ
" Jupiter, et ſoli non mitis Aricia regi."

And Statius, celebrating the cool retreat of Manlius Vopiſcus at Tivoli, ſays, that his houſe had charms ſufficient to tempt Diana to leave her Egeria; looking on her as the chief nymph of thoſe woods.

" Haec domus Egeriae nemoralem abjungere Phoeben,
" Et Dryadum viduare choris algentia poſſit
" Täygeta." Sylv. lib. I. carm. iii. ver. 76.

It ſeems too by theſe authors that in ancient times ſhe was reckoned a nymph of the woods rather than water. And Plutarch, in his treatiſe (περι της Ρωμ. τυχης), ſpeaking of the tradition of Numa's converſing with the nymph Egeria, and being inſtructed by her how to govern his people, expreſsly calls her a Dryad [a].

Let us next enquire into her claim to the fountains, and ſee at what time ſhe became a water-nymph. The ancients are not perfectly agreed, whether ſhe was one of the Muſes, or only their friend and companion; or whether ſhe was wife (as Ovid often calls her), or rather a nymph, as dear as a wife to King Numa [b]. But in this, I think, they are all unanimous,

[a] Την μεν γαρ Ηγεριαν τινα Νυμφων μιαν Δρυαδων, δαιμωνα σοφην, ερωι τ' ανδρι εν συνεσια γενομενην, παραπαιδαγωνειν, και συσχεμαλιζειν την Πολιτειαν, ισως μυθωδεστερον εστι.

[b] Νυμφην γαρ τινα μυθολογουσιν Ηγεριαν φιλαν προ αυλου εκαστοτε, διδασκουσαν την βασιλικην σοφιαν. Ετεροι δε ου νυμφην, αλλα των μουσων μιαν. —Dionyſ. Hal. ſpeaking of the reign of Numa, lib. ii.

that ſhe was chief counſellor to that prince. Which fact is ſo univerſally allowed, that the cuſtom of chuſing ladies for prime miniſters, and doing nothing without their direction, has from thence probably taken its riſe; and been frequently imitated by other princes, eſpecially in theſe latter days, ſince the world has been improving in wiſdom. For what can they do better than follow the example of ſo wiſe a prince?

After the death of King Numa, this lady, whether his wife or miſtreſs, was ſo diſconſolate for the loſs of him, that ſhe immediately retired to her woods at Aricia, and there wept herſelf into a fountain. Thus Ovid relates the ſtory:

" Extinctum Latiaeque nurus, populusque patresque
" Deflevere Numam. Nam conjux, urbe relictâ,
" Vallis Aricinae denſis latet abdita ſilvis,
" Sacraque Oreſteae gemitu queſtuque Dianae
" Impedit. Ah quoties nymphae nemorisque lacûsque
" Ne faceret monuere, et conſolantia verba
" Dixerunt! Quoties flenti Theſeïus Heros
" Siſte modum dixit!" etc. ——— Met. lib. XV.

After this Hippolytus relates his own ſtory to comfort her; then the Poet adds;

" Non tamen Egeriae luctus aliena levare
" Damna valent. Montisque jacens radicibus imis
" Liquitur in lacrymas, donec pietate dolentis
" Mota ſoror Phoebi gelidum de corpore fontem
" Fecit, et aeternas artus tenuavit in undas." Lib. XV.

In conformity to this notion of her being at that time changed to a fountain, we may obſerve, that Virgil, in the abovementioned paſſages, ſpeaks of her groves, "humentia circum littora," he judiciouſly avoids naming her fountain, as he is ſpeaking of times antecedent to this change.

From thence forward ſhe preſided both over the woods and ſprings of Aricia. Thus Ovid, relating the ſtory of the origin of the feaſts of the Salii, addreſſes himſelf to her as nymph of both.

" Nympha mone, nemori ſtagnoque operata Dianae,
" Nympha, Numae conjux, ad tua feſta veni.

" Vallis

" Vallis Aricinae ſylvâ praecinctus opacâ
" Eſt lacus, antiquâ relligione ſacer.
" Hic latet Hippolytus," etc.—— Faſt. III. 261.

Preſently after, ſpeaking of the rivulet or fountain, he ſays;

" Defluit inſerto lapidoſus murmure rivus,
" (Saepe, ſed exiguis hauſtibus, inde [c] bibi).
" Egeria eſt quae praebet aquas, Dea grata Camenis;
" Illa Numae conjux, conſiliumque fuit," etc. Ver. 271.

From all theſe paſſages in the Poets it is very manifeſt that the woods and fountain of Egeria were at or near Aricia. The ſame is confirmed by Strabo, who, in his geography (lib. V.), gives us a ſhort, but pretty clear and diſtinct deſcription of this part of Italy, as we find it at preſent [d]. Speaking of Aricia and Nemus Dianae (now Nemi), and its lake, he ſays the ſprings are very viſible from whence the lake is ſupplied: one of which is called Egeria, being the name of the Nymph or Goddeſs of the place [e]. I might have given you a deſcription of this fountain, and perhaps a plan. But Huſſars, Pandours, etc. were in poſſeſſion of theſe ſprings and the country round them, the whole ſummer while I was at Rome, which prevented my going thither; for what would theſe ſucceſſors of Goths and Vandals have ſaid, if I had talked to them of Egeria and the Muſes? Do you think they would have allowed of ſuch a paſs, or have ſuffered me to have made any innocent obſervations there? It is well, if they have not defiled this ſacred fountain. However, I remember when I was formerly rambling about that country, I obſerved that

[c] Moſt editions have Bibes; and ſo Aldus has it; but Bibi is certainly the true reading. It is very modeſt and expreſſive from the mouth of Ovid, and ſuits well his character, as ſcarce any one drank oftener than he did of the fountain of the Muſes, though ſome deeper.

[d] Μετα δε το Αλβανον Αρικια εστι πολις επι τη οδῳ τη Αππια. Σταδιοι δ' εισιν εκ της Ρωμης ρξ. Κοιλος δ' εστιν ὁ τοπος, εχει δ' ὁμως ερυμνην ακραν. Το δε Αρτεμισιον ὁ καλουσι νεμος, εκ τυ εν αριστερᾳ μερους της ὁδυ τοις εξ Αρικιας αναβαινουσιν· εις την δ' Αρικινην, το ἱερον [or as Cluver reads it, Εστι δ' Αρικινων το ἱερον], το δ' ἱερον εν αλσει. Προκειται δε λιμνη πελαγιζουσα· κυκλῳ δ' ορεινη συνεχης ὀφρυς περικειται, κλιτια ὑψηλη, και το ἱερον και το ὑδωρ απολαμβανουσα εν κοιλῳ τοπῳ και βαθει.

[e] Τας μεν ουν πηγας ὁραν εστιν εξ ὡν ἡ λιμνη πληρουται· τουτων δ' εστιν ἡ Ηγερια καλουμενη, Δαιμονος τινος επωνυμος. In moſt editions of Strabo it muſt be owned that it is Ἱερεια, not Ηγερια, which the tranſlators render, " lisque " adeſt ſacerdos nomen cum Genio quodam " habens commune." Suppoſing this to be the true reading, the prieſteſs meant muſt be Egeria: but Cluverius well remarks that this is certainly a corruption, and that it ought to be read Ηγερια.

ſeveral

ſeveral large ſprings broke out on the ſide of the hill about Nemi, and that in ſuch abundance as immediately to turn mills. I did not then take ſo much notice of them as I ſhould have done, if I had imagined at that time that I ſhould, in my old age, have fallen in love with your friend Egeria. But I find that Cluver, ſpeaking of this fountain, makes the ſame remark. "Fontis hujus limpidiſſimi tam copioſae hodie ſub "Nemorenſi oppido ex antro profluunt aquae, ut molas ſtatim flumine "ſuo convolvant." Lib. III. c. iv.

You muſt have obſerved, without doubt, that whilſt I am ſpeaking of Egeria as Nymph of the woods and fountains of Aricia, I make her fountains riſe by Nemi, which is at about three miles diſtance from Aricia, the lake of that name (otherwiſe called Speculum Dianae), lying between the two towns. But you will conſider, that this lake being quite encompaſſed by hills, and having no viſible outlet; the ſame waters, after having ſupplied the lake, break out again by ſubterraneous paſſages at the vale of Aricia; and therefore the fountains at both places might well be looked upon as one, and ſacred to the ſame nymph. Beſides though the fountain head is at Nemi, yet even that might properly take its name from Aricia, as the principal town; ſo we find the temple of Diana (which was likewiſe near Nemi) belonged, as Strabo tells us, to the Aricians. Εϛι δ' Αριϗινων το ἱερον.

SECTION II.

Of the VALE of EGERIA; or, to ſpeak more properly, of the FOUNTAIN and GROVE of the MUSES at ROME.

THE title of Egeria to the Vale of Aricia being thus ſettled, let us next conſider her claim to the valley by the Porta Capena at Rome, there being good evidence in favour of her right to that too. How otherwiſe ſhall we account for what Juvenal ſays in his conference with Umbricius at the beginning of his third Satire?

"Dum

" Dum tota domus rhedâ componitur unâ,
" Subſtitit ad veteres arcus, madidamque Capenam;
" Hic ubi nocturnae Numa conſtituebat amicae."

And preſently after,

" In vallem Egeriae deſcendimus," etc.

Cluverius in his Italia Antiqua has a long article on this ſubject; and to reconcile the ſubject, gives Egeria a Fountain and Grove, both at Aricia and Rome; and concludes that this was the occaſion of the different opinions of authors, ſome making her interview with Numa at the former place, ſome at the latter. " Unde diverſa opinio tradentium: "Quum alii apud Ariciam cum Egeriâ congreſſum Numam velint: " alii, apud Portam Capenam:" Cluver. lib. III. c. iv. He has abundance of quotations to this purpoſe, but, I think, very perplexed. He confounds her fountain and woods at Aricia with the valley where ſhe is ſuppoſed to have had thoſe conferences, whereas the antients diſtinguiſhed them. It by no means appears by their accounts that thoſe conferences were ever held at her own fountain, or in her own territories, as we may ſay, but at Rome. So that I look upon Aricia as her own eſtate and habitation, and Rome only as her reſidence, whilſt ſhe was counſellor to King Numa. And in this, I believe, all the antients univerſally agree, except Statius. He ſeems, indeed, in one paſſage to ſuppoſe Numa inſtructed by Egeria at Aricia.

" Sic ſacra Numae ritusque colendos
" Mitis Aricino dictabat nympha ſub antro."

Sylv. lib. V. carm. iii.

But if in this he differs from all others, ought we not rather to look upon this as a miſtake, or a careleſs expreſſion in him, than oppoſe his ſingle authority to every body elſe; eſpecially conſidering that he ſeems to value himſelf more in this part of his works on writing faſt than correctly [f]?

[f] See his preface to the firſt book of Sylvae, where he ſays in excuſe for their incorrectneſs, that they were written Stylo remiſſiore; and calls them, " Libelli, qui " ſubito calore, et quâdam feſtinandi volup- " tate fluxerant." And, again; " Solam ha- " bent gratiam celeritatis. Nullum enim ex " illis biduo longius tractum; quaedam et " ſingulis diebus effuſa."

To

To ſet this matter in a clear light, let us examine the antient records. Livy, ſpeaking of the reign of Numa, gives the following account of this affair: " Omnium primum, rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis ſe-" culis rudem efficaciſſimam, Deorum metum injiciendum ratus eſt. Qui " quum deſcendere ad animos ſine aliquo commento miraculi non poſſet, " ſimulat ſibi cum Deâ Egeriâ congreſſus noctурnos eſſe. Ejus ſe moni-" tu, quae acceptiſſima Diis eſſent, ſacra inſtituere, ſacerdotes ſuos cuique " Deorum praeficere." Lib. I. ſect. xix. And preſently after, ſpeaking of the place where they were ſuppoſed to meet, he deſcribes it thus: " Lucus erat, quem medium ex opaco ſpecu fons perenni rigabat aquâ, " quo ſe perſaepe Numa, ſine arbitris, velut ad congreſſum Deae infe-" rebat," etc. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus writes much to the ſame purpoſe [g]. And Plutarch in his Numa ſays, That Egeria and the Muſes went frequently to converſe with him [h]. There is no place ſpecified where they met, otherwiſe than in general, as above; but it appearing, by theſe accounts, that theſe conferences were held frequently, and at night, and without any attendance; and Aricia being fifteen or ſixteen miles from Rome, and at that time far beyond the limits of Numa's dominions, it cannot be imagined that theſe Hiſtorians mean, that Numa went ſo far to meet his Egeria; unleſs we ſuppoſe they intended to repreſent this as an affair of pure gallantry between a young prince and his miſtreſs. It is more reaſonable to believe they mean, that Egeria and the Muſes came to Rome, his own reſidence, fifteen or ſixteen miles being no great journey for Goddeſſes, though it would have been ſo for the old king. And we find it expreſsly ſaid, that they went to him (φοιταν προς αυτον) and (φοιτωσαι συνδιατριβουσιν αυλῳ). It is plain too from Ovid's account abovementioned, that theſe conferences were at Rome; for he obſerves that on Numa's death, Egeria quitted the city, and retired to her woods at Aricia.

" Nam conjux, urbe relictâ,
" Vallis Aricinae denſis latet abdita ſylvis."

Neither Ficcaroni nor any of the modern antiquaries aſſign any place in Rome, as I think of, for theſe famous interviews. And yet, I think,

[g] Λογους δε πολλους ὑπερ αυτου και θαυμαστους λεγουσιν, Ηγερια φοιταν προς αυτον ἑκαστοτε, etc. Dionyſ. lib. ii.

[h] Τα πολλα φοιτωσαι συνδιατριβουσιν αυλῳ. Plut. Numa. See likewiſe Valerius Max. lib. i. c. 2.

it

it will not be difficult, if not to mark the very ſpot, at leaſt to come pretty near it.

In the fable of the Salii, Prieſts of Mars, and of the Ancile, which was pretended to be dropped from heaven (Ovid. Faſt. III. 259.), Numa being terrified with extraordinary thunder and lightening, Egeria bids him not be frightened, and inſtructs him how to compel Faunus and Picus to diſcover to him the means of appeaſing Jove.

" Cui Dea, nè nimium terrere, Piabile fulmen
" Eſt, ait; et ſaevi flectitur ira Jovis.
" Sed poterunt ritum Picus Faunusque piandi
" Prodere, Romani numen uterque ſoli.
" Nec ſine vi tradent. Adhibeto vincula captis:
" Atque ita, quâ poſſint erudit arte capi." Ver. 289.

This ſcene is laid at the foot of the Aventin hill, where there was a grove and a grotto with a fountain in it, to which theſe two rural Gods uſed to retire.

" Lucus Aventino ſuberat niger ilicis umbrâ,
" Quo poſſes viſo dicere, Numen ineſt.
" In medio gramen; muſcoque adoperta virenti
" Manabat ſaxo vena perennis aquae," etc. Ver. 298.

When Numa, by the aſſiſtance of theſe two Deities, had obtained an interview with Jove, we find the God appears to him at the Aventin.

" Eliciunt caelo te, Jupiter; unde minores
" Nunc quoque te celebrant, Eliciumque vocant.
" Conſtat Aventinae tremuiſſe cacumina ſylvae;
" Terraque ſubſedit pondere preſſa Jovis." Ver. 330.

And Livy tells us, that the altar dedicated to Jupiter, ſurnamed on this account, Elicius, was on the Aventin. " Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis " Jovi Elicio aram in Aventino (Numa) dicavit." Lib. I.

Now as Numa received his inſtructions for this project from Egeria, and was by her ſhewn the grotto, and the manner of binding theſe rural Deities, as above; there can be no difficulty about aſcertaining the place of this meeting, viz. under the Aventin hill. And there is great reaſon to believe that the ſame vale ſerved for all their other conferences. For

though Livy does not mention the place, yet he deſcribes the grove and fountain, where they uſed to meet, in the ſame manner exactly with Ovid. As appears by comparing his, "Lucus erat, quem medium ex "opaco ſpecu fons perenni rigabat aquâ," with Ovid's, "Lucus Aven- "tino ſuberat," etc.

The tradition of theſe conferences being held here, was ſufficient reaſon to diſtinguiſh this vale ſometimes by the name of Egeria, as we find it called by Juvenal, though neither the vale, fountain, or grove were dedicated to her, but to the Muſes: nor had ſhe any other intereſt therein, but as their friend and companion; and as this was the place of her conference with Numa. This is evident from the ſame paſſage in Livy, where, having named this grove and fountain, he adds; "Quo quia ſe "perſaepe Numa ſine arbitris velut ad congreſſum Deae inferebat, Ca- "menis eum lucum ſacravit, quod earum ibi conſilia cum conjuge ſuâ "Egeria eſſent." It is hinted too by Ovid that it was by their aſſiſtance ſhe counſelled Numa:

"Conjuge qui felix Nymphâ, ducibusque Camenis."
Met. XV. fab. xliv.

It is likewiſe confirmed by Plutarch, that the place where Egeria and the Muſes uſed to converſe with Numa, and the meadows round about it, were dedicated by him to the Muſes[i]. We find too by the ſame author, that this fountain was ſo near Rome, if not in it, that the Veſtal virgins, whoſe habitation was in the middle of Rome, in the Forum Romanum, uſed to fetch water every day from thence for their luſtrations, and other holy offices.

Having thus plainly ſhewn, from ſuch good authorities, that the vale where Numa was ſuppoſed to meet his Egeria was not at Aricia, but at Rome, at the foot of the Aventin; there will be little difficulty in determining on which ſide of that hill it was; being aſſured by many authors that it was in the Porta Capena. So that we muſt next look for that gate.

Fabretti, in his treatiſe De Aquis et Aquaeductibus (§ 43 to 52), makes it plainly appear, that the old Porta Capena was near a mile within the

[i] Ηγεριας τε και των Μεσων αυτον πυθεσθαι χρηναι Μεσαις καθιερωσαι το χωριον εκειτο, και τες περι αυλο λειμωνας, ὁπε τα πολλα φοιτωσαι συνδιατριβοιεν αυτῳ. Την δε πηγην ἡ καταρδει το χωριον, ὑδωρ ἱερον αποδειξαι ταις Ἑστιασι παρθενοις, ὁπως, λαμβανυσαι καθ' ἡμεραν, ἁγνιζωσι και ραινωσι το Ανακλορον. Plutarch in Numa.

preſent

preſent Porta S. Sebaſtiano. I had once the curioſity to meaſure that ground, according to his inſtructions, from the farther corner of the Villa Cenci [k], where the [l] firſt mile-ſtone on the Via Appia ſtood, and found it exactly one Roman mile from thence to the narroweſt part of the vale between the Caelian and Aventin hills, which anſwers to this account. The view of the ground confirms his opinion; for as that ſpot lies juſt in the middle between two of the higheſt points of thoſe hills, where they project moſt, and approach neareſt each other; no place could be found ſo proper as that for building the wall croſs the vale, in order to join thoſe hills, and encloſe them within the city.

The courſe of the Aqua Appia is a farther confirmation of Fabretti's opinion. For, according to the account given by Frontinus, that aqueduct paſſed by the Porta Capena, and from thence went on to the Porta Trigemina, which was on the other ſide of the Aventin hill, on the bank of the Tiber; and therefore muſt neceſſarily croſs this vale between the Caelian and Aventin. And, as Frontinus obſerves, "this water, from its "fountain head to the end of its courſe, which was above eleven miles, "was carried all the way under ground, except by the Porta Capena; "and there was carried on a ground-work wall, or on arches, no more "than ſixty paces in length [m]. This is a manifeſt proof that the gate ſtood in the narrow part of the vale which Fabretti aſſigns to it; every other part of that vale, both before and after, being much wider, and by no means agreeing to that meaſure. We may therefore very ſecurely acquieſce in fixing the Porta Capena, where Fabretti does.

And as the Fountain of the Muſes was certainly near that gate, and under the Aventin, that is, on the right hand going from Rome; what better place can we aſſign for it, and for their grove, than under Sancta Balbina; or between that and Caracalla's baths?

[k] It is the firſt villa on the right hand, without Porta S. Sebaſtiano.

[l] This ſtone, you know, is now at the Capitol, with the following remarkable diſtich inſcribed on it:

QVAE. . . . . MENSVRA. VIARVM.
NVNC. CAPITOLINI. CVLMINIS. INCOLA. SVM.

Very proper verſes to commemorate ſo ſtupid an act as the removing a mile ſtone out of its place.

[m] Ductus ejus (Aquae Appiae) habet longitudinem à capite uſque ad Salinas (qui locus ad Portam Trigeminam), paſſuum XI millium CXC. Subterraneo rivo paſſuum XI millium CXXX. Subſtructione, et ſupra terram opere arcuato proximè ad Portam Capenam paſſuum LX. Jul. Frontinus, De Aquaeduct. Romae.

This ſituation agrees very exactly with, and explains the third Satire of Juvenal, which has much puzzled commentators. Umbricius, juſt going to leave Rome, and retire to Cumae, whilſt his family is getting ready, waits for them at the Porta Capena, where it is expreſsly ſaid the night conferences were held between Numa and his nymph. Here meeting with Juvenal, they enter into converſation; and walking down to the Vale of Egeria, lament the miſeries of Rome, which occaſion his quitting it.

" Dum tota domus rhedâ componitur unâ,
" Subſtitit ad veteres [n] arcus, madidamque Capenam:
" Hic, ubi nocturnae Numa conſtituebat amicae,
" In vallem Egeriae deſcendimus, et ſpeluncas
" Diſſimiles veris."

When every thing was ready, and the chaiſe come to the place appointed, Umbricius tells his friend that he muſt be obliged to take leave of him; the muleteer having made ſigns to haſten him, by waving his whip. This puts an end to the Satire; and manifeſtly proves that the place where they converſed was very near the gate.

" Sed jumenta vocant, et ſol inclinat; eundum eſt.
" Nam mihi commotâ jamdudum mulio virgâ
" Adnuit: ergo vale."

We will not ſuppoſe that any part of this grove ſtill flouriſhes, though once ſo ſacred, and under the protection of the Muſes. Nor is there any appearance at preſent either of their fountain or grott, as in thoſe days. Yet there are, I think, ſome natural marks ſtill remaining to aſcertain their right to the place. Plutarch, in the paſſage above-cited, calls the fields near the Fountain of the Muſes, Λειμωνας. The ground I am ſpeak-

[n] The *Veteres Arcus* here meant are thoſe of the Aqua Appia beforementioned; and likewiſe the Anio Vetus. For both thoſe aqueducts paſſed by the Porta Capena. The Appian ran on a groundſel wall (called by Frontinus, Subſtructio) at the foot of the gate, which was afterwards carried on arches over the lower part of the vale. The Anio Vetus, as appears by Fabretti's account, was carried over the top of the ſame gate. Both theſe aqueducts being very old, the former made in the year of Rome 442, the latter in leſs than forty years after, may well be ſuppoſed, in Juvenal's time, to be out of repair, and leaky. Thus Martial, who lived at the ſame time, is to be underſtood, when he ſays;

Capena grandi Porta quà pluit guttâ.
Lib. iii. ep. 47.

And therefore Juvenal here calls that gate, Madidam.

ing

ing of deſerves this character; lying at the foot of a hill full of ſprings, and is ſo very low, that we find there was a neceſſity of building arches over it for the Aqua Appia to paſs, which was brought all the reſt of the way under ground. The few inhabitants who live in this much deſerted part (particularly an old man, who ſaid he had lived there twenty-five years), informed me, that wherever they dig thereabouts they find excellent water at a few palms depth. You may remember too, perhaps, that when the antiquaries ſhew Caracalla's Baths, they take notice, that ſome of the lower grotts on that ſide, are always full of water. And in the next ground to thoſe ruins I obſerved two ſemicircular tribunes joining to each other, and abutting againſt the hill, in one of which there is always ſo much water, that it is vulgarly called the Peſchiera. In ſhort, all that cliff abounds with ſprings; inſomuch that in the year 1741 all the lands thereabouts were drowned, and in danger of becoming a moraſs. Whether occaſioned by great rains, or that the Muſes wept a flood of tears (for it began immediately upon your leaving us), I know not. But it is certain there was at that time a remarkable inundation at that place; which continued not only that year but the following, and cauſed much trouble and expence. The proprietors of the land being unable to bear the whole burthen, and it being apprehended that this water ſtagnating might not only ruin the land, but corrupt the air, which, in that part of the town, is not very good at the beſt, it concerned the publick to find a remedy. Upon examining therefore into this affair in order to cure it for the preſent, and prevent it for the future; it appeared, that partly by time, and partly by digging for materials, or hidden treaſure amongſt the ruins in that part, the old drains, which uſed to carry off the water, whenever the ſprings overflowed, were ſtopped up. And the land there being lower than the bed of the Aqua Marana or Crabra, which paſſes by the ſide of it, ſo that the water could not diſcharge itſelf into that channel, and no declivity for it to run off, there was a neceſſity, at great expence, to make a new drain, which was carried under the bed of the Aqua Marana, and diſcharges itſelf into the common ſhore by the mill of St. Gregorio, as marked in the plan. This new drain ſerves only to carry off the water on extraordinary floods or overflowings of thoſe ſprings, there being no conſtant current. The ordinary vent for the Fountain of the Muſes, which was "perennis aqua," is ſtill concealed, and probably lies much deeper.

There

There is a large ſpring which breaks out about half a mile lower down the vale, juſt by the old Temple of Janus Quadrifrons (as it is called), and near the Church of St. George. It is a beautiful clear water, not unworthy of the Muſes; and is eſteemed ſo excellently good, that was it not at ſo great a diſtance from the now beſt inhabited parts of the city, it is thought it would be more in requeſt than any fountain about Rome. It iſſues out in ſo great a ſtream that within few yards of its mouth, and immediately before it falls into the Cloaca Maxima, it ſerves to turn an overſhot wheel for a paper mill. Very proper buſineſs for the water of the Muſes, was the paper made there as well employed in their ſervice, as it would have been in times of their proſperity. The conduit which brings this water is undoubtedly an ancient work [o]. And ſince the ſource is unknown, and can only be gueſſed at, why may we not venture to fancy this flowing from thoſe veins at the foot of the Aventin, which formed the Fountain of the Muſes? The diſtance is ſmall; and in the ſame ſhort vale. And though the ſpring hides its head, the waters may ſtill find their way to this place by their old ſubterraneous canals. It may be too, that it was from hence the Veſtal virgins fetched water every day for their uſe, as this was neareſt to them.

But whether this was the outlet of that fountain or not, I think there can be no diſpute but that the fountain head was at the foot of that craggy part of the Aventin, though now loſt.

I was informed by an old gardner, who rents part of the ground under that hill, that during the inundation he obſerved the greateſt quantity of water iſſuing out in a ſtream amidſt the ruins adjoining to one of the abovenamed ſemicircular niches, or alcoves. In this ſpot, then, or very near it, we may reaſonably fix the grotto where the Fountain of the Muſes roſe. Cloſe to the grotto was the grove, through the middle of which the fountain paſſed. "Lucus erat quem medium ex opaco ſpecu "fons perenni rigabat aquâ." And as ſome of the antients mention likewiſe the Temple of the Muſes in this place, we muſt either ſuppoſe that the ſame grot was ſometimes called a Temple; or, if a ſeparate building,

[o] Du Perac, in his Views of the Antiquities of Rome, publiſhed at Rome, 1575, ſpeaks of this fountain as diſcovered under ground either in his time or before. Vicino à quel Tempio di Jano Quadrifronte vedeſi ancor un Condotto d'acqua antico, che fu ritrovato ſotto terra, dove per beneficio publico ivi ſi ſono fatte belliſſime fontane con un lavatore; e ſi chiama quella piazza la fontana de Santo Giorgio, per eſſer ivi la chieſa di queſto Santo. See plate XII.

that

that it ſtood near it: all that low ground between the foot of the hill and the gate being certainly ſacred to them, and the vale where they and Egeria were ſuppoſed to have their interviews with Numa.

You may never, perhaps, have been cloſe to the foot of this hill, nor on any part of this ſacred ground, as it is of pretty difficult acceſs, being covered with briars inſtead of a grove; but whenever in your walks about Rome you have paſſed near the place, I doubt not but you felt yourſelf touched with ſome inward impulſe like the prieſteſs of Apollo,

" Afflatu eſt numine quando
" Jam propiore Dei."

And we are very ſoon going to ſee the effects.

SECTION III.

Of ſome other TEMPLES near the PORTA CAPENA.

IT is time for us now to return from the place from whence we ſet out, the Caffarelli; but before we leave the Porta Capena, I beg you to ſtop a little, and obſerve ſome other Temples in that neighbourhood. As this was eſteemed the principal gate of the city, which not only led to a great part of Italy, but received their victorious armies returning from Greece, Aſia, and Africa, we may imagine ſuch an entrance would be well adorned. Tully, boaſting of the manner of his reception on his return to Rome after his exile, ſays; " Cum veniſſem ad Portam " Capenam gradus Templorum ab infimâ plebe completi erant, a quâ " plauſu maximo cùm eſſet mihi gratulatio ſignificata," etc. Lib. IV. Epiſt. i. ad Atticum. And Livy, ſpeaking of the taking of Syracuſe by Marcellus, and the ſtatues and pictures brought from thence to adorn Rome, ſays; " Viſebantur ab externis ad Portam Capenam dedicata à " Marcello templa, propter excellentia ejus generis ornamenta:" Liv. lib.

lib. XXV. c. xl. Among theſe Temples, beſides that of the Muſes, were thoſe of Honour, and of Virtue, and that of Mars. The antient accounts or tables, which ſet down the ſeveral diſtricts of old Rome, with the moſt remarkable places in each diviſion, mention every one of theſe Temples, in the firſt Region, otherwiſe called Regio Portae Capenae, which is ſufficient to ſhew they were all in the ſame quarter, and near the gate. In ſome of thoſe tables we likewiſe find marked in the ſame quarter, Vicus Camenarum, and Vicus Honoris, et Virtutis; from whence we may conjecture that ſtreets turned out from the great road by thoſe Temples, which took their names from them. And though the Temples are utterly deſtroyed, the ſtreets, perhaps, are ſtill to be diſtinguiſhed at this day; there being lanes, which now branch off at or very near the places, where, I ſuppoſe, thoſe Temples ſtood [p].

Beſides theſe general marks there are other better authorities, which aſcertain the ſituation of theſe Temples more exactly. Livy, ſpeaking of the tranſactions of the year of Rome 547, mentions the dedication of the Temple of Virtue by the Porta Capena. "Aedem Virtutis eo anno "ad Portam Capenam M. Marcellus dedicavit, ſeptimo decimo anno poſt-"quam à patre ejus primo conſulatu vota in Galliâ ad Claſtidium fuerat:" Lib. XXIX. xi. That the Temple of Honour [q] was cloſe adjoining to the other, is evident from a remarkable religious ſcruple related by Livy, which prevented their being both worſhiped under one and the ſame roof. Symmachus, in a compliment to Auſonius, on his being advanced to the conſulſhip, obſerves very prettily the reaſon why their anceſtors built theſe two Temples cloſe adjoining to each other, and at the ſame time remarks that the way to them was by the Temple and Fountain of

[p] See Sextus Rufus; Publius Victor; Notitia della dignità dell' uno e dell' altro imperio; Baſis Capitolina; as they are quoted by Donatus, Nardini, etc.

[q] Marcellum aliae atque aliae objectae animo religiones tenebant. In quibus quod quum bello Gallico ad Claſtidium aedem Honori et Virtuti voviſſet, dedicatio ejus à pontificibus impediebatur: quod negabant unam cellam amplius quàm uni Deo rite dedicari, quia ſi de caelo tacta, aut prodigii aliquid in eâ factum eſſet, difficilis procuratio foret; quod utri Deo res divina fieret, ſciri non poſſet. Neque enim duobus, niſi certis Deis, rite unâ hoſtiâ fieri. Ita addita Virtutis aedes, approperato opere; neque tamen ab ipſo aedes eae dedicatae ſunt. —— The ſame ſtory is related with ſome little variation by Valerius Maximus, lib. I. c. i.

the

the Muſes; this near [r] ſituation ſignifying that an application to letters was often, in thoſe days, the ready road to preferment.

We may likewiſe allow that the Temple of Mars might very properly be placed near Virtue and Honour, particularly the latter; that ſoldiers, going to war, might be put in mind of Virtue and Honour at the ſame time they were paying their devotions to Mars; as Daniel Barbaro obſerves in his notes on Vitruvius. "M. Marcellus Templum Honori et "Virtuti dedicavit, quod à Veſpaſiano poſtea reſtauratum fuit, ut in num- "mis habetur. Erat hoc ad Portam Capenam, ut monerentur egredien- "tes ad bellum, quod Virtutis medio ad Honorem pervenimus:" Lib. III. c. i. And, perhaps, it would not be amiſs, if ſome ceremony like this was practiſed by ſoldiers in theſe days. But how came he ſo near the Muſes? Methinks they ought to have retired as far diſtant from him as poſſible: unleſs we ſuppoſe this intended to intimate to the ſoldiers that if they behaved well, the Muſes would celebrate their praiſes. Whatever was the reaſon, we ſhall certainly find him their neighbour; and though you may think him a ſtrange guide, he will aſſiſt us in what we are looking for. Livy tells us expreſsly, that his Temple was without the Porta Capena [s]. And Propertius means this temple, when he makes Arethuſa ſay;

"Armaque [t] cum tulero Portae vicina Capenae,
"Subſcribam ſalvo grata puella viro."
Lib. IV. at the end of the third Elegy.

Ovid is ſtill more particular, that it was without the gate, yet within ſight of it, on the ſight of the Via Appia, which began at that gate; not quite cloſe, but a little retired, and, as I take it, on the right hand of the road as one went from Rome.

[r] Bene ac ſapienter majores noſtri, ut ſunt alia aetatis illius, Aedes Honori atque Virtuti gemellas junctim locarunt, commenti, quod in te vidimus, ibi eſſe praemia Honoris ubi ſunt merita Virtutis. To which is immediately added: Sed enim praeterea (or as ſome read it) propter eas (id eſt prope Honoris aedes et Virtutis), etiam Camenarum relligio et ſacri fontis advertitur, quia iter ad capeſſendos magiſtratus ſaepe litteris promovetur. Lib. i. Epiſt. 14.

[s] Gallicum bellum Popillio extra ordinem datum. Is impigre exercitu ſcripto, quum omnes *extra Portam Capenam ad Martis aedem* convenire armatos juniores juſſiſſet, etc. Liv. lib. vii. § 23.

[t] It being cuſtomary in all probability to offer vows for the ſafety of ſoldiers in this temple.

" Lux eadem Marti feſta eſt, quem proſpicit extra
" Appoſitum [u] dextrae Porta Capena viae."
Faſt. VI. 192.

You may remember, perhaps, that in going to Porta S. Sebaſtiano, after having paſſed the flat by S. Dominico and Siſto, the ground begins to riſe, and the road lies in a deep hollow, having very high ground on each ſide. This road through the hill was ſunk thus, in order to make it more eaſy and level in the time of the Republic, as appears by two inſcriptions [x] ſet up in memory thereof, quoted by Gruter, Cart. CLII. N° vi. et vii. And the hill was called Clivus Martis from the temple, which ſtood at the foot of it. I know your old friend Nardini and other antiquaries, miſtaking the ſituation of the old Porta Capena, place the Temple of Mars beyond the hill at a greater diſtance from Rome, or elſe ſuppoſe it to ſtand on the top of hill, to which it gave name. But this could not be beyond the hill, becauſe then it would not have been in view of the gate, which, it is evident, was in a low ſituation, and therefore muſt be between the foot of the hill and the old Porta Capena. Nor could it be upon the hill, becauſe Tully, ſpeaking of a flood at Rome, mentions particularly the Via Appia being under water about the Temple of Mars, and from thence to the Piſcina Publica, which was within the Porta Capena. " Romae, et maximè Appiâ ad Martis, mira proluvies: " Craſſipedis [y] ambulatio oblata, Horti, tabernae plurimae; magna vis " uſque ad [z] Piſcinam publicam." Cicero ad Quintum fratrem, lib. III. Epiſt. vii.

[u] Many editions have Rectae, inſtead of Dextrae; but Fabretti, in the abovementioned treatiſe, prefers Dextrae. Be it which it will, it is not material. For as the Via Latina branched off from the Via Appia a little without the gate, and inclined to the left; and the Via Appia, on the ſide of which this temple ſtood, continued ſtrait on, this latter might properly be called, with reſpect to the other road, either Recta or Dextra.

[x] N. B. Theſe inſcriptions were probably ſet up at the two extremities of the road.

[y] This Craſſipes was ſon-in-law to Tully.

[z] The Piſcina Publica was near the Porta Capena, and within it between that and the Circus Maximus. Livy, ſpeaking of the time when the Conſuls went into the field againſt Hannibal, ſays; " Conſules edixerunt, " quoties in ſenatum vocaſſent, uti ſenatores, " quibusque in ſenatu dicere ſententiam li- " ceret, ad Portam Capenam convenirent. " Praetores, quorum juriſdictio erat, Tribu- " nalia ad Piſcinam publicam poſuerunt: eo " vadimonia fieri juſſerunt; ibique eo anno " jus dictum eſt." By this it appears that this Piſcina was near the Porta Capena, and the other end of it was as certainly near the Circus Maximus, as is plain from Ammianus Marcellinus, who, ſpeaking of the great obeliſk brought to Rome by Conſtantius, ſays; " Obeliſcus per Oſtienſem Portam Piſcinam-

According

According to theſe accounts we may well ſuppoſe the Temple of Mars to have been near the ſpot where is now the church of St. Nereo et Achilleo, or between that and St. Ceſareo, pretty nearly over againſt the Convent of St. Dominico and Siſto. This does not exactly agree with what Martinelli obſerves from the Acts of St. Siſto and his companions, that they were beheaded "ante Templum in clivo Martis," which ſeems to intimate that the Temple of Mars was on the ſlope of the hill; but to which, perhaps, you may give as much credit as to thoſe Acts, ſince we have the authority of Tully, that it ſtood in the bottom, we may reaſonably conclude that, if they were beheaded on the hill of Mars, it was on the firſt beginning of the aſcent, and ſo within ſight of the Temple. And, I think, it is not improbable that the place choſen for the execution might be the point of the wedge between where the two roads divide, that being riſing ground, and much expoſed to view, and therefore very proper on ſuch an occaſion, ſuppoſing the ſame cruel curioſity for ſuch ſights in thoſe days as now. Beſides the ſituation of the convent on the flat, or on the ſlope of the hill very near the foot, is an argument in favour of it. And it is probable that the firſt occaſion of founding the convent, which is very ancient, in that place, was from the tradition of thoſe ſaints being martyred there. This is now in the poſſeſſion of Iriſh Dominicans, and there is great reaſon to believe (ſuch are the ſtrange revolutions of the world) that it is the very ſpot or near it, where was once the ſeat of Virtue and Honour. Do not be ſurpriſed at what I ſay, nor imagine that I infer this purely from thoſe friars being ſettled there, as if I thought Virtue and Honour were their proper inheritance. This would be paying them too great a compliment: and might offend one of thoſe Virtues, their Modeſty, and therefore I ſhall not urge it: but there are other reaſons which may incline us to believe that this was the ſeat of thoſe temples.

Dionyſius[a] mentioning the pompous cavalcade which was wont to be made by the Roman Knights on the fifteenth of July, in honour of Caſtor and Pollux, makes it begin from the Temple of Mars. Aurelius Victor,

"que publicam Circo illatus eſt Maximo." This Piſcina was probably a large thing as it gave name to one of the regions (viz. the twelfth). Feſtus gives the following account of it: "Piſcinae publicae; hodieque nomen "manet, ipſa non extat. Ad quam et natatum et exercitationis alioqui cauſâ veniebat "populus."

[a] Αρξαμενοι μεν απο ἱερυ τινος Αρεως εξω της πολεως ἱδρυμενυ. Dionyſ. Hal. Hiſt. lib. vi. c. 13.

or whoever is the author of the treatiſe De Viris Illuſtribus, makes the ſame begin from the Temple of Honour [b]. So that it is probable they were directly oppoſite one to the other. The Temple of Mars on the right hand of the Via Appia, going from Rome; thoſe of Honour and Virtue, on the left. And as this was probably a ſpacious opening, where the two great roads, Appia and Latina, divided, it was a proper place for drawing up and ranging theſe cavaliers for the proceſſion; which uſed, on thoſe occaſions, as Dionyſius informs us, to be very grand [c].

The ſituation of theſe Temples thus ſettled, we cannot be at a loſs for that of the Muſes; it plainly appearing, by the abovementioned paſſage from Symmachus, that it muſt be between them and the gate, being, as he ſays, in the way leading to Honour and Virtue. So that, I think, we may fairly conclude that it was very near, if not the neareſt to the gate, and it muſt be on the right hand, or on the Aventin ſide; having already ſhewn, that the Grove and Fountain was at the foot of the Aventin: and the little valley between them we may well allot for the place where Numa was ſuppoſed to meet his Egeria. To this ſituation of the Camenae Martial alludes, when he merrily expoſtulates with a lazy idle friend, who had been clamorous for his book before it was publiſhed; and, when he had it in his poſſeſſion, was tired and began to yawn at his firſt ſetting out. On which occaſion he ſays;

" Laſſus tam citò deficis, viator?
" Et cum currere debeas [d] Bovillas,
" Interjungere quaeris ad Camaenas." Lib. II. Ep. v.

If you had not much more patience than Martial's friend, you muſt have been tired in rambling where I have led you. All I can ſay in excuſe is, that though there is no ſatisfaction in ſearching among ruins purely becauſe they are antique, where there is neither authority to determine what they were, nor beauty in the ruins themſelves; yet when the ſituation of places anſwers deſcriptions of the antients, or helps to illuſtrate any paſſages, as, I think, this does, there is then a ſecret pleaſure in

[b] See Article xxxii. under the name Q. Fabius Rullianus. Hic primus inſtituit, uti Equites Romani Idibus Quinctilibus ab aede Honoris albis equis inſidentes in Capitolium tranſirent.

[c] Ανδρες εσιν ὁτε και πενλακισχιλιοι φερονλες ὁσα παρα των ἡγεμονων αριςεια ελαβον εν ταις μαχαις, καλη και αξια τω μεγεθες της ἡγεμονιας οψις.

[d] Bouvillae was a town about ten miles from Rome on the Via Appia; the Camenae, I ſuppoſe, juſt without the gate where that road began.

examining

examining them, even though there is not ſo much as an old ſtone remaining to amuſe one. And if any, what place can require our attention more than this we have been looking at? It was once the ſeat of the Muſes, and as you have had the honour to have them committed to your care, and executed that truſt with great applauſe, and are ſtill very laudably employed in their ſervice, in that work in which you are now engaged; I am perſuaded you will not be diſpleaſed at an attempt to vindicate their right to a territory, where they formerly flouriſhed, though they have been long ſince utterly diſpoſſeſſed of it. If ever you return again to Rome, I flatter myſelf you will have the curioſity to examine the place, in defiance of briars and thorns which ſurround it; and will look upon it with reſpect in the midſt of its deſolation.

Let us now at laſt go and finiſh this enquiry at the only place allowed by the modern Romans as ſacred to Egeria and the Muſes, the Caffarelli.

SECTION IV.

Of the FOUNTAIN of EGERIA at the CAFFARELLI.

CLUVERIUS takes not the leaſt notice of this, which, I think, we have reaſon to reſent as a great neglect in him, who is generally very particular in his account of places in the neighbourhood of Rome: but I have often obſerved, that though his book is full of quotations from the Poets, yet he ſeems often not ſo well acquainted with what belongs to the Muſes as might be wiſhed. Other modern writers [e], whom I have conſulted on the occaſion, not only mention this as the only Fountain of Egeria, but as the vale of her conference with Numa; and as ſuch all the antiquaries now ſhew it to travellers. Indeed this is ſo retired a vale as a modern Roman may think very proper to make an aſſignation with a lady. But how inconſiſtent this is with the acccount given by the antients of Numa's interviews, and how ill this diſtance from

[e] See Nardini, lib. iii. c. 3.

the

the Porta Capena ſuits with their accounts, and particularly with that paſſage of Juvenal, we have already ſeen. As for her fountain, it is likewiſe manifeſt, that the principal was at Aricia; and ſome of theſe authors finding it neceſſary to allow that ſhe was a nymph of the woods of Aricia, make thoſe woods reach (by a bold ſtretch) from thence quite to Rome, and ſo [f] conclude that this fountain, being then within thoſe dominions, might therefore be poetically called a Fountain of Aricia, though at leaſt a dozen miles from it. As great a regard as I have for the nymph, I cannot agree with them to take ſuch poetical licences and give her ſuch extenſive territories. However, not to loſe our favourite place, I hope to make it appear that ſhe and the Muſes have ſome right to this fountain too, though perhaps not ſo antient as to the others. Flaminio Vacca, in his Memorie di varie Antichità, written 1594, ſpeaking of this fountain, mentions the Romans going in the ſummer to recreate themſelves there, as they ſtill continue to do every feſtival in May; and ſays, that there was an inſcription on the pavement, ſhewing that this was the Fountain of Egeria. His words are, "Nel pavimento d'eſſa "fonte ſi legge in un epitaffio eſſer quella la fonte d'Egeria dedicata alle "Ninfe." Then he relates, that the Poets feigned that Egeria was a nymph of Diana, who, being deſperately in love with her brother who was gone from her, and writing to him to return, wept ſo plentifully whilſt ſhe was writing, that Diana, moved with compaſſion, turned her into a fountain. And then adds thus, "E queſta, dice l'epitaffio, eſſer la me-"deſima fonte in cui fu convertita." If the fable was thus related at large in the inſcription, it is plain, that whoever put it there was little acquainted with the ſtory of Egeria, but confounds one fable with another. If that part is added by Flaminio, ſuch a miſtake would not be at all ſurprizing in him, who, though eſteemed a man of credit and very exact, yet was only a maſon. However, though no great clerk, yet he was eſteemed an honeſt man; this ſuffices for our purpoſe. If the matter of fact is true, that there was ſuch an inſcription, and that antient, this ſhews, that there was an old tradition in favour of Egeria's right, that this is her fountain and dedicated to the nymphs. But this is not all. The remains of the building likewiſe plainly ſhew it to have been a temple, there being a large tribune fronting the entrance, and ſeveral other niches ſtill remaining entire on each ſide: and the fountains break-

[f] See Eſchinardi de Agro Romano; and Mercurio errante.

ing

ing forth in great abundance, in all parts of it, are an argument that it belonged to nymphs, as that inſcription declared; and if ſo, ſuppoſing thoſe to be either Naïds or Muſes, Egeria ought to have her ſhare with them, as a principal nymph amongſt the former, and a friend to the latter. There is ſtill another reaſon which favours the Muſes claim. Moſt of the antiquaries, particularly Fabretti, who is more to be depended upon than the reſt, tells us in his treatiſe, De Aquis et Aquaeductibus, that all this diſtrict (which was very conſiderable, having a Circus and ſeveral Temples, many of which are ſtill remaining, and which, as he obſerves, had its own aqueduct branched off from the Aqua Claudia), was called Pagus Camenarum; which name probably was given it from this fountain. When it was firſt conſecrated to this purpoſe, we have no certain account, I believe; but it is, indiſputably, a very ancient work; as appears by the Opus Reticulatum ſtill remaining entire in many parts of it. And ſince we muſt be left to conjectures, where there is no certainty to determine, I will ſuppoſe it to be about the reign of Domitian. We find by Juvenal in the third Satyr that their Temple at the Porta Capena, and every tree in their grove, was at that time given up to be prophaned by the Jews.

" Nunc ſacri fontis nemus, et delubra locantur
" Judaeis, quorum cophinus foenumque ſupellex:
" Omnis enim populo mercedem pendere juſſa eſt
" Arbor, et ejectis mendicat ſylva Camenis." Ver. 16.

It ſeems, that the fountain too was then deſtroyed as to its natural ſimplicity; and that the Emperor, who was very magnificent in his building, raiſed ſome noble ſtructure over it; and converted it to his own uſe.

" In vallem Egeriae deſcendimus et ſpeluncas
" Diſſimiles veris. Quanto praeſtantius eſſet
" Numen aquae, viridi ſi margine cluderet undas
" Herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum?" Ver. 20.

It is probable that this ſtructure was not in honour of the Muſes, but appropriated to his own uſe. Let us ſuppoſe then, that when Egeria and the Muſes were thus diſturbed and diſlodged from their old habitation, they retired hither; and that ſome generous patron out of regard to the diſtreſſed nymphs, and juſt indignation for the indignities offered them, conſecrated

conſecrated this Temple to them. To this, perhaps, as well as to the reſentment ſhewn by Poets, Sulpitia alludes, in that little ſatire, where ſhe repreſents the ſtate of Rome in the time of Domitian, when, by public edict, he baniſhed all philoſophers from the city; and means that this honour done to them by the people, as well as this reſentment of the Poets, would brand him with perpetual infamy. She enquires of the Muſes if they were to go too, upon which Calliope comforts her with this anſwer;

" Pone metus aequos, cultrix mea; ſumma tyranno
" Haec inſtant odia, et noſtro periturus honore eſt.
" Nam laureta Numae, fontesque habitamus eoſdem,
" Et comite Egeriâ ridemus inania coepta.
" Vive, vale; manet hunc pulchrum ſua fama dolorem:
" Muſarum ſpondet chorus, et Romanus Apollo."

It is not unlikely, that ſome near reſemblance between this and their former habitation might induce them to ſettle here; this being a natural grotto as well as the other, at the foot of a hill pouring out ſeveral veins of water, which the generoſity of their protectors beautified according to the luxurious taſte of that age; in the manner we may gueſs it was done, by the fragments of pillars and ſcattered capitals which ſtill remain there. At the upper end of the grotto, in the principal nich or tribune, lies the figure of a man repoſed; on each ſide of the Temple are five other niches, viz. three in the inner part on each ſide, and two on each ſide of the veſtibule; from many of which are fountains of water ſtill flowing; formerly, perhaps, from all, there being ſufficient quantity to be conducted in pipes to every nich. Let us ſuppoſe then that this figure repreſents Numa, and that Egeria and the Muſes are weeping round him.

As the nearneſs to the city expoſed Egeria and the Muſes to theſe inconveniences, they were in the right to retire to a greater diſtance; and what place could better ſuit the Muſes than this, a quite ſolitary vale, and therefore in leſs danger from the ravages of a tyrant, who ſpared neither Gods nor men, who ſtood in his way?

This retired ſituation tempted us to make a party to pay them a viſit; and that we might view them with more reſpect than is commonly ſhewn to other viſitors, we took proviſion with us (knowing that the poor Muſes had nothing but water to give us), and reſolved to ſpend the day with them.

them. After we had ſpent the day in examining at our leiſure this temple, and ſome others in that neighbourhood, and had pretty well ſatisfied our firſt curioſity, we adjourned to a ſmall cottage ſtanding on an eminence above the fountain, where (though a private houſe) we had got leave to be under ſhelter, whilſt we eat the proviſion we carried with us; this care too being very neceſſary, as we knew the Muſes are poor, and had nothing to give us but water. You cannot, I am ſure, forget how delightfully this little cottage is ſituated; having on one ſide an ancient temple, dedicated to ſome unknown God, the front of which is adorned with four beautiful Corinthian columns; and on the other ſide is the little vale of the Almo (the Almo of Cybele), into which the fountain of the Muſes diſcharges itſelf. Directly fronting our cottage, at about the diſtance of one mile or little more, we had a long range of beautiful and lofty arches of the Claudian Aqueduct, and the fields between us and them interſperſed with ruins of temples and ſepulchres, which our gentlemen would be glad at great expence to tranſplant to England to terminate their viſtos, as much as they diſregard them in Italy. Our view was bounded by the Sabine hills, the tops of which were ſtill covered with ſnow, whilſt we enjoyed a warm ſunſhine. All this, and much more than I have mentioned, we had in view (for I give you only a ſmall ſketch of things); with which our eyes were feaſted, and our fancy pleaſed, as we ſat at table; and this charming proſpect gave a reliſh to our wine, a ſmall quantity of Burgundy and Champaigne; for we provided a little of that too, that nothing might be wanting to make the day paſs agreeably. As good as our liquor was, we left it, and took a walk after dinner, more nearly to examine thoſe temples and ſepulchres we had ſeen at a diſtance diſperſed over the fields; ſome of which we found very beautiful. Having finiſhed our walk, which gave a new reliſh to the wine we left, and taken a review of our charming proſpect, Egeria and the Muſes, we returned home all very well pleaſed with our day's amuſement. We ſhould be ungrateful to our hoſts, who very courteouſly offered to ſupply us, if there had been occaſion, with what their cottage afforded, which indeed would have been very little. However, they fetched water from the fountain beneath, and attended us with great alacrity: and if they had nothing elſe to give, they had chearful countenances:

"Super omnia vultus
"Acceſſere boni; nec iners pauperque voluntas."

Ovid. Met. VIII. 678.

As they had never entertained ſtrangers before, they ſeemed pleaſed with their gueſts, as we were with their honeſt ſimplicity and innocency. Though very poor, they were ſtill chearful, and (whether inſpired by the neighbourhood of the Muſes, or with a glaſs of ſuch wine), not without wit, which contributed much to our mirth. And as we muſt look on them as ſervants belonging to the family of Egeria, I hope it will be no affront to their miſtreſs to ſay with Martial in an Epigram to the abovementioned Sulpitia;

" Tales Egeriae jocos fuiſſe
" Udo crediderim Numae ſub antro." Lib. X. Ep. xxxv.

I have now laid before you a particular ſurvey of all the fountains and other their dependencies, which belonged to the Muſes and Egeria, with their reſpective territories. Their reſpective intereſts to the two former, at Aricia and Porta Capena, are very clear. And ſuppoſing we have not as full evidence from antiquity of their joint claim to the laſt place as to the other two, yet it is certain they are now in poſſeſſion, and have been ſo for many years, which I know you will allow to be a good title; and ſince none of the Deities can pretend to a better, it is reaſonable, I think, they ſhould continue their poſſeſſion, and that the people who have had their Virgil and Horace, ſhould, amongſt ſo many other temples, have one to ſhew dedicated to the Muſes and their companion Egeria. May the Romans then continue to rejoice there every month of May! And what think you of recommending this place to the care of your friend the Preſident of the Arcadians, and adviſe now and then to hold an Arcadia there? Though it is much in ruin in compariſon of what it was in its ancient glory, there are ſtill ſome traces of its former beauty left. And, therefore, ruinous as it is, methinks they cannot well chuſe a better place than this is, or have a more proper emblem to repreſent the preſent ſtate of their Muſes.

DISSERTATION THE FIFTH;

ON THE

TOMB OF VIRGIL.

DISSERTATION V.

ON THE

TOMB of VIRGIL.

VIRGIL'S Tomb uſed to be reckoned one of the principal curioſities in the neighbourhood of Naples, and as ſuch has been always recommended to travellers by the voyage writers: but of late years I have obſerved many young gentlemen very indifferent whether they went to ſee it or not. When I aſked them the reaſon, I found this indifference not owing to any want of reſpect in my countrymen to the memory of Virgil, but to their being fully perſuaded, from a paſſage in Mr. Addiſon's Travels, that every body have hitherto been impoſed upon: and that whoſeſoever tomb this is, it is undoubtedly not Virgil's. His words are as follow: "It is certain this Poet was buried at Naples; but I "think it is almoſt as certain his Tomb ſtood on the other ſide of the town "towards Veſuvio."

Had this come from a perſon of a leſs character, or from one not ſo particularly favoured by the Muſes, it might have had little weight; but it cannot be ſuppoſed that ſuch an one as Mr. Addiſon, one of Virgil's own ſons, would have preſumed to have diſturbed the Tomb, if he had not been very ſure that his father's aſhes did not lye there. This thought gives a ſanction to his remark, and his manner of expreſſing himſelf, that is, giving us his bare word for it, is of greater force than any thing he could

could have ſaid: for now, though he ſoftens it with an "almoſt," we are to ſuppoſe him very ſure of what he aſſerts, though he conceals his reaſons, and muſt believe him implicitly: whereas, had he given his reaſons, the world would then have been at liberty to judge of the weight of them. I wiſh, for the ſatisfaction of the curious, that he had done ſo: however, ſince he has not, and as this is an affair which certainly admits of diſpute, I beg leave to examine what authority he may have had from other authors for this aſſertion.

The only perſon I have met with on this occaſion is Cluverius; who, in order to ſettle the ſituation of Virgil's Sepulchre, quotes a paſſage from Statius: where that Poet, ſpeaking of himſelf to Marcellus, ſays;

"En egomet, ſomnum et geniale ſecutus
"Littus, ubi Auſonio ſe condidit hoſpita portu
"Parthenope, tenues ignavo pollice chordas
"Pulſo; Maroneique ſedens in margine templi
"Sumo animum, et magni tumulis accanto magiſtri."
Lib. IV. Sylv. iv. ver. 55.

And again, toward the concluſion of the ſame Epiſtle;

"Haec ego Chalcidicis ad te, Macelle, ſonabam
"Litoribus, fractas ubi Veſbius erigit iras,
"Aemula Trinacriis volvens incendia flammis." Ibid. ver. 80.

From whence Cluver gravely concludes, that Virgil's Tomb was at St. Giovanni Teduccio. "En ut diſertè teſtatur ſub Veſbio, ſive Veſuvio," etc. See Cluver.

[1.] I much doubt of the juſtneſs of this reaſoning, but am not ſurpriſed at Cluver's making ſuch a concluſion; it being very evident, from many paſſages in his works, that he had little notion of poetical expreſſions; and that he read a Poet as he would a Gazette: but I wonder at Mr. Addiſon's following him. I can only ſay that Mr. Addiſon's Travels, though very ingenious, yet are generally allowed to be in ſome places uncorrect. He wrote them in haſte; and, if I may venture to ſay ſo, it is probable, that being informed by ſome body that Cluver had fixed Virgil's Tomb on that ſide of Naples towards Veſuvio, he took his word for it without reading Cluver himſelf, or examining what foundation he went

went upon; for if he had conſulted Statius, I am perſuaded he would have been of a different opinion.

[2.] Cluver, in his honeſt matter of fact way, ſuppoſes that Statius was actually ſitting on the edge of Virgil's Tomb, at the foot of Mount Veſuvio, when he wrote this Epiſtle to Marcellus; and though it was an odd place for a man to write from, whilſt the mountain was flaming, yet he ought, with equal reaſon, to ſuppoſe that there was actually an eruption at that time. Mr. Addiſon, who is better acquainted with the poetic ſtile, would, I am perſuaded, allow that a Poet (eſpecially one whoſe character it is, not always to confine himſelf to the ſtricteſt bounds), may well be ſuppoſed to ſay all that Statius here does, though he wrote from his chamber in the heart of the city; and though the mountain was as quiet as it uſually is, not flowing but only ſmoking; as is well obſerved by Pellegrino and others.

Allowing that this paſſage determines no more about this Monument than that it was near Naples, let us next enquire what grounds there are for the common received opinion.

Donatus (if any credit is to be given to him), poſitively tells us in his life of Virgil, that he was buried on the road to Puteoli. "Voluit ſua "oſſa Auguſtus Neapolim transferri, ubi diu vixerat. — Tranſlata igitur "juſſu Auguſti ejus oſſa Neapolim fuere; ſepultaque viâ Puteolanâ, intra "lapidem ſecundum."

If the Life of Virgil by Donatus ſhould not have ſufficient credit, yet there are many other arguments which favour this part of the account. St. Jerom confirms this article; "Virgilius Brunduſii moritur. Sentio, Sa-"turnino et Lucretio Cinna Coſſ. Oſſa ejus Neapolim tranſlata in ſe-"cundo ab urbe Milliario ſepeliuntur; titulo iſtiuſmodi ſupraſcripto, "quem moriens ipſe dictaverat.

"Mantua me genuit; Calabri rapuere; tenet nunc
"Parthenope. Cecini Paſcua, Rura, Duces [a]."

Though he does not ſay on what road, yet if we conſider that the greateſt roads were commonly choſen for the monuments of the dead (as the Via Appia, the greateſt of all, witneſſes the moſt of any to this day); and that the Via Puteolana was the moſt frequented about Naples, as

[a] Divus Hieronymus in Euſebii chronicon. Lib. ii.

leading

leading not only to Puteoli, but to Baiae and Cumae, and thence to Rome; we may reaſonably conclude that this road, as being the moſt public, would be allotted for the monument of ſo great a man, preferably to that by mount Veſuvio or any other about Naples. There would be ſome propriety alſo in Virgil's being buried by that very road, which leads directly towards Miſenum, the lake Avernus, and the Sibyl's Grotto; the very ſpot of ground which he had choſen for the ſcene of one of the moſt beautiful books of his Aeneid. And there was another propriety, though not ſo obvious to us now as the former; which was, that, as we are aſſured by Dio, Pollio had a Villa at Pauſilypo, which he left as a legacy to Auguſtus: and ſince it was by that Emperor's own order that Virgil's bones were brought to Naples, what place canbe aſſigned ſo proper for his monument? Perhaps he was buried in Auguſtus's own land; if not, at leaſt on ſome ſpot on the public road, as near as could be to his villa.

There being ſo much reaſon then to believe that Virgil was buried on this road, let us next enquire how the diſtance anſwers. This is ſaid both by Donatus and St. Jerom to be within [b] two miles of Naples; with which the diſtance of the Tomb, now ſhewn as Virgil's, agrees very well. From the mouth of the Grotta Pauſilypo, under that Tomb, to the Porta di Chiaia, according to the meaſure taken for me by Signor Angelo, it amounts to 6900 feet, in Engliſh meaſure; and from the Porta di Chiaia, to the Stufa di St. Giorgio beyond the church of San Giacomo to 3100 more: in all 10000 feet, or 2000 paſſus; that is, two miles old Roman meaſure, allowing only for the difference between the Engliſh and the old Roman foot, for which we muſt deduct about 300 feet (or a little more) in two miles. On the other ſide, we muſt allow for the ſeveral turnings in taking the meaſure at preſent; as for inſtance, between the mouth of the Grotta and La Madonna piede di Grotta, from the Chiaia to the Porta di Chiaia, and from the Porta di Chiaia to the Lago di Caſtello; which, probably, all together make the difference of ſeveral hundred feet: and if it could be meaſured in a ſtrait line, would perhaps reach to Santa Maria Nova, near which is ſuppoſed to have been one of the gates of the old city.

I beg leave to bring one argument more, that I have not found urged by any author, in favour of this Monument. Seneca, in his fifty-ſeventh

[b] Intra lapidem ſecundum. Donatus. — In ſecundo ab urbe milliario. Div. Hieron.

Epiſtle

Epiſtle, where he deſcribes his paſſing through that obſcure and troubleſome road, cut for near half a mile, under mount Pauſilypo, in his way from Baiae to Naples, owns, as far as a Stoic would care to own, that he was in a very great fright; but as ſoon as he was got into the daylight and the open air again, he recovers his ſpirits, and ſeems to have wondered at his former puſillanimity. "Ad primum conſpectum redditae "lucis (ſays he), alacritas incogitata rediit et injuſſa. Illud deinde me- "cum loqui coepi, quam ineptè quaedam magis ac minus timeremus, cum "omnium idem finis eſſet. Quid enim intereſt, utrum ſuper aliquem "vigiliarium ruat, an mons? Nil invenies: erunt tamen qui hanc ruinam "magis timeant, quamvis utraque mortifera aeque ſit." *Vigiliarium* here has been generally underſtood of a watch-tower, and the word has found its way into our Dictionaries under that acceptation; without any other authority than this ſingle paſſage from Seneca, and that with the proviſo of "Si ſana eſt lectio." I have long been inclined to think that it might originally have been written, Virgiliarium, or rather Virgilianum; and be meant of Virgil's Tomb, which you ſee on an eminence on the ſide of the rock; as ſoon as ever you come out of the Grotta of Pauſilypo, in going from Baiae to Naples.

There are few monuments to which the antients paid ſo great a regard as to Virgil's. We find Statius, in the abovementioned paſſage, ſpeaks of his Sepulchre as a temple;

"Maroneique ſedens in margine templi
"Sumo animum, et magni tumulis accanto magiſtri."

And Pliny, in his Epiſtles, ſpeaking of the villas of Silius Italicus in Campania, ſays; "Multum ubique librorum, multum ſtatuarum, multum "imaginum; quas non habebat modò, verum etiam venerabatur. Virgi- "lii ante omnes; cujus natalem religioſius quam ſuum celebrabat: Nea- "poli maxime, ubi monumentum ejus adire ut templum ſolebat." Lib. III. Epiſt. vii. Martial alſo mentions the particular regard Silius paid to this Monument, in two of his Epigrams.

"Silius haec magni celebrat monumenta Maronis,
"Jugera facundi qui Ciceronis habet.
"Heredem dominumque ſui, tumulive, Lariſve,
"Non alium mallet, nec Maro, nec Cicero."
Lib. XI. Epig. xlviii.

" Jam prope defuetos cineres et ſancta Maronis
" Nomina qui coleret, pauper, et unus, erat :
" Silius Arpino tandem ſuccurrit agello ;
" Silius et vatem, non minor ipſe, tulit." Ib. Ep. xlix.

This reſpect paid to Virgil's Tomb at that time, and the honour paid by the Neapolitans to his memory in the barbarous ages following, as appears by their imputing to him all the great works that were ever among them, as their Aqueducts, the Grotta, the Brazen Horſe, and many others, might well preſerve among them a conſtant tradition, even in the time of their greateſt barbarity, where his ſepulchre was; and when learning again flouriſhed we find the firſt writers ſpeaking of it.

Petrarch deſcribes this ſepulchre, juſt as it is, on an eminence at the end of the Grotta, as he went from Puzzuolo to Naples; nor does he mention it as only reported or ſurmiſed, but ſpeaks of it as a thing conſtantly taken for granted by the Neapolitans: for he ſuppoſes its nearneſs to the mouth of the Grotta might occaſion that ridiculous ſtory, which prevailed among them, of his having made the Grotta. — " Sub finem " fuſci tramitis, ubi primum videre caelum incipit, in aggere edito, ipſius " Virgilii buſta viſuntur, pervetuſti operis ; unde haec forſan ab illo per- " forati montis fluxit opinio." Itinerar.

It is known too that Sannazarius looked upon this tomb as undoubtedly Virgil's, and deſired to lie, as he had lived, near it: and Bembo's chief thought in his Epitaph turns wholly on this:

" Da ſacro cineri flores : hîc ille Maroni
" Sincerus muſâ proximus, ut tumulo."

Capacio, in his Hiſtory of Naples, gives the following account of Virgil's Tomb. " Lateritia ſtructura eſt, in cujus medio novem columnas " urnam ſuſtinentes fuiſſe tradidit Alfonſus Heredia Arianenſium Epiſ- " copus ; qui bonas litteras vivens coluit: urnam marmoream, cum diſti- " cho quod a Donato recolitur.

" Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
" Parthenope ; Cecini Paſcua, Rura, Duces.

" Vidiſſe illud opus ſcribit Petrus e Stephano, qui abhinc annos XL librum " de Neapolitanis templis edidit." Cap. Hiſt. Neap. lib. II. cap. ii.

The

The Monument itſelf is about ſixteen feet ſquare, built of ſmall ſquare ſtones, " opus reticulatum," and plaſtered over. The entrance was to the road above the Grotta, but as that is now on the precipice ſince the ſinking of the Grotta, and no entering that way, the opening is made on the oppoſite ſide by breaking through the wall. There is a nich on each ſide of the old door, and three niches to each of the other three ſides; all which are ſtill remaining, except the middle one oppoſite to the old door, which muſt neceſſarily be broke down to make the preſent entrance. It ſtands on the edge of a precipice, on the left hand as we enter the Grotta of Pauſilypo from Naples; and is now about ſeventy feet, Engliſh meauſure, above the road.

Though the Neapolitans pretend ſtill to value themſelves on Virgil's having lived much with them, and on having his ſepulchre, they are not aſhamed to ſee it lie in ſo ruinous a condition as it does; and, perhaps, it is owing to its ſituation more than to their honour or reſpect, that any part of it is ſtill remaining. The ſinking of the entrance of the Grotta has ſecured it on that ſide; there is no getting up to it without going a great way, at leaſt half a mile, about: and though they have not the ſpirit to repair it, they are not quite ſo barbarous as to go ſo far out of the way on purpoſe to deſtroy it.

One remark made on Virgil's Tomb is, that the Laurel always flouriſhes there; and it is obſerved by ſome writers (I do not know whether true or not), that that ſort of Laurel will not grow any where elſe thereabouts, though endeavours have been uſed to propagate it. Travellers often pluck ſmall ſprigs or leaves of it to carry as preſents to their friends out of regard to Virgil. Who could imagine that Mr. Addiſon, who ſo well deſerved to be crowned with it, ſhould have endeavoured to deſtroy and pluck it up by the roots?

However, though it cannot be demonſtrated that this Tomb, which is called Virgil's, was really his; yet ſince there is tradition in its favour, and many good arguments to prove that it was here or hereabouts, and ſince there is no other ſepulchre near it, or any other place is aſſigned with ſo much probability as this, let it ſtill enjoy its uſual honours. It has been always thought barbarous to diſturb the aſhes of the meaneſt of mortals. Let Virgil's reſt in peace; and let travellers ſtill have the ſatisfaction of imagining, at leaſt, that they have paid their reſpects to his ſacred Tomb.

TWO

VOCABULARIES:

I. FOR WORDS,

II. FOR PLACES.

VOCABULARY I.†

FOR WORDS.

ACANTHUS. See the note upon it in Burman's Ovid. Met. XII. ver. 701. This plant was in great eſteem among the Romans, as appears by their engraving it on their cups, etc. Quaer. If not the plant which we ſee ſometimes carved on the Torus of pillars and on vaſes: much uſed likewiſe in gardens? Pliny, ſpeaking of the garden of his Tuſcan houſe, mentions "Acanthus in plano mollis, et, pene dixe-"rim, liquidus:" and again afterwards; "Acanthus hinc inde lubricus "et flexuoſus." Columella, in his poem on gardening, ſpeaking of the Cinara or Artichoke, ſays;

"Haec modo purpureo ſurgit glomerata corymbo
"Myrtiolo modo crine viret, deflexaque collo
"Nunc adoperta manet, nunc pinea vertice pungit.
"Nunc ſimilis calatho, ſpinisque minantibus horret.
"Pallida nonnunquam tortos imitatur Acanthos.

ACERRA and Lanx were both uſed for the Thura in ſacrifices, the former ſignifying a ſmall diſh or plate, the latter a large one, as is expreſsly ſaid by Ovid:

† Theſe two Vocabularies are only the beginnings of a deſign which Mr. Holdſworth would probably have carried much further; had he enjoyed better health, and had his life been ſpared longer to his friends, and the world. Theſe imperfect pieces are followed by his Muſcipula; a work as complete, as theſe are imperfect.

"Nec

" Nec quae de parvâ pauper Diis libat acerrâ
" Thura minus, grandi quam data lance valent."
De Ponto, lib. IV. El. viii.

ACTIONES. Pleadings, in which the Romans uſed much geſture and action, as all the Italians do at preſent in their pleadings and orations. See the difference between pleading and reciting deſcribed by Pliny, lib. II. Epiſt. xix.

ADOREUM. Vid. FAR.

AESCHILUS. There is a ſpecies of oak in Spain that bears a ſweet acorn, which the people eat as commonly as cheſnuts. Quaer. If not the Aeſchilus? and how called there?

AGGER ſignifies a rampart or ſtrong fence of earth; therefore Virgil, ſpeaking of Caeſar's paſſing the Alpes, calls them Aggeres Alpinos, thoſe mountains being as a fence or wall to Italy. So Tully, in Orat. in L. Piſonem, calls them Alpium Vallum; and, Philippicâ 5tâ, Alpium Murum. " Ejus furorem ne Alpium quidem muro prohibere poſſe-
" mus."

AMELLUS. Columella calls it Frutex, lib. IX. c. iv. where, treating " de paſtionibus apum," after having enumerated ſeveral plants, he ſays; " Mille praeterea ſemina vel crudo ceſpite virentia, vel ſubacta " ſulco flores amiciſſimos apibus creant, ut ſunt in irriguo ſolo frutices " Amelli," etc. Yet Frutex is uſed by him for very ſmall plants; for in the next chapter he calls Thymus Frutex. " Amelli frutex luteus, " purpureus flos." Columella, lib. IX. c. xiii.

AMERINA. Vid. SALIX.

AMINEAE. See VITES.

AMURCA. " Ex oleâ fructus duplex; oleum quod omnibus notum; et " Amurca; cujus utilitatem quod ignorant plerique, licet videre è tor-
" culis oleariis fluere in agros, et non ſolum denigrare terram, ſed mul-
" titudine facere ſterilem; cum is humor modicus cùm ad multas res tum " ad agriculturam pertineat vehementer, quod circum arborum radices " infundi ſolet, maxime ad oleam, et ubicunque in agro herba nocet."
Varro

Varro lib. I. c. lv. Varro has likewiſe two chapters in the ſame book; the one, "De Amurcâ condendâ;" the other, "De Amurcâ tuendâ "et promendâ." Vid. cap. lxi. and lxiv.

ANTES. Columella uſes this word, lib. X. "Humidaque Andrachne "ſitientes protegit antes."

APIASTRUM. "Alii μελιφυλλον, alii μελισσοφυλλον, quidam μελινον appel-"lant." Var. lib. III. c. xvi.

APENNINUS.

"Apenninicolae bellator filius Auni." Aen. XI. ver. 700.

The limits of the Alpes and Apennines were not aſcertained by the antients, nor are they to this day; and therefore the Ligures, who poſſeſſed that ridge of mountains from the Var to the Macra, were by ſome authors called Alpini, by others Apennini. "Vulgo tamen pro Apennino "habitum fuiſſe, ut etiam nunc habetur, quicquid montium ad Varum "uſque flumen protenditur;" as Cluver obſerves, Ital. Ant. lib. I. c. xxxi. Silius, lib. I. makes (I do not know by what authority) the country of Aunus to be on the lake afterwards called Thraſymenus.

"Quae vada Faunigenae regnata antiquitus Auno,
"Nunc, volvente die, Thraſymeni nomina ſervant."

N. B. Part of the Ligures were called Ingauni, and their city Albingaunum, now Albanga. See Strab. lib. IV.

ARATRUM. In the kingdom of Naples they ſometimes call all the wood of the plough, from the point of the handle to the ſhare, Ventale, by corruption, from Dentale; but, properly, it is that part only to which the ſhare is fixed.

The ſhare is called Gomere, and is made with two corners jutting out, and riſing in the middle, with a back called Schiena.

The plough uſed in ſeed-time is made with two ears, or ſide boards, called Orecchie, which are neceſſary to turn the earth over the ſeed when ſown.

ARBUSTUM. Uſed commonly for a plantation of any trees; as for example, ſuch as are to ſupport vines. See Columella, lib. V. c. De Ulmariis.

ARBUTUM.

" Poſt hinc digreſſus jubeo frondentia capris
" Arbuta ſufficere." Virg. Georg. III.

By this paſſage it appears to be an evergreen, for Virgil is ſpeaking of the care to be taken of the goats in the winter.

ARBUTUS. " Arbutus ſive unedo fructum fert difficilem concoctioni, " et ſtomacho inutilem." Plin. lib. XXIII. c. viii.

" Aliud corpus eſt terreſtribus fragis, aliud congeneri eorum une- " doni, quod ſolum pomum ſimile fructui terrae gignitur. Arbor ipſa " fruticoſa; fructus anno matureſcit; pariterque floret ſubnaſcens, et " prior coquitur. Mas ſit an femina ſterilis inter autores non conſtat. " Pomum inhonorum, ut cui nomen ex argumento ſit, unum tantum " edendi. Duobus tamen hoc nominibus appellant Graeci, Coma- " ron et Memecylon. Ex quo apparet totidem eſſe genera et apud nos. " Alio nomine Arbutus vocatur. Juba autor eſt quinquagenûm cubi- " torum altitudine in Arabia eſſe eas." Plin. lib. XV. c. xxiv. This Unedo is what we call the winter ſtrawberry. At Naples it is called Sorvo Piloſo. Quaer. If the other ſort, called by Pliny Arbutus, is not what the Italians call Legno Santo? Virgil gives the Arbutus the epithet Horrida, and makes hurdles of it, Arbuteae Crates. And again;

" Crates et molle feretrum
" Arbuteis texunt virgis." Aen. XI. 65.

Georg. II. 69. he engraffs the nut upon it.
Eclog. III. 82.

" Dulce ſatis humor depulſis arbutus hoedis."

This paſſage the commentators explain to be meant by its ſhade: but I think it ought rather to be underſtood by its brouze; and, if ſo, the Arbutus cannot mean here the winter Strawberry. Again, Eclog. VII. Virgil ſpeaks of the " rara umbra Arbuti," which cannot be underſtood

ſtood of the winter Strawberry. Again, Georg. III. 300, Virgil ſpeaks of the Arbuta as brouze for goats;

" Jubeo frondentia capris
" Arbuta ſufficere."

Quaer. If Arbuta therefore may not rather ſignify in general, Sylveſtria poma, or any ſort of wild winter fruits except acorns? Virgil in ſeveral places ſeems to uſe it in that ſenſe, as;

" Cum jam glandes atque arbuta ſacra
" Deficerent ſylvae." Georg. I. ver. 148.

Again;

" Glande ſues laeti redeunt: dant arbuta ſylvae." G. II. 520.

Again, ſpeaking of the bees;

" Paſcuntur et arbuta paſſim." Georg. IV. 181.

Ovid ſpeaks of the Goddeſs Carne touching the doors of a houſe " Arbuteâ fronde."

" Protinus arbuteâ poſtes ter in ordine tangit
" Fronde, ter arbuteâ limina fronde notat."
Faſt. lib. VI. ver. 155.

" Arbuta Paeniceo matura colore." Lucret. lib. V. ver. 939.

" Pomoque onerata rubenti
" Arbutus." Ovid. Met. lib. X. ver. 101.

" Arbuteos foetus montanaque fraga legebant."
Lib. I. ver. 104. ſpeaking of the Golden Age.

Again, ſpeaking of Io, he ſays;

" Frondibus arbuteis et amarâ paſcitur herbâ." Lib. I. ver. 632.

Again;

" Nec tibi caſtaneae, me conjuge, nec tibi deerunt
" Arbutei foetus, omnis tibi ſerviet arbos."
Lib. XIII. ver. 820.

Again;

" Tegit arbutus herbam,
" Ros maris, et lauri, nigraque myrtus olent."
Art. Amat. lib. III. ver. 689.

where he plainly ſpeaks of it as a ſhrub.

"Impune tutum per nemus Arbutos
"Quaerunt latentes." Hor. lib. Od. xvii.

Notwithſtanding the Arbutus and Arbutum are ſo frequently mentioned by the Roman writers, that it ſeems to have been as common as any plant in the country, it muſt be obſerved that Pliny, who gives a deſcription of every tree and ſhrub not only in Italy, but in all other known parts of the world, makes no mention of this, except accidentally as another name for the Unedo; and therefore it is reaſonable to believe that this was not the name of any particular ſpecies of trees (unleſs as it was ſometimes uſed ſynonymouſly for the Unedo) but a general name for winter ſhrubs, and Arbutum for berries.

ARVUM. "Arvum dicitur quod aratum necdum ſatum eſt." Var. De Re Ruſt. lib. I. c. 29.

ASILUS. Otherwiſe called Tabanus. See Pliny, lib. II. c. xxviii. It is now called in Italy Tavano.

BIBERE. See GEMMA.

BURA. "Saepe fracta bura relinquunt vomeres in arvo." Var. lib. I. c. xix.

CAPER. "Hircus caſtratus." See Martial, lib. III. Ep. xxiv.

CARDUUS. "Carduorum ſylveſtrium genera ſunt duo: unum fru-
"ticoſius à terrâ ſtatim; alterum unicaule, craſſius. Utrique folia pauca,
"ſpinoſa, muricatis cacuminibus. Sed alter florem purpureum mittit
"inter medios aculeos, celeriter caneſcentem, et abeuntem cum aurâ.
"Scolymon Graeci vocant." Plin. lib. XX. c. xxiii.

CARPINO is a common tree among the mountains; it has a long leaf jagged like a ſaw, but not deep, the wood of a darkiſh colour, the bark very ſmooth. Quaer. If not Hornbeam?

CASIA. Pliny deſcribes it in the ſame chapter with Cinnamon, and therefore it may be thought to belong to the ſame claſs; and is commonly

monly rendered by interpreters Cinnamon; but, perhaps, improperly. Pliny ſays it is a Frutex as well as the Cinnamon, and that it came from the ſame country; but with this difference, that Cinnamon grew on the plains, Caſia on the mountains. And that whereas the bark of the Cinnamon tree was moſt valued, on the contrary in the Caſia the bark was taken off, and the only valuable part was a thin ſkin. See Pliny, lib. XII. c. xix. It is this ſort of ſpice Virgil undoubtedly means, when he ſays;

" Nec caſiâ liquidi corrumpitur uſus olivi." Geor. II. 466.

The Caſia mentioned by Virgil in other places, particularly G. II. 213. was ſome common ſweet herb in Italy, as is well obſerved by Dr. Martyn. See his note on that place.

CEDRUS. Columella, ſpeaking of foreſt trees coveted by bees, mentions the Odorata cedrus as an Italian tree. " Commodiſſimè faciunt etiam " terebinthus, nec diſſimilis huic lentiſcus et odorata cedrus." Lib. IX. c. iv.

CERRO is a ſort of oak very common in the mountains of Tuſcany; it is different from the Quercia, and eſteemed a much harder and firmer wood.

CICHORION. See INTUBUM.

CILICIUM. Hair cloth, or coarſe cloth made of goats hair. See Col. lib. XII. cap. xlvi.

" CLIBANUS, eſt, cujus imum ſummo patentius eſt." See Columella, lib. V. c. x.

COCALI. See FOLACE.

CORYLUS. Pliny, reckoning up the proper ligatures for vines, mentions among the reſt, Intorta corylus, lib. XVI. c. xxxvii. It is commonly rendered the Hazle. Quaer. If properly? I do not find that Pliny ever mentions it in the claſs of nuts. Speaking " De Arbo- " rum naturâ per ſitus," having mentioned ſeveral trees which love the mountains, he then ſays; " Deſcendunt etiam in plana, Cornus, Cory- " lus,

" lus, Quercus, Ornus, Acer, Fraxinus, Fagus, Carpinus," lib. XVI. c. xviii. where it ſeems, by the company he puts the Corylus in, that he eſteems it a mountain tree, but ſuch as will grow in the plain likewiſe. In the ſame chapter Pliny ſays; " Spina nuptiarum facibus au-" ſpicatiſſima, quoniam inde fecerint paſtores qui rapuerunt Sabinas; " ut autor eſt Maſſurius. Nunc facibus carpinus et corylus familiariſ-" ſimae." The Carpinus is a ſort of Acer, as appears from Pliny, cap. x. of the ſame Book. Quaer. If it is not on the account of uſing the Corylus for Faces at nuptials that Virgil ſays;

" Hic corylis mixtas inter conſedimus ulmos." Ecl. V.

And, again, in the ſame Eclogue;

" Vos, coryli, teſtes et flumina nymphis."

And Ecl. VII. 63.

" Phyllis amat corylos."

Ecl. I. Virgil gives the epithet Denſas to the Coryli.
Georg. II. Virgil mentions the corylus twice, ver. 65.

" Plantis edurae coryli naſcuntur."

where obſerve that he ranks it among mountain trees. And ver. 299.

" Neve inter vites corylum ſere."

When Ovid reckons up the ſeveral trees which came to liſten to Orpheus, he diſtinguiſhes the corylus by the epithet Fragilis.

" Et coryli fragiles." Met. lib. X. 93.

COTHURNUS. As the Soccus, which the comedians wore, was a ſlipper without heels, like that of the Turks, ſo the Cothurnus, worn by the tragedians, was probably raiſed on a very high heel, in order to give the actors a more grand and lofty air. See Plin. lib. IX. Epiſt. vii. where, ſpeaking of two of his villas, one on the top of the hill, the other at the bottom; he obſerves, that he uſed to call the former Tragoediam, the latter Comoediam. " Illam, quod quaſi cothurnis, hanc " quod quaſi ſocculis ſuſtinetur."

CULMUS. Varro uſes this word, lib. I. De Re Ruſt. c. xlviii. "Quod "eſt in infimâ ſpicâ ad culmum ſtramenti ſummum."

CURCULIO. Columella often mentions this creature as devouring both corn and legumes; and always by the name Curculio. Varro always writes it thus when he means the worm that eats corn: but he mentions Gurgulionem in another ſenſe, ſpeaking of the "Hircus cervice "et collo brevi, gurgulione longiore." Lib. II. De Re Ruſt. c. iii.

CYTISUS. Pliny deſcribes the Cytiſus in this manner. "Canus aſpectu, "breviterque ſi quis exprimere ſimilitudinem velit, anguſtioris trifolii "frutex:" Lib. XIII. c. xxiv. And, ſpeaking of the different ſorts of trees he ſays; "Plura folia eodem pediculo exeuntia malis pirisque. "Ramuloſa ulmo et cytiſo:" Lib. XVI. c. xxiv. Again, treating De Materiis Arborum, he ſays; "Nigricans color cytiſo, quae proxime "accedere ebenum videtur:" Lib. XVI. c. xl. He muſt mean the wood of it, having deſcribed it "canus aſpectu" with reſpect to its leaves. As to its uſes and advantages and culture, Pliny ſays of it; "Frutex eſt cytiſus ab Ariſtomacho Athenienſi miris laudibus praedi- "catus pabulo ovium, aridus vero etiam ſuum. Utilitas, quae ervo, "ſed ocyor ſatietas, perquam modico pingueſcente quadrupede, ita ut "jumenta hordeum ſpernant. Non ex alio pabulo lactis major copia "aut melior, ſuper omnia pecorum medicina à morbis omni uſu prae- "ſtante. Quin et nutricibus in defectu lactis aridum, atque in aquâ "decoctum, potui cum vino dari jubet; firmiores celſioresque infantes "fore. Viridem etiam gallinis, aut ſi aruerit, madefactum. Apes quo- "que nunquam defore cytiſi pabulo contingente promittunt Democri- "tus et Ariſtomachus. Nec aliud minoris impendii eſt. Seritur cum "hordeo, aut vere ſemine ut porrum, vel caule autumno ante brumam. "Si ſemine, madidum, et ſi deſint imbres, ſatum ſpargitur. Plantae cu- "bitales ſeruntur ſcrobe pedali. Seritur poſt aequinoctia tenero frutice. "Perficitur triennio. Demetitur verno aequinoctio cum florere deſiit vel "pueri vel anûs viliſſimâ operâ. Datur animalibus poſt biduum ſem- "per: hieme vero quod inaruit madidum. Satiant equos denae librae, "et portione minora animalia: obiterque inter ordines allium et cepe "ſeri fertile eſt. Non aeſtuum, non frigorum, non grandinum aut nivis "injuriam expaveſcit. Adjicit Hyginus, ne hoſtium quidem, propter

"nullam

" nullam gratiam ligni." Lib. XIII. c. xxiv. Pliny, referring to this chapter, ſays; " De Cytiſo, cui et ipſi principatus datur in pabulis, " affatim diximus inter frutices:" Lib. XVIII. c. xvi. As to the country or climate natural to it Pliny ſays; " Inventus hic frutex in " Cythno inſulâ, inde tranſlatus eſt in omnes Cycladas: mox in urbes " Graecas, magno caſei proventu, propter quod maxime miror rarum " eſſe in Italiâ:" Lib. XIII. c. xxiv. " Cytiſum ſeritur in terrâ bene " ſubactâ tanquam ſemen braſſicae; inde differtur, et in ſeſquipedem po- " nitur: aut etiam de cytiſo duriore virgulae deplantantur, et ita pan- " gitur in ſerendo:" Varro, De Re Ruſt. lib. I. c. xliii. In the ſame book, c. xxiii. he places Cytiſum amongſt ſuch things, " Quae ſeruntur " ad pabulum."

Columella mentions two ſorts of it. " Eſt enim," ſays he, " ſativa " et altera ſuae ſpontis:" De Re Ruſt. lib. IX. c. iv. In the ſame place, having mentioned the Frutices Exigui, he ſpeaks of the Cytiſus as " Surculus majoris incrementi." Varro ſays of it, lib. III. c. xvi. " Ab aequinoctio verno florere incipit, et permanet ad alterum aequi- " noctium autumni." Columella, having mentioned the chief ſorts of Pabula, adds, " Caetera neque enumerare ac minus ferere dignamur: " excepta tamen cytiſo, de quâ dicemus in iis libris quos de generibus " furculorum conſcripſimus." Lib. II. c. xi.

N. B. There is a treatiſe lately publiſhed in England to prove that the Cytiſus is the Medicago or Cytiſus Maranthae, not the baſtard Sena as aſſerted by another author.

Columella has an entire chapter on this ſhrub at the end of his fifth book, where he ſays; " Cytiſum in agro eſſe quam plurimum maximè " referet, quod gallinis, apibus, capris, bubus quoque et omni generi " pecudum utiliſſimus eſt: quod ex eo cito pingueſcit, et lactis plurimum " praebet ovibus: tum etiam quod octo menſibus viridi eo pabulo uti, " et poſtea arido poſſis. Praeterea in quolibet agro quamvis macerri- " mo, celeriter comprehendit. Omnem injuriam ſine noxâ patitur. " Satio autem cytiſi vel autumno circa idus Octobris, vel vere fieri poteſt. " Plantas vere diſponito, ita ut inter ſe quoquoverſus quatuor pedum " ſpatia diſtent. Si ſemen non habueris, cacumina cytiſorum vere de- " ponito. Poſt triennium deinde caedito, et pecori praebeto. Poteſt " etiam ante Septembrem ſatis commodè ramis cytiſus ſeri, quoniam " facilè comprehendit, et injuriam ſuſtinet. Aridum ſi dabis, parcius

" praebeto,

" praebeto, quoniam vires majores habet, priusque aquâ macerato, et " exemptum paleis permiſceto. Cytiſum cùm aridum facere voles, " circa menſem Septembrem. ubi ſemen ejus grandeſcere incipiet, cae- " dito, paucisque horis, dum flacceſcat, in ſole habeto: deinde in umbrâ " exſiccato, et ita condito." And in the ſame chapter; " Mulieres, ſi " lactis inopiâ premuntur, cytiſum aridum in aquam macerari oportet, " et cùm totâ nocte permaduerit, poſtero die expreſſi ſucci ternas " heminas permiſceri modico vino, atque ita potandum dari. Sic et " ipſae valebunt, et pueri abundantiâ lactis confirmabuntur." And in the book De Arboribus, placed at the end of Columella's works, and commonly aſcribed to him, the chapter De cityſo is repeated almoſt word for word, chap. xxviii. with this addition; " cytiſum, quem Graeci " aut ζειας, aut καρνιχην, aut τευφερην vocant."

Columella aſſerts, that the cytiſus will flouriſh in any country, and directs giving it to poultry. " Jejunis gallinis cytiſi folia ſeminaque " maximè probantur; et ſunt huic generi gratiſſima. Neque eſt ulla " regio in quâ non poſſit hujus arbuſculae copia eſſe vel maxima:" Lib. VIII. c. iv. And in the next chapter he ſays; " Gallinis optimè " praebetur ad ſatietatem ordeum ſemicoctum: nam et majus facit ovo- " rum incrementum, et frequentiores partus. Sed is cibus quaſi condiendus " eſt interjectis cytiſi foliis, ac ſemine ejuſdem: quae utraque maximè " putantur augere foecunditatem avium. Si cytiſus non fuerit, viciae " aut milii aliquid admiſcendum erit."

Quaer. If Cytiſus is not the Giurgiulea of Calabria which Sig. Biagio del Pozzo tells me ſerve " per accreſcere il latte nelle donne."

There is a trefoil evergreen Frutex on the hills near Puzzolo, which the peaſants ſay the goats prefer to any other plant. They call it Spallatroni.

DEFRUTUM. It manifeſtly appears by Columella that he means by Defrutum, new unfermented wine gently boiled down till a fourth or third part or more was conſumed, and then being mixed with ſeveral ingredients, which he mentions, was ſet apart for a year to be put into Muſcadel or ſweet wines as occaſion required, either to preſerve them to a great age, or to cure them when going to turn or grow ſour. See Col. XII. c. xix. xx. xxi. Palladius diſtinguiſhes this into three ſorts, to which he gives different names, according as it is more or leſs boiled down. The firſt ſort he calls ſimply Defrutum; the ſecond

Caraenum, when one third is conſumed; the third Sapa, when two thirds are conſumed. See Palladii October, tit. xviii. Columella likewiſe makes Defrutum and Sapa to differ according to the degrees of boiling; for he ſays, lib. XII. c. xix. "Quidam partem quartam "ejus muſti, quod in vaſa plumbea conjecerunt, nonnulli tertiam deco- "quunt. Nec dubium, quin ad dimidiam ſi quis excoxerit, meliorem "ſapam facturus ſit, eoque uſibus utiliorem, adeo quidem, ut etiam "vice defruti, ſapa, muſtum, quod eſt ex veteribus vineis, condire "poſſit." By which he ſeems to mean that Sapa was thicker than Defrutum, or Defrutum boiled to a ſort of ſyrup. "Igni multo "pingue," as Virgil expreſſes it, Georg. IV. Yet Columella often uſes Defrutum and Sapa indifferently as ſynonymous terms: but ſtrictly ſpeaking they are different. The Sapa is ſtill uſed in Italy, and is uſually boiled down to a third till it becomes a ſort of ſyrup, and then is bottled and kept to be put into ſallads and ſome ſort of ſauces. At Naples it is called Muſto Cotto, but in Tuſcany it retains the old name Sapa; and there, as formerly, they mix ſpices and other ingredients with it.

DEPOSITUS. A funeral term ſignifying laid out: ſo Ovid uſes it;

"Jam propè depoſitus, certè jam frigidus, aeger."

De Pont. lib. II. Ep. ii.

ELIX. A water table or furrow for draining off the water. So Columella. "Quamvis tempeſtivè ſementis confecta erit, cavebitur tamen "ut patentes liras, crebrosque ſulcos aquarios, quos nonnulli elices "vocant, faciamus:" Lib. II. c. viii. Speaking of works to be done at the latter end of October he ſays; "Eodem tempore foſſas rivosque "purgare et elices ſulcosque aquarios convenit facere:" Lib. XI. c. ii. Virgil expreſſes himſelf very properly:

"Ecce ſupercilio clivoſi tramitis undam
"Elicit."

Columella likewiſe uſes the word Elicitur, ſpeaking of watered meadows. See Riguus.

"FINITIMI.

FINITIMI. Propinqui, Vicini. "Esse aliquam in terris gentem, quae "suâ impensâ, suo labore ac periculo, bella gerat pro libertate aliorum; "nec hoc finitimis, aut propinquae vicinitatis hominibus, aut terris "continenti junctis praestet: maria trajiciat; ne quod toto orbe terra- "rum injustum imperium sit: et ubique jus, fas, lex potentissima sit." Liv. lib. XXXIII. § xxxiii. See likewise distinction made between them, in Tully, pro Syllâ, § xx. and 11th Philip. § xiii. and Orator, § xxxii.

FISCILLA. See FISCINA.

FISCINA. Columella orders, amongst other things, "quae praeparanda "sint vindemiae, fiscellas texendas et picandas:" Lib. XII. c. xviii. And, speaking of work proper for winter evenings, he says; "Si "palmae sportive foecunda est regio, fiscinae sporto fieri debent; seu "virgultorum, corbes ex vimine:" Lib. XI. c. ii. By which it seems that he does not make his "fiscina ex virgulto," though Varro does. See De Re Rust. Lib. I. c. xxii. and lib. II. c. ii. The basket now made use of by the Neapolitans to gather grapes in and carry them out of the vineyard is still called Fiscina. It is made of willows. They likewise call Fiscella a little basket used to bring curds or Ricotta in, made of Juncus, which Varro likewise mentions, lib. II. c. ii. "Fiscella è "junco."

FOCUS. Though usually taken for fire, signifies properly a hearth, or fire place. So Martial:

"Et tristis nullo qui tepet igne focus." Lib. XI. Ep. lvii.

FOLACE. Still esteemed foretellers of bad weather, when they cry as they fly towards the shore, as likewise the Cocali or sea gulls. Folace in Italy in the winter only, Cocali always.

GAESA. Javelins, and properly such as were used by the Gauls, and therefore Virgil arms his Gauls with them:

"Duo quisque Alpina coruscant
"Gaesa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis."
Aen. lib. VIII. ver. 661.

From theſe Gaeſa thoſe people who live towards the head of the Rhône, and among the Alpes (now the Valeſians country), and were always ready for war, and fought for pay, as the Swiſs do at preſent, were called Gaeſati. See Polyb. lib. II. τα μεγιστα των εθνων, τοτε Ισομβρων και Βοιων συμφρονησαντα διεπεμποντο προς τες κατα τας Αλπεις και τον Ροδανον ποταμον κατοικεντας Γαλατας, προσαγορευομενες δε δια μισθε στρατευειν Γαισατες. Again, afterwards; "Galli Gaeſati, ſuperatis Alpibus, ad Padum venere." Again, "Galli Alpinos, quos vocant Gaeſatos, in poſtremâ acie ſtatuunt." Plutarch likewiſe, in the life of Claudius Marcellus, mentions 30,000 Gaeſatae coming into Italy to the aſſiſtance of the Inſubres. And Oroſius, lib. IV. c. xiii: "Poſt haec Claudius Conſul Gaeſatorum xxx "millia delevit." And Polybius relates the ſame of thoſe 30,000 Gaeſatae. See an account of the arms of the Franks in Agathias, lib. I.

GELONUS.

"Pictosque Gelonos." Georg. II. 115.

"Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxiſſe Gelonus."

Claudian in Rufin.

Quaer. If the cuſtom ſtill practiſed by the Turks of marking themſelves be not derived from thoſe people?

GEMMA Bibere. Georg. II. 506. Pliny ſpeaks of this extravagance of the Romans in having their drinking cups and other veſſels ſet with precious ſtones; and tells us that this luxury was introduced by Pompey after his conqueſt of the pirates, Pontus, and Aſia: Lib. XXXVII. c. ii. Martial alludes to the ſame cuſtom:

"Et virides picto gemmas numeravit in auro.

Lib. IX. Ep. lx.

And more expreſsly, Lib. XIV. Ep. 109. entitled Calices Gemmati.

"Gemmatum Scythicis ut luceat ignibus aurum,
"Aſpice quot digitos exuit iſte calix."

Martial likewiſe makes uſe of a like expreſſion, "Potare gemmâ." Lib. XI. Ep. xii.

GILVUS.

GILVUS. See HELVUS.

HELVUS. Columella, ſpeaking of grapes called Helvolae, ſays; "Quas "nonnulli varias appellant, neque purpureae neque nigrae, ab Hel- "vo (niſi fallor) colore vocitatae." Lib. III. c. ii.

HIRCUS. See CAPER.

HORROR. "Ad res ſacras refertur et venerationem." So Virgil:

"Horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbrâ." Aen. I. 169.

And Lucan:

"Arboribus ſuus horror ineſt." Lib. III. 411.

"Redit ab Africâ Marius clade major: ſiquidem carcer, catenae, fuga, "exilium, horrificaverant dignitatem." Florus, III. xxi.

JAMDUDUM is, I find, generally ſuppoſed to mean the ſame as Jampridem: yet I believe it relates oftner to the preſent time than the paſt, and is generally uſed with the preſent tenſe, and ſignifies *now*, *immediately*, *already*, *inſtantly*. And this is certain, that it always imports eagerneſs, quickneſs, and impatience of delay. See Georg. I. 213. and other places in Virgil, particularly Aen. I. 584.

"Jamdudum erumpere nubem
"Ardebat."

"Jamdudum ſumite poenas." Aen. II. 103.

Aen. IX. 186. where Niſus, addreſſing himſelf to Euryalus, at the beginning of the famous epiſode, ſays;

"Aut pugnam, aut aliquid jamdudum invadere magnum
"Mens agitat mihi."

So Myſis in Terence, when ſhe is ſent in haſte to call a midwife, ſays;

"Audivi, Archillis, jamdudum Leſbiam adduci jubes."
Andria, act. I. ſc. iv.

And Lucan:

"Nec plura locuto
"Viſcera non unus jamdudum tranſigit enſis." Pharſal. IV. 545.

Where it muſt be rendered by, *now*, *inſtantly*.

IMPROBUS.

IMPROBUS. "Labor improbus." Virgil, Georg. I. 145. which is commonly ſuppoſed to mean, *continual*, *indefatigable*. Seneca calls purple often dipped, "Lacernas coloris improbi," Epiſt. cxv. And Pliny tells us, lib. IX. c. xli. that "nomen improbum" was given to purple ſeveral times dipped. And, perhaps, for the ſame reaſon, Martial gives Tyros the epithet Improba, as being employed in repeating the ſame work, and dipping over and over again the ſame cloth. Martial, lib. X. Epiſt. xvi.

INDI. Polybius, ſpeaking of Hannibal's paſſing the Rhone with his elephants, calls their guides Indos, though probably Aethiopians.

INGREDIOR; though it ſeems to intend going in, does not always ſignify ſo; but, to march, proceed, etc. Virgil, when ſpeaking of Aeneas's leaving and going out of the Sibyl's grotto, uſes this word:

"Aeneas moeſto defixus lumina vultu
"Ingreditur, linquens antrum." Lib. VI. 157.

Quaer. If it does not intimate ſomething of gravity and ſolemnity?

INTUBUM. "Eſt et erraticum, quod in Aegypto Chicorium vocatur:" Plin. lib. XIX. c. viii. "Naſcitur poſt vergilias, floret particulatim, "radix ei lenta, quare etiam ad vincula utuntur illâ:" Id. lib. XXI. c. xv. "Chicorium et ſimilia circa terram folia habent germinantibus ab "radice poſt vergilias:" Id. lib. XXI. c. xvii.

JUGERUM.

1 A. B. C. D. "Jugerum. In agro Romano ac Latino jugeris me-"tiuntur. Jugerum vocant quod quadratos duos actus habeat." Varro, De re ruſt. lib. I. c. x.

2 A. E. F. D. "actus quadratus. Qui et latus eſt pedes cxx. et "longus totidem: is modus Acnua Latinè appellatur." Varro, ibid. with whom Columella agrees. "Actus quadratus undique "finitur pedibus cxx. Hoc duplicatum facit jugerum; et ab "eo quod erat junctum nomen jugeri uſurpavit. Hunc actum "Provinciae Baeticae ruſtici Acnuam vocant; Galli Semijugerum "Arepennem vocant." Col. lib. V. c. i. And again in the ſame chapter: "Ergo, ut dixi, duo actus jugerum efficiunt "longitudine pedum CCXL. latitudine pedum cxx. Quae utrae-

que

" que ſummae inter ſe multiplicatae quadratorum faciunt pedum
" viginti octo millia et octingentos. [Pes eſt digitorum XVI."]
Quaer. If not falſe printed for XII? for he ſays, " Modus omnis
" areae pedali menſurâ comprehenditur, qui digitorum eſt XVI."]"

3 *a b c d*, " jugeri pars minima dicitur ſcrupulum; id eſt, decem
" pedes in longitudinem et latitudinem quadratum. Ab hoc
" principio menſores nonnunquam dicunt in ſubſicivum eſſe un-
" ciam agri, aut ſextantem, aut quid aliud, cum ad jugerum per-
" venerunt. Id habet ſcrupula CCLXXXVIII. quantum As."
Varro, ibid.

Columella agrees exactly. " Pars ducenteſima octogeſima octava
" pedes centum eſt ſcrupulum."

a e f g. " Pars ſeptuageſima ſecunda jugeri, pedes CCCC. hoc
" eſt, Sextula, in quâ ſunt ſcrupula quatuor."

$\frac{1}{12}$ 4 *a e h i*. " Pars duodecima; duo millia et quadringentos pedes:
" hoc eſt, Uncia, in quâ ſunt ſcrupula XXIIII."

$\frac{2}{12}$ 5 *a l m i*. " Sextans. Pars ſexta, pedes quatuor millia et octin-
" gentos, hoc eſt, Sextans, in quo ſunt ſcrupula XLVIII."

$\frac{3}{12}$ 6 *a n o i*. " Quadrans. Pars quarta; pedes ſeptem millia et du-
" centos, hoc eſt, Quadrans, in quo ſunt ſcrupula LXXII."

$\frac{4}{12}$ 7 *a p q i*. " Triens. Pars tertia, pedes novem millia et ſexcentos,
" hoc eſt, Triens, in quo ſunt ſcrupula XCVI."

$\frac{5}{12}$ 8 *a r s i*. " Quincunx. Pars tertia et unaduodecima, pedes duo-
" decim millia, hoc eſt, Quincunx, in quo ſunt ſcrupula CXX."

$\frac{6}{12}$ 9 A E F D. " Semis. Pars dimidia, pedes quatuordecim millia
" et quadringentos, hoc eſt, Semis, in quo ſunt ſcrupula CXLIIII."

$\frac{7}{12}$ 10 *a t u i*. " Septunx. Pars dimidia et unaduodecima, pedes ſe-
" decim millia et octingentos, hoc eſt, Septunx, in quo ſunt ſcru-
" pula CLXVIII."

11 *a x y i*. " Bes. Partes duaetertiae, pedes decem novem millia
" et ducentos, hoc eſt, Bes, in quo ſunt ſcrupula CXCII."

12 *a z aa i*. " Dodrans. Partes tres quartae, pedes unum et viginti
" millia et ſexcentos, hoc eſt, Dodrans, in quo ſunt ſcrupula CCXVI."

13 *a bb cc i*. " Dextans. Pars dimidia et tertia, pedes viginti qua-
" tuor millia, hoc eſt, Dextans, in quo ſunt ſcrupula CCXL."

14 *a dd ee i*. " Deunx. Partes duae tertiae et una quarta, pedes
" viginti ſex et quadringentos, hoc eſt, Deunx, in quo ſunt ſcru-
" pula CCLXIII."

ABCD. " Jugerum. Pedes viginti octo millia et octingentos, " hoc eſt, As, in quo ſunt ſcrupula CCLXXXVIII."

LANX. See ACERRA.

LAPPA. " Notabile et in lappâ quae adhaereſcit, quoniam in ipſâ flos " naſcitur, non evidens, ſed intus occultus, et intra ſe germinat velut " animalia quae in ſe pariunt." Plin. lib. XXI. c. xvii. Quaer. If not the Bur?

LARIX. The Larix grows like the fir, but is not an evergreen: its leaves are paler than the fir, and the wood or timber of it redder. The leaves are ſhaped like thoſe of the fir, but do not ſhoot in the ſame manner, one oppoſite to another on each ſide of the branch, but in tufts quite round. This tree is very common on the mountains of Carniola and Stiria.

LEGNO SANTO, or Vaggia cana, as it is called by the botaniſts, bears a ſweet berry, which is ripe about St. Andrews-tide: it is a beautiful tree, and has a long leaf like the cherry-tree.

LEGUMINUM GENERA.

Faba.
Lenticula.
Piſum.
Phaſelus.
Cicer.
Cannabis.
Milium.
Panicum.
Seſama.
Lupinum.
Linum etiam et
Ordeum, quia ex eo Ptiſana eſt. Columel. lib. II. c. vii.

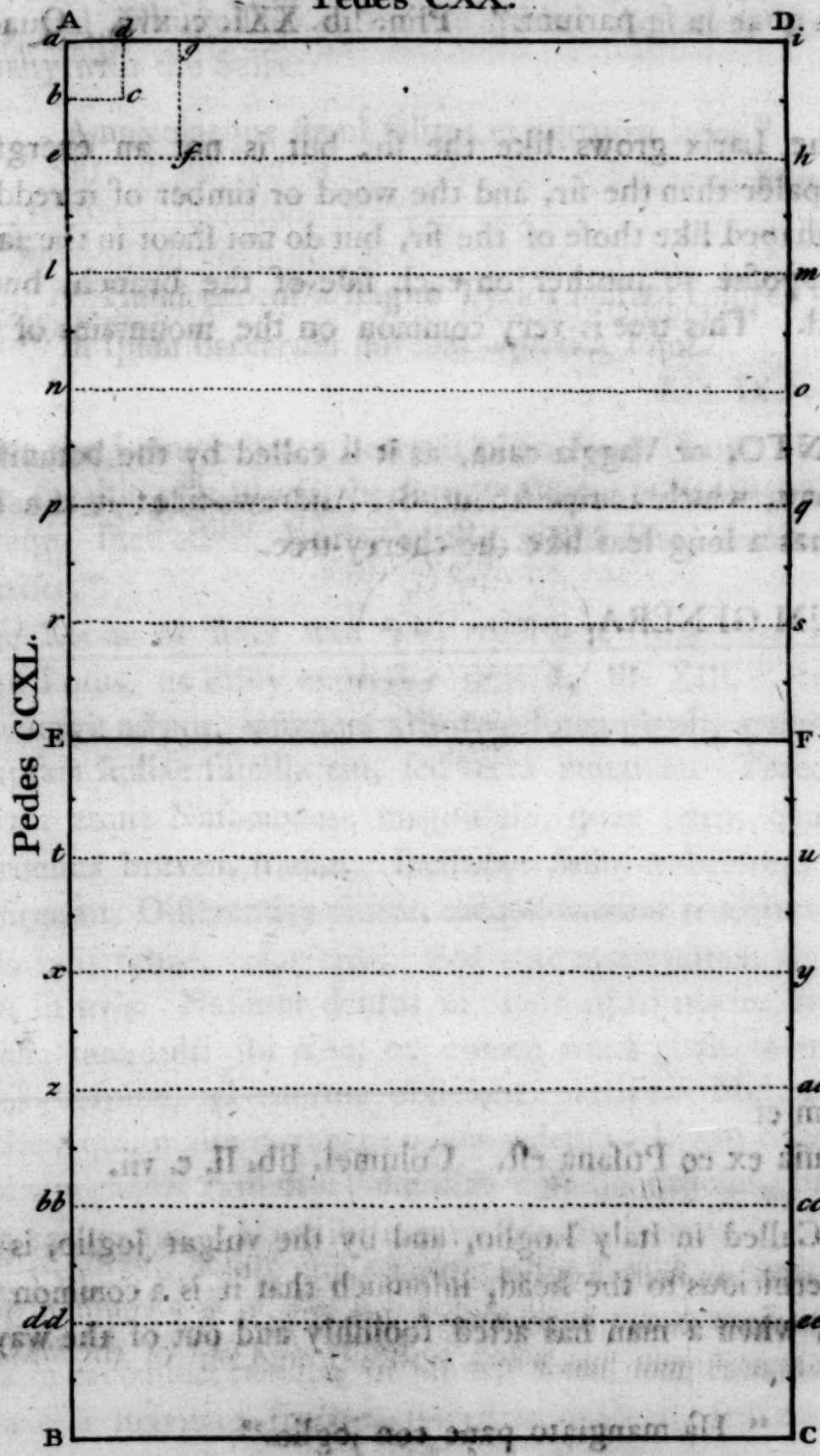
LOLIUM. Called in Italy Loglio, and by the vulgar Joglio, is thought ſtill very pernicious to the head, inſomuch that it is a common proverb in Tuſcany, when a man has acted fooliſhly and out of the way, to ſay of him,

" Hà mangiato pane con joglio."

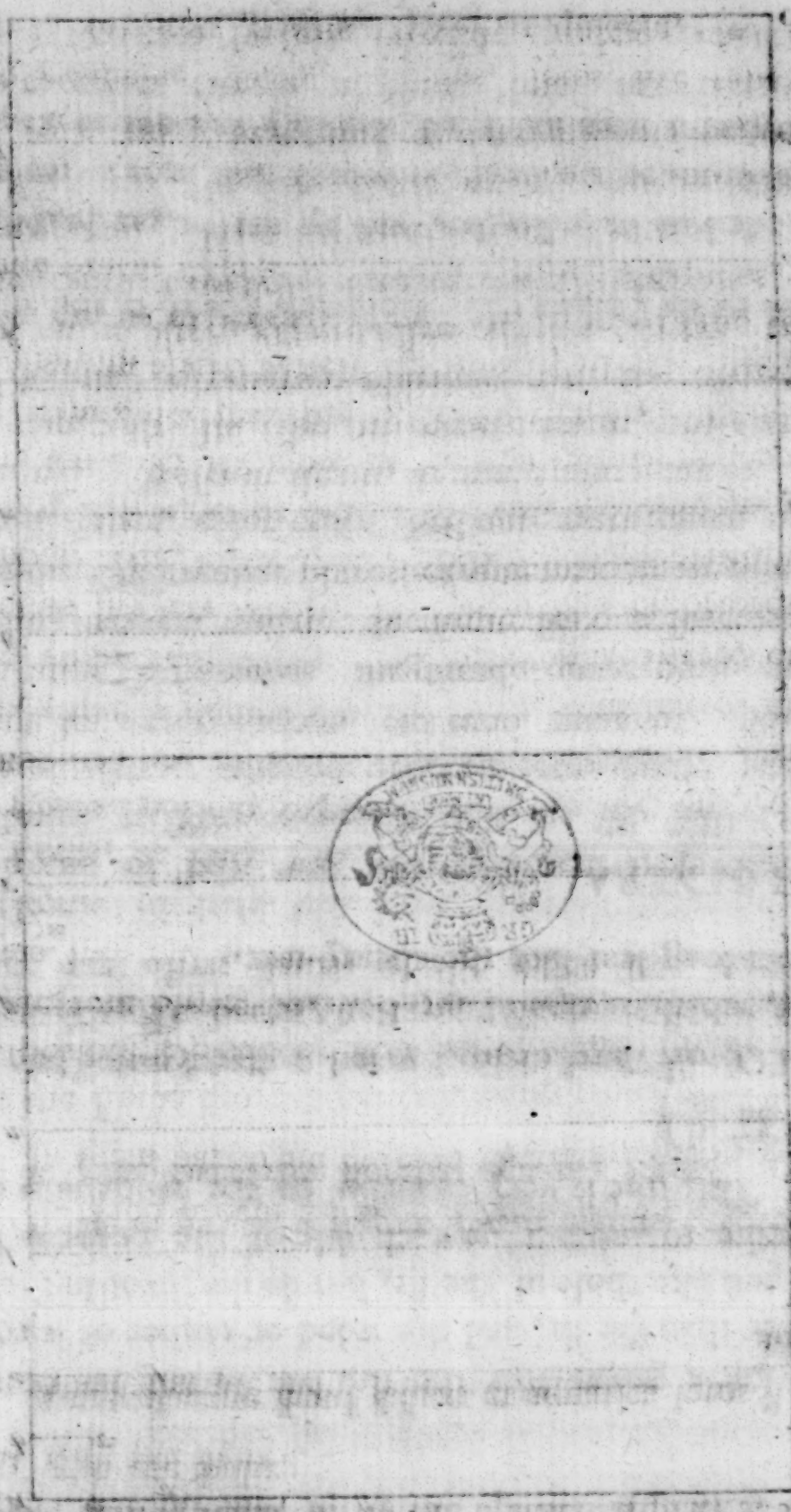
LOTUS.

to face p. 328.

JUGERUM.



The Scale is ¼ inch to 10 feet.



LOTUS. Called in Italy Fra-Giragolo, or otherwiſe Bagatto, or Bucerata. A great quantity of it is in the plain of Foligni, where it is called Famfoli. Quaer. If coveted by cattle? See Athenaeus's account of the Libyan Lotos in the XIVth book of his Deipnoſophiſt. He quotes the words of Polybius in the XIIth book of his Hiſtory, now not extant. That hiſtorian ſpeaks of it as an eye-witneſs. Ovid in his catalogue of trees, which went to liſten to Orpheus, reckons the Lotos, and diſtinguiſhes it by the epithet Aquatica, and brings it in company with the Salix:

Amnicolaeque ſimul ſalices et aquatica lotos."

Met. X. 96.

Again;

" Haud procul a ſtagno Tyrios imitata colores
" In ſpem baccarum florebat aquatica lotos."

Lib. IX. ver. 341.

That the Lotus bears a berry is plain from Pliny, lib. XV. c. xxiv. where, ſpeaking De baccis, he ſays, " Magna et baccis differentia. Aliae " namque ſunt olivis, lauris, et alio modo loto, cornis; alio myrtis, " lentiſco."

The Lotus of Italy was very different from that of Africa the foreign Lotus, as Pliny expreſsly tells us, lib. XIII. c. xvii. " Africa, " quâ vergit ad nos, inſignem arborem loton gignit, quam vocant celtin, " et ipſam Italiae familiarem, ſed terrâ mutatam. Praecipua eſt circa " Syrtes atque Naſamonas: magnitudo, quae pyro, quanquam Nepos " Cornelius brevem tradat. Inciſurae folio crebriores; alioquin ilicis " viderentur. Differentiae plures, eaeque maximè fructibus fiunt. Magni- " tudo huic fabae, color croci. Sed ante maturitatem alius atque alius, " ſicut in uvis. Naſcitur denſus in ramis myrti modo, non ut in Italia, " ceraſi: tam dulci ibi cibo, ut nomen etiam genti terraeque dederit, " nimis hoſpitali advenarum oblivione patriae. Melior ſine interiore " nucleo, qui in altero genere oſſeus videtur. Ligno colos niger. Ad " tibiarum cantus expetitur: è radice cultellis capulos, brevesque alios " uſus excogitant. Haec ibi natura arboris," etc.

Lib. XVI. c. xxx. he gives the following account of the Italian Lotos. Speaking of trees, branching or ſhooting out variouſly, he ſays: " Alia in cacumine ramoſa, ut pinus, lotos, ſive faba Graeca; quam " Romae à ſuavitate fructûs, ſylveſtris quidem, ſed ceraſorum penè

" naturâ loton appellant. Praecipue domibus expetitur ramorum pe-
" tulantiâ, brevi caudice, latiſſimâ expatiantium umbrâ, et in vicinas
" domos ſaepe tranſilientium. Nulli opacitas brevior, nec aufert ſolem
" hieme decidentibus foliis. Nulli cortex jucundior, aut oculos exci-
" piens blandius. Nulli rami longiores, validioresque aut plures, ut
" dixiſſe totidem arbores liceat. Cortice pelles tingunt, radice lanas," etc. Again, lib. XVI. c. xl. Pliny reckons the Lotos amongſt the trees; " Quae cariem vetuſtatemque non ſentiunt, et ex reliquis ficciſſima lotos " quae Romae ita appellatur." And, chapter the xlivth, he reckons ſeveral very old Loti at Rome. And, lib. XVII. c. i. he tells us the hiſtory of ſix famous Loti at the houſe of L. Craſſus at Rome; " Patulâ " ramorum opacitate laſcivae."

MADERE. " Loco ſicco ſtabulentur equi, nè humore madeſcant ungulae," i. e. molleſcant. Columel. lib. VI. c. xxix.

MELIPHYLLUM. See APIASTRUM.

MESSIS. Varro having mentioned two different ways of reaping uſed, one in Umbria, and the other by the people of Picenum, proceeds to deſcribe the method now generally in uſe: " Tertio modo metitur, ut " ſub urbe Roma, et locis plerisque, ut ſtramentum medium ſubſecet, quod " manu ſiniſtrâ ſummum prehendunt," lib. I. c. l. Virgil, in ſpeaking of reaping, uſes words compounded of Sub, to expreſs the manner of reaping.

" Rubicunda Ceres medio ſuccidítur aeſtu." Georg. I. 297.

——— " Neque ante
" Falcem maturis quisquam ſupponat ariſtis." Ver. 348.

MICARE. Cicero, ſpeaking of an honeſt man, ſays, he is " Dignus " quîcum in tenebris mices;" alluding probably to a ſport ſtill uſed in Italy called Giuoco d'amore. See Offic. lib. III. ſect. ci. " Vir bonus " non modo facere, ſed ne cogitare quidem quidquam audebit, quod " non audeat praedicare. Hoc non turpe eſt dubitare Philoſophos quod " ne Ruſtici quidem dubitent? à quibus natum eſt id quod jam tritum " eſt vetuſtate proverbium. Quum enim fidem alicujus bonitatemque " laudant, *Dignum eſſe dicunt quicum in tenebris mices.* Hoc quam " habet vim niſi illam? nihil expedire quod non deceat, etiamſi id poſſis " nullo refellente obtinere. Videsne hoc proverbio neque Gygi illi " poſſe

" poſſe veniam dari, neque huic quem paulo ante fingebam digitorum " percuſſione hereditates omnium poſſe convertere?" Tully likewiſe mentions Micare, when he is ſpeaking of the Sortes, in his ſecond book De divinatione.

Q. If the proper meaning of Micare is not to tremble with a very quick motion, as rays of light? Ovid, ſpeaking of Marſyas flayd alive, and repreſenting the arteries trembling when ſtripped of the ſkin, expreſſes it by Micare:

" Trepidaeque ſine ullâ
" Pelle micant venae." Met. lib. VI. ver. 390.

MYRRHINA. Quaer. If not a ſort of China ware? See Joſ. Scaliger on this verſe of Propertius;

" Murreaque in Parthis pocula cocta focis."
Lib. IV. El. v. ver. 26.

where he oppoſes Pliny, who ſpeaks of Myrrhina as a natural product, lib. XXXVII. c. ii. Martial has the following epigram on Murrhina;

" Si calidum potas, ardenti murrha Falerno
" Convenit, et melior fit ſapor inde mero."
Lib. XIV. Ep. 113.

NAMQUE. See how this word is uſed in Silius Italicus, lib. XI, where Teuthras is playing to Hannibal:

" Namque Chaos, caecum quondam ſine ſidere molem
" Non ſurgente die, ac mundum ſine luce, canebat;
" Tum Deus ut liquidi diſcîſſet ſtagna profundi,
" Tellurisque globum mediâ compage locâſſet,"

is a part of this Teuthras's ſong; Silius, II. 458. where Namque is uſed in the ſame manner (and on the very ſame ſubject) as it is by Virgil:

" Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta
" Semina, terrarumque, animaeque, marisque fuiſſent,
" Et liquidi ſimul ignis: ut his exordia primis
" Omnia, et ipſe tener mundi concreverit orbis." Ecl. VI. 34.

NOVALIS, "dicitur ubi ſatum ſit antequam fecundâ aratione renoveturr:" Varro, De re ruſtica, lib. II. c. xxix.

OCCARE, "eſt comminuere, nè ſit gleba:" Varro, De re ruſt. lib. I. c. xxxi.

OPIO, is what we call Maple, having a deep-jagged leaf with five diviſions.

ORNUS. The wild aſh or mountain aſh. "Si aſpera et ſiticuloſa loca "arboribus conſerenda erunt, neque opulus neque ulmus tam idoneae "ſunt quam orni. Eae ſylveſtres fraxini ſunt, paulo latioribus tamen "foliis quam caeterae fraxini, nec deteriorem frondem quam ulmi prae- "ſtant." Colum. De arb. c. xvi.

OSCILLA. Columella mentions this word, lib. II. c. x. "Vermes ſimul- "atque oſcilla lupinorum ederunt, reliqua pars enaſci non poteſt." Where it ſeems to ſignify the little heads or eyes of the lupins.

PASSUM. Wine made of grapes expoſed ſome time to the ſun to ſweat after they were gathered, before they were preſſed. Heſiod, lib. II. Op. et Dier. ver. 227, ſpeaking of the time of vintage, orders grapes when gathered to be kept expoſed abroad ten days and nights, and then under cover five days more, before they were preſſed. Ευτ' αν δ' Ωριων και Σειριος εις μεσον ελθη, etc. And Columella gives the following receipt for making Paſſum: "Uvam praecoquem bene maturam legere; acina "arida aut vitioſa rejicere; furcas vel palos qui cannas ſuſtineant inter "quaternos pedes figere et perticis jugare: tum inſuper cannas ponere, "et in ſole pandere uvas et noctibus tegere nè irrorentur. Cùm deinde "exaruerint, acina decerpere, et in dolium, aut in ſeriam conjicere, "eodem muſtum quam optimum, ſic ut grana ſubmerſa ſint, adjicere; "ubi combiberint uvae ſeque impleverint ſexto die in fiſcellam conferre "et prelo premere, paſſumque tollere." Lib. XII. c. xxxix.—Q. If the Vino Santo near Verona, and the Vino Aromatico of the Valteline, are not of this ſort? See Biſhop Burnet's deſcription of them in his Travels. See Martial, lib. XIII. Ep. cvi.

PINUS in hortis, Virgil. Commentators without reaſon have changed this into Tinus. It is pretty evident that, beſides the tall pine, there was a kind of ſhrub of this name planted often in gardens. Virgil in his

his fourth Georgic twice mentions the Pinus, and probably both times means the ſhrub; as likewiſe in his Culex. There ſeems to be a manifeſt proof of this in Ovid, Art. Amand. lib. III. ver. 692, where deſcribing the fountain where Cephalus uſed to retire to cool or refreſh himſelf, he makes it ſhaded with ſhrubs, and in order to thicken the ſhade (which was neceſſary for the ſequel of the ſtory, viz. the hiding of Procris, etc.) he ſuppoſes no tall trees there;

" Sylva nemus non alta facit."

And among the ſhrubs he mentions the Pinus, which he calls Culta, meaning thereby the Garden pine, to diſtinguiſh it from the Sylveſtris. See note on this place in Burman's Ovid; and Catrou's 4th note on the IVth Georgic. See Pliny De Pinu et Pinaſtro.

PLANGERE.

" Littora plangunt." Georg. I. 334.

Lucan, ſpeaking of the witch Erichtho imitating with her voice all manner of ſounds, chooſes Planctus to expreſs the roaring of the ſea;

" Latratus habet illa canum, gemitusque luporum,
" Quod trepidus bubo, quod ſtrix nocturna queruntur,
" Quod ſtrident ululantque ferae, quod ſibilat anguis,
" Exprimit, et planctus illiſae cautibus undae." Lib. VI. 691.

PORCA. " Quod eſt inter duos ſulcos elata terra dicitur Porca; quod ea " ſeges frumentum porrigit." Varro, lib. I. c. xxxii.

PROFANUS. Properly one who reveals ſecrets, which he ought to conceal. So Horace; " Odi profanum vulgus." Lucan, ſpeaking of one of Cato's ſoldiers in Africa bit by a ſerpent called Seps, ſays, the poiſon was ſo violent, that the whole man rotted away.

" Quicquid homo eſt, aperit peſtis. Natura profanâ
" Morte patet."

Which the ſcholiaſt well explains: " Profanam mortem dicit, quod " naturae ſecreta patefecerit." Lucan, Pharſ. lib. IX. 779.

PROJICERE.

" Corpora caeſorum tumulis projecta negatis." Lucan. VI. 626.

When

When Cannus had read part of Biblis's letter, Ovid, to expreſs that he threw it away as vile and abominable, uſes the word Projicit.

"Projicit acceptas, lectâ ſibi parte, tabellas." Met. lib. IX. 574.

PROPINQUI. See FINITIMI.

PROSCINDERE. "Terram, cum primum arant proſcindere appellant; "cum iterum, offringere dicunt. Quod primâ aratione glebe grandes "ſolent excitari; cum iteratur, offringere vocant." Varro De re ruſt. lib. I. c. xxix.

PULLUS. Properly dark brown. Virgil, G. III. Varro, deſcribing the colour of hares in Italy, calls it Pullus. "Superiore parte pullâ, ventre "albo." De re ruſt. lib. III. c. xii.

QUIRITES. Jus Quiritium, and Civitas Romana are very different, as appears from Pliny, lib. X. Ep. iv. 6. 105 et 106. The former I take to be no more than Naturalization; the latter the privileges of Citizens of Rome.

RASTRA. This word was uſed not only for a Rake, but any inſtrument with teeth proper to work, ſcrape, or grub up the ground, à radere. So Lucan, ſpeaking of ſoldiers digging the ground to ſearch for water, ſays;

"Nec ſolum raſtris durisque ligonibus arva,
"Sed gladiis fodêre ſuis." Lib. IV. 294.

A rake would be a very improper inſtrument to open and break up ground. Q. If the Raſtra were not chiefly uſed in Apulia?

"Quae piger Appulus arva
"Deſeruit raſtris." Lucan, V. 403.

Q. If Raſtra was ever joined with the verb Trahere, as probably it would have been by ſome of the antients, if it ſignified a Harrow? Cato mentions, "Raſtros quadridentes duos," X. 34. In ſhort, it ſeems that any inſtrument with teeth uſed to open the ground was called Raſtrum, ſuch as that uſed to looſen the earth about vines, and clear the ground of weeds. So Pliny, ſpeaking of the Balſamus being like a vine, and to be cultivated in like manner, ſays, "Tondetur ſimiliter "fruticans, ac raſtris niteſcit." Lib. XII. c. xxv.

RIGUUS.

RIGUUS, " dicitur de agro vel foeno, etc. aquis irrigato." Columella ſays; " Foeni animadvertimus duo genera, quorum alterum eſt ſiccane-
" um, alterum riguum," lib. II. c. xvii: and then adds; " Laeto pin-
" guique campo non deſideratur influens rivus, meliusque habetur foe-
" num quod ſuâpte naturâ ſuccoſo gignitur ſolo, quam quod irrigatum
" aquis elicitur, quae tamen ſunt neceſſariae ſi macies terrae poſtulat."

ROBUR. Called by the Italians Rovere. The acorn of it, which is brought from Dalmatia to Venice, and is uſed for tanning, is very large, the cup of it thick and rough, and opens into ſcales or laminae like the fir-apple.

RUBUS. Q. If it does not properly ſignify the blackberry bramble now called at Naples Rugo?

RUSCUS, is commonly called the evergreen ſharp-pointed prickly ſhrub uſed in Italy to make brooms to ſweep down cobwebs, etc. and is now called by the Italians Bruſco. Columella, giving inſtructions about pickling herbs and plants in ſpring, mentions, amongſt others, " ſilentem
" florem vitis albae, et aſparagi, et ruſci." Q. If this can be the Bruſco? Virgil mentions the Ruſcus, Ecl. VII. 42. " Horridior ruſco."

SALEBRA. Suppoſed commonly to ſignify a rough place, a craggy rock. Thus Martial:

" Nil eſt tritius Hedyli lacernis,
" Non anſae veterum Corinthiorum,
" Nec crus compede lubricum decenni;
" Non ruptae recutita colla mulae,
" Nec quae Flaminiam ſecant ſalebrae." Lib. IX. Ep. lviii.

SALIX. Columella, treating De ſalicto, ſays; " Putant tria eſſe genera
" praecipuè ſalicis, Graecae, Gallicae, Sabinae, quam plurimi vocant
" Amerinam. Graeca flavi coloris eſt, Gallica obſoleti purpurei, et
" tenuiſſimi viminis; Amerina ſalix gracilem et rutilum gerit." Lib. IV. c. xxx.

SAPA. See DEFRUTUM.

SAPOR, which we tranſlate Savour, means ſmell as well as taſte. Pliny, ſpeaking of Unguenta, ſays; "In M. Ciceronis monumentis invenitur, "unguenta gratiora eſſe, quae terram, quam quae crocum ſapiant:" Lib. XIII. c. iii. alluding to a paſſage in Tully, De Orat. lib. III. Again, "Cicero lux doctrinarum altera, meliora, inquit, unguenta ſunt, "quae terram quàm quae crocum ſapiunt; hoc enim maluit dixiſſe, quàm "quae redolent:" Lib. XVII. c. v. By this I think it appears, that Sapor extends to two of our ſenſes, and not only relates to taſte, but to ſmell. And Ainſworth in his Dictionary renders, Sapere, *to ſavour, ſmell, or taſte of.*

SCILICET. This word is frequently uſed by way of inſult and ſneer. So Virgil:

"Ter ſunt conati imponere Pelio Oſſam
"Scilicet." Georg. I. 282.

And it is remarkably uſed ſo in that paſſage in Lucan, where Julius Caeſar takes the Conſulſhip:

"Populoque precanti
"Scilicet indulgens ſummum Dictator honorem
"Contigit, et laetos fecit ſe Conſule faſtos." Lib. V. 383.

SCYTHIA. Quintus Curtius gives this account of the country. "Bac-"trianos Tanais ab Scythis, quos Europaeos vocant, dividit. Idem Aſiam "et Europam finis interfluit. Coetuum Scytharum gens, haud procul "Thraciâ ſita, ab Oriente ad Septentrionem ſe vertit; Sarmatarumque, "ut quidam credidere, non finitima ſed pars eſt. Rectâ deinde regione "Alaunum ultra Iſtrum jacentem et ultima Aſiae, quà Bactra ſunt, ſtrin-"git, quae Septentrioni proxima ſunt. Profundae inde ſylvae vaſtae-"que ſolitudines excipiunt. Rurſus quae ad Tanaim et Bactra ſpectant "humano cultu haud diſparia ſunt." Lib. II. § xxviii.

SEGES, is uſed in different ſenſes. Varro ſays; "Seges dicitur quod "aratum ſatum eſt:" De Re Ruſt. lib. I. c. xxix. Yet notwithſtanding this definition he himſelf uſes it to ſignify a ploughed field ready to be ſown. "Far quod ad ſationem tum promendum, cum ſegetes "maturae ſunt ad accipiendum:" Cap. lxix. In other places it ſignifies the corn itſelf.

STIVA.

STIVA. "Longiſſimum quemque aratorem faciemus, quod in re ruſticâ "nullo minus opere fatigatur prolixior, quia in arando ſtivae penè "rectus innititur :" Col. lib. I. c. ix. where he directs; "Qualis cor-"poraturae mancipia cuique operi contribuenda ſunt." Quaer. Whether in medals the ploughman is repreſented holding the Stiva with his left hand? See Agoſtini, Dialog. VII. and VIII.

"Cui laeva regebat
"Stivam poſt Aquilas." Sidonius Panegyr.

Valerius ſpeaking of Atilius, ſays; "Illae ruſtico opere attritae manus "ſalutem publicam ſtabilierunt. Nec fuit iis rubori, eburneo ſcipione "poſito, agreſtem ſtivam aratri repetere." Lib. IV. c. iv.

Ovid, deſcribing the Palilia, and the manner of firſt marking out the walls of towns, ſays;

"Inde premens ſtivam deſignat moenia ſulco."
Faſt. lib. IV. El. xiii.

SUCCINUM. Of this from the Poplars on the Po, Martial ſays;

"Flentibus Heliadum ramis dum vipera repit,
"Fluxit in obſtantem ſuccina gemma feram:
"Quae dum miratur pingui ſe rore teneri,
"Concreto riguit vincta repentè gelu." Lib. IV. Ep. lix.

"Dum Phaëthonteâ formica vagatur in umbrâ,
"Implicuit tenuem ſuccina gutta feram:
"Sic modo quae fuerat vitâ contempta manente,
"Funeribus facta nunc pretioſa ſuis." Lib. V. Ep. xiv.

And that Martial was well acquainted with that country appears by Lib. III. Ep. iv. and Lib. IV. Ep. xxv. See a particular account of Succinum in Pliny, lib. XXXVII. c. ii. and iii.

SIDUS is often applied to the ſun. So Ovid ſpeaking of the loves of Phoebus, ſays;

"Hunc quoque ſidereâ qui temperat omnia luce
"Cepit amor Solem; Solis referamus amores."
Met. lib. IV. 169.

TESTUDO. See in Burman's Ovid the difference between Tholus and Teſtudo. Faſt. lib. VI. ver. 282.

TOPHUS. A ſort of ſtone in ſome reſpects like the Pumice ſtone; in others differing from it: for as the Pumex is dry and light, the Tophus is moiſt and heavy. As to its roughneſs and hollowneſs it much reſembles the Pumex. And therefore Ovid ſpeaking of them both together, ſays;

" Pumice multicavo, nec laevibus atria tophis
" Structa ſubit." Met. lib. VIII. 561.

Meaning by " nec laevibus," as rough, and full of holes as the Pumex.

TOPIARIUM OPUS. Pliny, ſpeaking of the Buxus, ſays; " In ipſâ " vero arbore topiario opere :" Lib. XVI. cap. xvi. And he calls the Acanthus, " topiariam et urbanam herbam :" Lib. XXII. c. xxii. And ſpeaking of the Ficus Indica, he ſays; " Adeo in terram curvan- " tur rami, ut annuo ſpatio infigantur, novamque ſibi propaginem fa- " ciant circa parentem in orbem, quodam opere topiario." Lib. XII. cap. v.

TOPIARIUS. See Pliny, lib. III. Epiſt. xx.

TRAPETUM. Columella diſtinguiſhes the Trapetum from the Mola. " Oleo conficiendo molae utiliores ſunt quam trapetum : trapetum quam " canalis et ſolea. Molae quam facillimam patiuntur adminiſtrationem : " quoniam pro magnitudine baccarum vel ſubmitti vel etiam elevari " poſſunt, ne nucleus, qui ſaporem olei vitiat, confringatur. Rurſus " trapetum plus operis faciliusque quam ſolea et canalis efficit. Eſt " et organum erectae tribulae ſimile, quod tudicula vocatur : idque " non incommodè opus efficit, niſi quod frequenter vitiatur, et, ſi bac- " cae pluſculum ingeſſeris, impeditur. Pro conditione tamen et re- " gionum conſuetudine praedictae machinae exercentur. Sed eſt optima " molarum, tum etiam trapeti." Lib. XII. cap. l.

TRIBULUM " fit è tabulâ lapidibus aut ferro aſperatâ, quod impoſito " aurigâ aut pondere grandi trahitur jumentis junctis, ut diſcutiat è " ſpicâ

" ſpicâ grana :" Varro, De Re Ruſt. lib. I. cap. lii. Columella affirms that both the Tribula and Traha were uſed " in triturâ frumenti. " Si competit ut in areâ teratur frumentum, nihil dubium eſt quin " equis melius quam bubus ea res conficiatur. Et ſi pauca juga ſunt, " adjicere tribulam et traham poſſis, quae res utraque culmos facillimè " comminuit :" Lib. II. cap. xxi. Where obſerve, that Columella uſes Tribula in the feminine ; as he does likewiſe, lib. I. cap. vi. " Non " cedente ſolo pulſibus ungularum tribularumque."

TRIBULUS. " Aliqua ſpinoſa et ſecundum ſpinam habent folium ut " tribulus et ononis. Tributa proprietas quod et fructum ſpino- " ſum habet :" Plin. lib. XXI. c. xv. " Tribulus non niſi in paluſtri- " bus naſcitur, dira res alibi : juxta Nilum et Strymonem amnes ex- " cipitur in cibis, inclinatus in vadum, folio ad effigiem ulmi, pediculo " longo. At in reliquo orbe genera duo. Uni cicerculae folia, " alteri aculeata. Hic et ſerius floret, magis ſepta obſidet villarum. " Semen ei rotundius, nigrum in ſiliquâ, alteri harenaceum." Ibid. cap. xvi. " Tribuli unum genus in hortis naſcitur ; alterum in flu- " minibus tantum. Thraces qui ad Strymona habitant foliis tribuli " equos ſaginant : ipſi nucleo vivunt, panem facientes praedulcem." Id. lib. XXII. cap. x.

VAGGIA CANA. See LEGNO SANTO.

VANNUS. Quaer. If the ſame as the κιϛα or λικνος of the Greeks. See Heſychius in Λικνιτης ; and Clemens Alexand. account of Κιϛαι μυϛικαι of Bacchus, etc. and Buonarroti's Medaglioni, p. 448. Columella mentions the uſe of the Vannus in cleaning corn. " Ubi paleis im- " miſta ſunt frumenta, vento ſeparantur : at ſi compluribus diebus un- " dique ſilebit aura, vannis expurgentur." Lib. II. cap. xxi.

VENUSTUS. One who ſays pretty things, ſharp, witty. See the word uſed in this ſenſe by Pliny. " Dictum Baeticorum (ut plerumque do- " lor etiam venuſtos facit) non illepidum ferebatur." Lib. III. Epiſt. ix.

VESULUS MONS ; on the ſide of which the Po riſes. " Padus è " gremio Veſuli montis celſiſſimum in cacumen elati, finibus Ligurum

" Vagiennorum viſendo fonte profluit :" Plin. lib. III. cap. xvi. And Solinus, " Padum mons Veſulus ſuperantiſſimus inter juga Alpium " gremio ſuo fundit in Ligurum finibus," cap. viii. And Martianus, " Padum amnem mons Veſulus inter montes Alpium elatior gignit fonte " mirabili in Ligurum finibus," lib. VI. Virgil, who lived in the neighbourhood of the Po, which riſes from this mountain, celebrates it.

" Velut ille canum morſu de montibus altis
" Actus aper, multos Veſulus quem pinifer annos
" Defendit." Aen. X. 708.

This mountain is to this day commonly called by contraction Monte Veſo or Viſo.

VICINI. See FINITIMI.

VITES AMINEAE. This was one of the moſt common grapes in Italy. Columella gives the following character of it. " Amineae cùm ſint " unius nominis, non unam ſpeciem gerunt :" Lib. III. cap. ii. He names ſeveral ſorts, (viz.), " duas germanas, majorem et minorem ; " duas geminas vel gemellas, majorem et minorem. Et Amineam La- " natam." And he obſerves, that the Minor Gemina was " vulgò no- " tiſſima, quippe Campaniae celeberrimos Veſuvii colles, Surrentinos- " que veſtit." Again, cap. ix. ſpeaking of the Amineae, he ſays ; " quas plerumque ſolas antiqui noverant." And again ; " vetuſtiſſimas " quasque vineas adhuc exiſtimamus Amineas."

UNEDO. It is plain that the Unedo has a ſmooth bark. Pliny, ſpeaking of the different accounts given of the Myrrha, ſays ; " corticem " levem ſimilemque unedoni, ſcabrum alii ſpinoſumque dixêre." Lib. XII. cap. xv.

URUS, in German, *Urrochs*, ; a wild bull, of which there are ſtill many in Pruſſia and the northernmoſt parts of Germany.

VOCABULARY II.

FOR PLACES.

AEMILIA. See VIA.

AEQUICOLI. Phaebonius, in his Hiſtory of the Marſi, ſpeaking of the Aequicoli, ſays; "eſt montana et nemoroſa regio, ut inter ſaltus ſylvas-"que eorum vitam exercentes innatâ à loco horriditate induantur," etc. lib. III. cap. vi. And in the ſame paragraph, "parum ferax ſolum." This anſwers exactly to Virgil's deſcription:

"Horrida praecipue cui gens, aſſuetaque multo
"Venatu nemorum, duris Aequicola glebis." Aen. VII. 746.

Phaebonius in the ſame chapter obſerves, that the arms of the town Taggliacozzo are two men holding between them a coat, and one of them a ſword ready to divide it, which he ſuppoſes intimates ſpoil and plunder.

AEQUULANUM. Appian mentions Aequulanum in the country of the Hirpini. De Bel. Civil. lib. I.

ALATRI and FERENTINO. At both theſe towns part of the old walls are ſtill ſtanding, the "opus reticulatum incertum."

ALBA is near the Lacus Fucinus. "Extat adhuc apud recentem Albam "veterum forma caſtrorum quadratis muris, quae adhuc ſtativa mili-"tum indicet:" Donatus, lib. III. cap. xii. Theſe Caſtra are mentioned by ſeveral authors. "Viſum eſt militibus iis quorum ad urbem "Romam ſub monte Albano caſtra erant, atque in his liberi eorum con-"jugesque relictae, neci dedere Maximinum:" Herodian. lib. VIII. "Timentes milites quorum affectus in Albano monte erant:" Junius Capitolinus in Vitâ Maximini. Ad portam rectà properavit Anto-"nius, et inde porro Albam, verbis, ut putabat, milites reducturus ad "officium.

" officium. Sed cùm peteretur telis è moenibus retroceſſit :" Appian, De Bell. Civil. lib. III. " Quaſi milites quoſdam ex iis coegiſſet, qui " ſtipendia faciebant in Albano :" Dion ſive Xiphilis in Heliogab. " Pars militum apud Albam Getam occiſum acerrimè accepit. Clauſis- " que portis diu imperator non admiſſus ; niſi delinitis animis, non ſo- " lum querelis de Getâ et criminationibus editis, ſed enormitate ſtipendii " militibus (ut ſolet) placatis; atque inde Romam rediit." Spartian. in Anton. Carac.

" L. Genutio, Sex. Cornelio Coſſ. Soram atque Albam coloniae de- " ductae: Albam in Equos VI M. Colonorum ſcripta:" Liv. lib. X. "Par- " vum quoddam oppidulum Romani olim in Aequanis munierant, Albam- " que de metropolis ſuae nomine appellaverant." Appian, in Hannib.

" Maximè mediterranea Latinas inter urbes eſt Alba, Marſis fini- " tima, in ſublimi ſcopulo poſita :" Strab. lib. V. " Splendidiſſima " Albae rudera, totusque moeniorum ambitus etiamnum viſuntur :" Fabretti Col. Traj. p. 407. " Non ſolum in pluribus viarum Conſula- " rium marginationibus et ſubſtructionibus, atque in parte moeniorum " Praeneſtinae urbis alibique veſtigia antiqui reticulati operis (quod à " Vitruvio incertum dicitur) remanent; ſed totus et integer Albae ad " lacum Fucinum murorum ambitus in eam ſpeciem conſtructus ho- " diéque viſitur ; ita ut viam ſilice ſtratam, non in planam jacentem " ſed erectam videre putes ; niſi quod lapides viarum ſemper hexagoni " (praeter exteriores et margines contingentes, qui pentagoni) iſti om- " nino incerti, et in angulorum numero variantes inter ſe coagmen- " tantur." Fabretti, De Col. Traj. who gives a draught of this ſort of building, cap. vii. p. 229.

I ſaw at Alba great remains of the old walls built of prodigious ſtones, " opus reticulatum incertum ;" it appears that the town in moſt places was ſecured by a triple circuit of walls in terraces one above another, as the ſlope of the hill required or could admit of it. On the top of the hill is the church of a convent, in which are ſixteen beautiful Corinthian pillars fluted: this, in all probability, was formerly a temple ; on the ſide of the hill of Alba riſes a fine ſpring, called now Feronica, which ſerves the preſent town.

ALBULA. That this was a ſtinking place appears from Martial.

" Quod ſiccae redolet palus lacunae
" Crudarum nebulae quod Albularum," etc.

Lib. IV. Epiſt. iv.

merly

ALGIDUM. At the further end of the Alban or Tuſculan hills, where the Via Latina begins to deſcend towards the plain, there is a narrow paſs cut between the rocks, and juſt above the road on the left a very ſteep round hill, on which, it is probable, was the caſtle of Algidum, and in the rock, on the ſide of the road, are many grottas, uſed, perhaps, formerly for houſes according to the ancient cuſtom. This place is now called, Cave del Aglio, probably by corruption from Algidum.

ALPES COTTIAE. This paſſage was from Turin by Suza (Seguſio) and Brianzon (Brigantio) to Eburunum, or Eburudunum, now Embrun. It took its name from Cottius a prince of the country, who opened or rather mended that road, and made it more commodious in the Time of Auguſtus, according to Marcellinus, who gives a particular deſcription of the road, lib. V.

ALPES GRAIAE. This paſſage was from Auguſta Praetoria, now Aoſta, over the little St. Bernard, called formerly Alpe Graia, and ſometimes Cremonis Jugum, to the Tarentaiſe (Darantaſia) on the Iſere, the country of the Centrones. The name was ſuppoſed to have been given to the Graiae Alpes from the fiction of Hercules's paſſage. Yet the Poets generally make him paſs along the ſea coaſts. However as the name of the Cottiae Alpes came, as aforeſaid, from Cottius, it may be that before that time the whole tract of the mountains towards Gaul was known by the name of Graiae quite to the ſea.

ALPES PENNINAE. This paſſage was from Auguſta Praetoria aforeſaid, over the great St. Bernard, called Summum Penninum by the way of Octodorus, now Martinach, and Viviſco (Vevay) to Minnodunum, now Milden, and thence to Aventicum Helvetiorum, now Avences, in Switz. This paſſage was ſo called, as Livy teſtifies, "ab eo (ſc. "Deo) quem in ſummo ſacratum vertice Veragri incolae jugi ejus "Penninum appellant," lib. XXI. This mountain was afterwards called Mons Jovis, and now Monte Jove, as well as St. Bernard. It was likewiſe ſometimes falſely called Poeninus, and ſuppoſed to have been Hannibal's paſſage into Italy, and from thence to have taken its name. But Livy declares poſitively, in the place aforeſaid, that this

was

was not the way which Hannibal took, nor the occaſion of the name. Yet notwithſtanding the poſitive aſſertion of Livy, many authors, who wrote after him, fell into the ſame miſtake as thoſe who had wrote before, being deceived by the reſemblance of the name and ſound. So Pliny: "Salaſſorum, inquit, Auguſta Praetoria, juxta geminas Al-" pium fauces, Graias atque Poeninas. His Poenos, Graiis Herculem " tranſiſſe memorant," lib. III. cap. xvii. Iſidorus falls into the ſame miſtake; Orig. lib. XIV. cap. viii. And it appears by Senius, and Paulus Diaconus that it was the common opinion. Strabo gives this account of the Graiae and Penninae Alpes: "Salaſſorum regio," not the country of the Veloſtains, "magnâ quidem ex parte in profundâ " eſt convalle, montibus utrinque eam includentibus: pars vero quaedam " eorum etiam ad ſupernè imminentes protenditur vertices. Qui igitur " ex Italiâ profecti montes eos tranſcendere cupiunt, iis iter eſt per eam " vallem. Mox in duas ſcinditur vias, quarum altera per Poeninum " fert jugum, jumentis inacceſſa, quà ſummitas eſt Alpium: altera " per Centrones magis occidua eſt," lib. IV. Again, he ſays afterwards; "Tranſitus ex Italiâ in Galliam ulteriorem et ſeptentrionales " regiones, qui per Salaſſos eſt, Lugdunum ducit; eſtque duplex. Alter " curribus etiam pervius, itinere longiore, per Centrones: alter per " Paeninum montem brevior, ſed idem adclivis et anguſtus."

It appears from Regino Chronic. lib. II. that the Alpe Pennina was in after times called Mons Jovis: for, ſpeaking of Rudolfus, anno 888, taking poſſeſſion of the Alpes Penninae, he afterwards, anno 894, calls the ſame Montem Jovis. Quaer. If this mountain, which is eſteemed the higheſt of all the Alpes, was not called from Pen, which, in the old Britiſh language, ſignifies *Head*, and is a common name given to mountains in Wales and Bretagne? Quaer. If not of the ſame ſignification in the language of the Celtae, the inhabitants of this country? If ſo, it is probable that the Deity, worſhiped on this mountain under the name of Penninus, was the chief or higheſt God, from whence, in proceſs of time, when the people of this country became acquainted with the worſhip of the Roman Deities, the ſame mountain was called Mons Jovis.

Cluver has a long chapter to prove that Hannibal's paſſage was over the Alpes Penninae according to Polybius's account, and in oppoſition to Livy, whoſe relation of Hannibal's march he entirely rejects as falſe, contradictory, and inconſiſtent.

ALSIUM.

ALSIUM. Rufus Virginius, who is much celebrated by Pliny, had a villa here, which he uſed to call, "ſenectutis ſuae nidulum." And here likewiſe was his monument. See Plin. VI. Epiſt. x.

ALTINUM. "In ſiniſtrâ Silis fluvii (now Sele) ripâ, haud procul oſtio, "reliquiae extant praeclari pontis:" Cluverius, p. 161. This he ſuppoſes to have been the ſituation of the old Altinum. See Martial about Altinum, Aquileia, Podona, and the country near the Po, lib. III. Ep. lxvii. and lib. IV. Ep. xxv.

AMASENO. About two miles from Veroli, northward among the mountains, is a little church called Santa Maria d'Amaſeno near the riſe of a ſmall brook, Amaſeno (which is undoubtedly the Amaſene Pater of Virgil, lib. VII. 687.): this fountain never fails in the hotteſt weather, is very clear, and abundant, and eſteemed an excellent water. It runs to the Garigliano, through a very fruitful vale abounding in corn, wine, and oil. This ſtream in the maps is falſely named Strangola Gallo, from a town of that name, where riſes another brook which paſſes into the Amaſeno. I paſſed the Caſamara about midway between Veroli and Iſola, four miles from each. Caſamara was an ancient convent, and was one of the largeſt in Italy, the church is a large Gothic ſtructure, and the cloyſters, moſt part of which are ſtill ſtanding, very beautiful, ſupported by ſmall twiſted pillars of white marble, according to the neateſt Gothic taſte. This convent being diſſolved, and the lands held at preſent by Card. Albani, is now in part refitting up at his expence, being given to the Fathers of the order of La Trappe; there were about fourteen Fathers there, moſt, if not all ſtrangers, that is, Florentins, Milaneze or Venetians, and ſome French: the Biſhop of Tivoli, who, I think, is a Milaneze, was one of the number, and conformed to their rule.

AMITERNUM. About four or five miles from Aquila are the ruins of the old Amiternum. The greateſt part of the city, or at leaſt the ſuburbs, ſeems to have been on the plain, having the river Aterno, which there is very ſmall, running through the middle of it: over the river is ſtill remaining entire a bridge of one arch, built of vaſt ſtones of a coarſe marble. This was indiſputably a Roman work. Another

bridge was pulled down, as we were informed, for the ſake of the ſtones, a few years ago. Part of the old Via Selcicata is ſtill to be ſeen leading to this bridge, and appears in a ſtrait line for a great length, I believe a mile, this being the road leading to the town from Rome by Rieti. About a muſquet ſhot from the river's ſide are the ruins of an amphitheatre, the entire circuit of which is ſtill to be ſeen: it was ſmall and built of brick, all the arches turned with the large long brick. In one part, where the outward wall is ſtill remaining, I obſerved the Opus Reticulatum; ſo that, without doubt, the outſide was all built in that manner. This town was ſecured by a ſteep hill, which hangs juſt over it, and has two heads, on the lower of which is a church called St. Vittorino, in which are ſeveral old capitals, and pieces of broken pillars. On the upper hill are the ruins of the old fortifications: the aſcent is very ſteep. The plain between this place and Aquila is very fruitful, and well watered by ſeveral ſprings breaking out from the foot of the mountains: the plain bears excellent corn, and the bread made from it is eſteemed the beſt in Italy, and, as we were told, is often carried from Aquila to Rome and Naples, tho' ſo far diſtant. The country near Aquila is very well inhabited, having abundance of villages on each ſide of the mountains, and the people generally very ſtrong ſturdy men, great quantity of ſaffron growing near Aquila. The road leading from Aquila to Popoli was certainly the ancient Roman road: it was very ſtrait, and ſeems to have been raiſed moſt part of the way, though naturally very firm. It is reckoned twenty-two miles from one to the other, and all good and level, except the three laſt miles towards Popoli, where the road leads over a hill, the deſcent of which is very ſteep. About midway between Aquila and Popoli, on an open plain, are the ruins of a pretty large town, which, we were informed, was formerly Auſidonia. About four miles from Aquila, the road from the Lacus Fucinus, we paſſed through a place called Bagna, where are ſeveral ruins, ſuppoſed to be of the old Forconium: it ſtands pleaſantly on the ſide of the mountains, overlooking the vale of Aquila. I could not find that there are any baths there, which ſhould give occaſion to its preſent name. The ſide of the mountains thereabouts is covered with vineyards.

AMPHITHEATRE. See CAPUA, POLA.

ANAGNI ſtands on a hill about thirty-ſeven miles from Rome to the left of the Via Latina. The hill is fruitful in wine and oil, and the plain below towards the river Sacco is an excellent corn country, but the mountains to the back of the hill towards the north bare rocks only, according to Virgil's deſcription.

ANNA PERENNA. Martial mentions this place to be ſeen from Martial's gardens, which certainly ſtood on the ſide of Monte Mario, near Villa Madama.

" Hinc ſeptem dominos videre montes,
" Et totam licet aeſtimare Romam,
" Albanos quoque Tuſculosque colles,
" Et quodcunque jacet ſub urbe frigus,
" Fidenas veteres, brevesque Rubras,
" Et, quod virgineo cruore gaudet,
" Annae pomiferum nemus Perannae." Lib. IV. Ep. lxiv.

Ovid, ſpeaking of the feaſt of Anna Perenna, ſays, it was kept on the ides of March, and near the banks of the Tyber.

" Idibus eſt Annae feſtum geniale Perennae,
" Non procul à ripis, advena Tybri, tuis."
Faſt. lib. III. ver. 523.

In the ſame place he ſays, that ſhe was a branch of the Numicius, or a brook running into that river, and hints that it was never dry.

" Corniger hanc tumidis rapuiſſe Numicius undis
" Creditur, et ſtagnis occuluiſſe ſuis.
" Ipſa loqui viſa eſt; placidi ſum Nympha Numicî:
" Amne perenne latens Anna Perenna vocor." Ver. 647.

Again, a few verſes after, he gives another account of the name, by which it ſeems probable that the brook which runs by Bovillae was called the Anna Perenna.

" Orta ſuburbanis quaedam fuit Anna bovillis," etc. Ver. 667.

Near to the Numicius was the Lucus Jovis Indigetis, mentioned by Dionyſius Hal. lib. I. And Aurelius Victor, De Orig. Gent. Rom. ſays; " Illi [Aeneae] eo loco templum conſecratum, adpellarique placuit Deum " Indigetem," pag. 16. And Tibullus ſays to Aeneas:

" Illic ſanctus eris, quum te, venerande Numici,
" Unda Deum caelo miſerit Indigetem." Lib. II. El. v.

Silius Italicus places the brook of Anna Perenna in the Laurentin marſhes. In the beginning of the VIIIth book, when Juno ſpeaks to her, the Poet ſays:

" Accitam ſtagnis Laurentibus Annam
" Affatur."

And a little after relates how ſhe was changed into a fountain falling into the Numicius:

" Haud procul hinc parvo deſcendens fonte Numicus
" Labitur, et leni per valles volvitur amne."

And afterwards:

" Numicius illam
" Suſcepit gremio."

This near the grove ſacred to Aeneas by the name of Deus Indiges.

" Diva Indigetis ſacris contermina lucis." Sil. ibid.

Silius ſays, her feaſt was obſerved all over Italy, and in the beginning of the year.

" Ex illo primis anni celebrata diebus
" Per totam Auſoniam venerando numine culta eſt." Lib. VIII.

ANTEMNAE was one of the neareſt towns to old Rome. Strabo, ſpeaking of the firſt building of Rome, obſerves: " Romulum et Remum " urbem Romam condidiſſe loco non tam delectu quam neceſſitate capto. " Nam neque munitus naturâ erat, neque ſolum habebat proprium et " quod urbi ſufficeret, neque homines qui incolerent. Nam qui " tum circa ea loca erant, ii pro ſe quique ſeorſum habitabant, " muros urbis Romae quae tum condebatur attingentes, neque Albanos " admodum curabant. Erant Collatia, Antemnae, Fidenae, Λαβινον." (Quaere, What place this means? Lavinium, as it is tranſlated, would be at too great a diſtance; beſides, Strabo calls Lavinium Λαζινιον) " aliaque id genus tunc oppida, nunc pagi, privatorum domicilia, xxx " aut xl à Româ ſtadiis. Sanè inter quintum et ſextum à Româ lapidem " locus eſt Feſti: hunc tradunt eo tempore finem agri Romani fuiſſe, " et hodieque ibi, aliisque in locis qui limites ſint, ſacerdotes ſacrificium " peragunt, quod Ambervalia dicitur." Strab. lib. V. Virgil calls Antemnae Turrigerae, and reckons it one of the five cities, which wrought arms

arms to oppoſe Aeneas; from whence it is probable that it ſtood upon the water, and had the conveniency of mills.

APPIA. The Via Appia was continued from Sinueſſa to Baiae by Domitian, and from Beneventum to Brunduſium by Trajan. One of theſe works was probably under the direction of one Macer, as appears from Martial, who, ſending his book to him, ſays:

"Appia, quid facies, ſi leget iſta Macer?" Lib. X. Ep. xvii.

AQUILA. See AMITERNUM.

AQUILEIA. Nothing is remaining there, but broken pillars and fragments of ſculpture in a bad taſte: a ſmall river called Natiſa runs through the town, and the Amphora, a much larger river, able to carry veſſels of good burden juſt without the town.

ARCHES. See TRIESTE, POLA.

ARDEA. That this was eſteemed a very unhealthy place in hot weather, ſee Martial:

"Ardea ſolſtitio Caſtranaque rura petantur." Lib. IV. Ep. lx.

By Caſtrana rura is ſuppoſed to be meant Caſtrum.

AREZZO. Vitruvius, ſpeaking of ſtrong brick buildings, celebrates "Vetuſtum Aretii egregie factum murum," lib. II. cap. viii.

ARICIA. Aricinus Clivus was a famous ſtation for beggars.

"Debet Aricino conviva recumbere clivo,
"Quem tua felicem, Zoïle, coena facit."
Martial, lib. II. Ep. xix.

And again:

"Migrare clivum crederes Aricinum." Lib. XII. Ep. xxxii.

ASSISI. See TEMPLES.

ATELLA. About ſeven miles from Naples and two from Averſa, on the right hand of the road leading from Naples to Capona, are the veſtiges of the old Atella, ſtill retaining the ancient name. The ditch, which

which encompaſſed the town, is very viſible quite round, and in ſome places the foundation of the walls appears, and the depth of the ditch is ſo great, that the country people, not knowing what it was, ſuppoſe that it was formerly the channel of the Vulturnus, or Capona river. On the ſide of the old town are the ruins of a large building, which probably was a temple: it was built of brick, and faced with ſmall ſquare ſtones ſet edgeways, called Opus reticulatum. Theſe ruins are ſtill called Atella. Near this ſpot, but without the ditch, is a convent called Santa Maria d'Atella, and a village called Pomigliano d'Atella. The country all round is very fruitful.

ATINA. Martial mentions this place:

" Quo cive priſca gloriatur Atina." Lib. X. Ep. xcii.

Silius Italicus, reckoning up the forces of Italy, ranges it in company with Sora, Fabretaria, Sueſſa, and Fruſino; and places it in a mountainous country.

" Nec monte nivoſo
" Deſcendens Atina aberat." Lib. VIII. ver. 398.

And ſee Cicero Pro Cn. Plancio. " Hujus praefectura (Atina) plena " virorum fortiſſimorum, ſic ut nulla totâ frequentior dici poſſit."

AVERNUS LACUS. Virgil calls it,

" Averna ſonantia ſilvis." Aen. III. 442.

Ariſtotle, in Admirandis, ſpeaking of it, ſays; " Circumpoſitis undi- " quaque et ſupernè incumbentibus denſiſſimis ſylvis." Strabo aſſerts the ſame very particularly: " Includitur Avernus ſuperciliis rectà ſurſum " adſurgentibus, et undique praeterquam in aditu imminentibus: nunc " quidem culturâ elaboratis. At olim ſylva circumdabat inacceſſa et " magnarum arborum, quae ad ſuperſtitionem uſque ipſum ſinum obum- " brabat. Addita eſt ab incolis fabula; nempe aves quae ſupervolarent " in aquam decidere exanimatas aëris exhalatione, quemadmodum in " locis fieri ſolet Plutoniis." Lib. V. This wood was afterwards cut down by Agrippa, as appears from Strabo and others. Strabo gives the following account: " Qui nos aetate anteceſſerunt, Necyae Ho- " mericae fabulam Averno adplicuerunt. Atque adeo narrant, fuiſſe " ibi oraculum ubi vitâ defuncti reſponſa darent. Eoque Ulyſſem per- " veniſſe.

" veniſſe. Atque hunc locum Plutoni dicatum arbitrabantur. Et Cim-
" merios hic habitare traditum fuiſſe. Ac qui intro navigabant, prius
" ſacrificiis placabant Genios ſubterraneos: quum eſſent ſacerdotes, qui
" conducto iſto loco hujuſmodi ſacra docebant adminiſtrabantque. Ibidem
" et fons eſt aquae potabilis ad ipſum mare, ſed eâ omnes abſtinent,
" Stygis aquam eſſe putantes. Ibidemque alicubi et oraculum erat. Et
" Pyri Phlegethontem ex aquis calidis Acheruſiae vicinis exiſtimant haec
" eſſe. At Ephorus, Cimmeriis locum hunc attribuens, hos habitare tradit
" in ſubterraneis aedificiis, quas argillas vocant; ac per cuniculos quoſ-
" dam inter ſe commeare, hoſpitesque eâdem viâ adora culum perducere,
" altè infra terram conditum; victum partim metallis effodiendis quae-
" rere, partim ab iis accipere qui oraculum conſulunt. Regemque iis
" conſtituiſſe eo nomine ſtipendium. Caeterum qui apud oraculum
" iſtud degant, eos, more ab majoribus accepto, nunquam videre ſolem;
" ſed noctu ex hiatibus terrae prodire. Eoque Homerum ita de iis ce-
" ciniſſe. Neque unquam eos ſol lucidus adſpicit. Poſtea vero tem-
" poris Cimmerios fuiſſe deletos à rege quodam cujus eventa oraculum
" non comprobaſſent. Sedem autem oraculi alio tranſlatam etiamnum
" durare. Atque talia quidem fabulati ſunt, qui aetatem noſtram prae-
" ceſſerunt. Noſtra vero tempeſtate quum ſylvam, quae circa Avernum
" fuit, excidiſſet Agrippa, et loca aedificiis occupata eſſent, actusque
" ab Averno Cumas uſque cuniculus, omnia iſta fabulas eſſe liquido
" adparuit. Cocceio, qui cuniculum iſtum egit, et alium a Puteolis ad
" Neapolim ſupra Baias tendentem (επι νεαν πολιν εκ Δικαιαρχιας επι ταις
" Βαιαις) praedictam fabulam quodammodo de Cimmeriis ſequente; ac
" fortaſſe etiam arbitrante loco huic antiquâ ex conſuetudine convenire,
" ut per cuniculos viae ducantur."

Virgil gives the name Avernus or Avernum to the Grotta (now called Sibyl's) as well as to the lake, and makes the ſtench riſe chiefly from thence; and more than once names Averna in the plural.

" Averna ſonantia ſylvis." Aen. III. 442.

" Averna per alta
" Congreſſus pete, nate, meos." Aen. V. 732.

And particularly of the Grotta:

" Spelunca alta fuit, vaſtoque immanis hiatu,
" Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro, nemorumque tenebris;
" Quam ſuper haud ullae poterant impune volantes
" Tendere iter pennis; talis ſeſe halitus atris
" Faucibus

" Faucibus effundens ſupera ad convexa ferebat;
" Unde locum Graii dixerunt nomine Avernum." Aen. VI. 242.

And again, ſpeaking of the doves;

" Inde ubi venêre ad fauces graveolentis Averni,
" Tollunt ſe celeres, liquidum per aëra lapſae." VI. 201.

Liquidum is very properly added in oppoſition to Graveolens.

" Tunc et peſtiferi pacatum limen Averni,
" Innocuae, tranſiſtis, aves." Claudian, De raptu Proſerp. lib. II.

Cluver obſerves, that the lake ſeems to have taken its name from the Grotta. " Ab antri hujus nomine lacus cognomen accepit Averni. " Nam, haud ſemel apud auctores lacus Averni vocatur." He quotes Cicero, Livy, etc. Maximus Tyrius; " Erat et in Italiae Magnâ " Graeciâ, non procul à lacu Averno antrum fatidicum, cui homines " praeerant, qui ab animarum evocatione, quae illic fiebat, nomen ha- " bebant. Huc qui conſulendi oraculi cauſâ veniſſet, precibus conceptis, " caeſâ victimâ, libaminibusque rite effuſis, cujuſcunque vellet ſive pa- " rentem ſive amicorum umbram ciebat. Quo facto prodibat tenuis " anima, nec viſu facilis nec cognitu: quae tamen et voce praedita eſſet " et vaticinandi peritiâ. Poſtquam autem reſponſa de iis quae quaere- " bantur reddidiſſet, diſparebat. Hoc oraculum noviſſe mihi videtur " Homerus; ſuumque eò deduxiſſe Ulyſſem." Diſſertat. xxvi.

Cluver is entirely of this opinion, that the Lacus Avernus was the place to which Homer brings Ulyſſes. Ital. p. 1131, etc. Cicero mentions the fictions of raiſing the dead at the Lacus Avernus; for treating, in his Tuſculan Queſtions, De Inferorum conditione, and the errors thereupon, he concludes, " inde Homeri tota νεκυια, inde ea quam meus " amicus Appius νεκρομαντεια faciebat. Inde in viciniâ noſtrâ Averni " lacus.

" Unde animae excitantur obſcurâ umbrâ, aperto oſtio
" Alti Acherontis, falſo ſanguine, imagines mortuorum." Lib. I. xvi.

BAIAE. Pliny, ſpeaking of two Villas which he had near the Lago di Como, one of them cloſe to the ſhore of the lake, the other on the top of the mountain between the two branches of the lake, compares them to the Villas at Baiae; ſome of which were built cloſe to the ſhore, or on the ſide of the lakes Lucrinus or Avernus; others on the top of the mountain

mountain between old Baiae and Cumae, which I have obſerved in another place was called by Strabo the new town, Νεα Πολις. And it is probable that, in time of the Roman luxury, ſome of their great men had their Villas at both for change of air. " Altera impoſita ſaxis, more Baiano, " lacum proſpicit: altera, aequè more Baiano, lacum tangit. Itaque " illam Tragoediam, hanc appellare Comoediam ſoleo: illam quod quaſi " cothurnis, hanc quod quaſi ſocculis ſuſtinetur." Lib. IX. Epiſt. vii. Camillus Pellegrinus in his Campania endeavours to ſolve the following difficult paſſage in Strabo: επι νεαν πολιν εκ Δικαιαρχιας επι ταις Βαιαις. He obſerves very well that νεαν πολιν is writ in two words, and therefore that it does not neceſſarily mean in this place the city of Naples, but only a new town; and ſuppoſes that Strabo is there ſpeaking not of the Grotta Pauſilypo near Naples, but of another under-ground in the way leading from Puteoli to, or towards, the new town above or near Baiae. Sebaſtiano Bartoli makes ſeveral objections (I think very idle ones) to this interpretation of Pellegrini, and attempts to ridicule it in his Thermologia Aragonia, tom. II. p. 23. But, in ſupport of this opinion of Pellegrini, it may be obſerved, that about Baiae there was a new town begun before Strabo wrote, and ſtill encreaſing in his time. For he himſelf, ſpeaking of Baiae afterwards, in another place, ſays: " Alia " enim ibi urbs condita eſt Imperatore alio ſuper alium magnificentius," etc. And Joſephus thus: " Apud Baias nova urbs conſtruitur, non " minor Puteolis, aliis ſubinde ſupra alias Regiis villis ibi aedificatis." The ſame author, in another place, ſpeaking of this territory, ſays: " Ubi Palatia ſunt ſplendidiſſima, dum Imperatorum quisque ſuperiorem " vincere contendit magnificentia: invitantibus eò lavacris calidis, ſponte " è terrâ ſcaturientibus, tam ad ſarciendam corporum valitudinem, quam " ad animos otio relaxandos:" Lib. XIX. cap. i. Dio, ſpeaking of Caligula's bridge, mentions this new town of Baiae, lib. LIX. See Pellegrini, pag. 757.

The air of Baiae formerly was not reckoned healthy, till the great men building Villas there brought it into reputation. Cicero, in one of his Epiſtles, ſeems to hint at this change, and writes merrily to Dolabella on this occaſion. " Gratulor Baiis noſtris, ſiquidem, ut ſcribis, " ſalubres repente factae ſunt: niſi forte te amant et tibi aſſentantur, " et tam diu dum ades, ſunt oblitae ſui. Quod quidem ſi ita eſt, mi- " nimè miror caelum etiam et terras vim ſuam, ſi tibi ita conveniat, di- " mittere:" Epiſt. Famil. lib. IX. xii. See Propertius, lib. I. Eleg. xi.

Baiae is called by Joſephus a little town, ſpeaking of Agrippa's ſervant bringing letters there to Caeſar, lib. XVIII. cap. ix. et cap. xiv. "Baias contingit Lucrinus lacus:" Strabo. The ſame author, ſpeaking of the name of Puteoli, ſays thus: "Alii a foetore aquarum totam "iſtam regionem ſic dici cenſent ad Baias uſque et Agrum Cumanum." Lib. V.

BAULI. This place lay between Baiae and Miſenum. And though the diſtance between Baiae and Bauli muſt be very ſmall, yet it is to be queſtioned whether there was any paſſing from one to the other by land, at leaſt without ſome difficulty, by reaſon of the rock projecting between them. For it ſeems probable, from an Epigram in Martial, lib. IV. Ep. lxiii. and from the famous ſtory of Agrippina, Nero's mother, that the uſual way of going was by water.

AD BIVIUM. A place ſo called from the conjunction of the Via Latina and Labicana; now Grotta di St. Hilario, where are ſeveral paſſages cut in a rock with niches for coffins, four or five one above another, which probably ſerved formerly for catacombs or burial-place for the little town, which ſtood here at the meeting of the two roads. Beſides this place Ad Bivium, Strabo mentions another place, where the ſame roads met, which he calls Ad Pictas: which may be thus accounted for. I obſerved, as I travelled the Via Latina, that a little beyond the Oſteria of Cave degl' Aglio the road divided, that to the right going in a ſtrait line towards St. Hilario above mentioned, the other inclining to the left goes for Valmontone. Having travelled a few miles on this latter road in my way to Valmontone, I croſſed the Via Labicana, and obſerved there ſome ruins, which I take to be Strabo's Ad Pictas. N. B. Valmontone does not ſtand on the Via Labicana, but near a mile to the left of it. They reckon twenty-four miles from Rome to Valmontone, and two and half from thence to St. Hilario.

CAECUBUM "quidem, locus paluſtris, vitem arboream alit, cujus vinum "eſt praeſtantiſſimum." Strab. lib. V.

CAERE. "Olim Agylla uſurpatur, quae nunc Caere; ferturque con-"dita à Pelaſgis, qui è Theſſaliâ venerant; quos cum Lydi, qui Tyrrheni "dicti ſunt, bello petiiſſent, etc. urbi captae nomen Caere feciſſe." Strabo, lib. V. "Hodie urbis tam ſplendidae quondam et clarae tantum "reſtant

" reſtant rudera. Magis frequentantur Thermae vicinae Caeretanae:" Ibid. Pliny mentions " Caeretanus amnis, et ipſum Caere intus M. paſſ. IV. Agylla à Pelaſgis conditoribus dictum."

CAIAZZO. See CAPUA.

CAPENATES. Livy often mentions theſe people, particularly lib. V. where they join with the Faliſci to attack the Romans, when they beſieged Veii. Yet I don't find that he names any ſtrong town of theirs, which the Romans ever beſieged: but when the Roman tribunes Valerius and Servilius had depopulated their country, they ſued for peace, which was granted them. Cap. xxiv.

CAPUA old. Amphitheatre. had heads carved over each arch of the lower order. ſmall remains of a Theatre. a Cryptoportico between the Theatre and Amphitheatre, which is now uſed as a ſtable for the German horſe. It is reputed capable of holding ſix hundred. About two miles from Capua, on the road to Caiazzo, are the ruins of an old bridge over the Vulturnus: near it is now a ferry. Between the river and the mountains, formerly called Tifata, is a plain called the plain of Sarzano, which lies in the form of a bow, of which the river is the ſtring, and the mountains encompaſs all the circular part. The entrance of this plain from the ſide of Capua is very narrow, and has a fine fountain breaking out at the foot of the hill of St. Nicolo (as it is now called from a chapel and hermitage on the top of it): adjoining to the fountain are ſome remains of an old building. At the other end of the plain, at about three miles diſtance, the outlet between the mountains and the river is ſo narrow, that in ſome places two horſes can ſcarce paſs one another. At the foot of the mountain there, ſeveral beautiful ſprings break out with ſuch abundance of water, that they immediately ſerve to turn four mills. Theſe laſt mentioned fountains are called by the millers Aqua di Morrone, from an old caſtle on the hill above: but a country fellow told me, that among them they are commonly called Fontane Janara (Janara in their language ſignifies a Witch). Quaer. If this may not be a corruption from Diana, who had probably a temple thereabouts? Beſides the fountains already mentioned there, a little brook runs through the middle of the plain, which riſes on the ſide of the hill, and divides the plain in two. The ſides of the mountains are covered with wood. This plain is ſuppoſed to have been one of Hannibal's camps. Its natural circumvallation, the advantage it has of

wood and water, and its nearneſs to Campania for the ſupply of all neceſſary proviſions, made it very convenient for that purpoſe. At the foot of the hill of St. Nicolo towards the Campania, and near the road leading from old Capua to the old bridge aforeſaid, is an old convent called St. Angelo; where they ſay there are ſeveral antiquities.

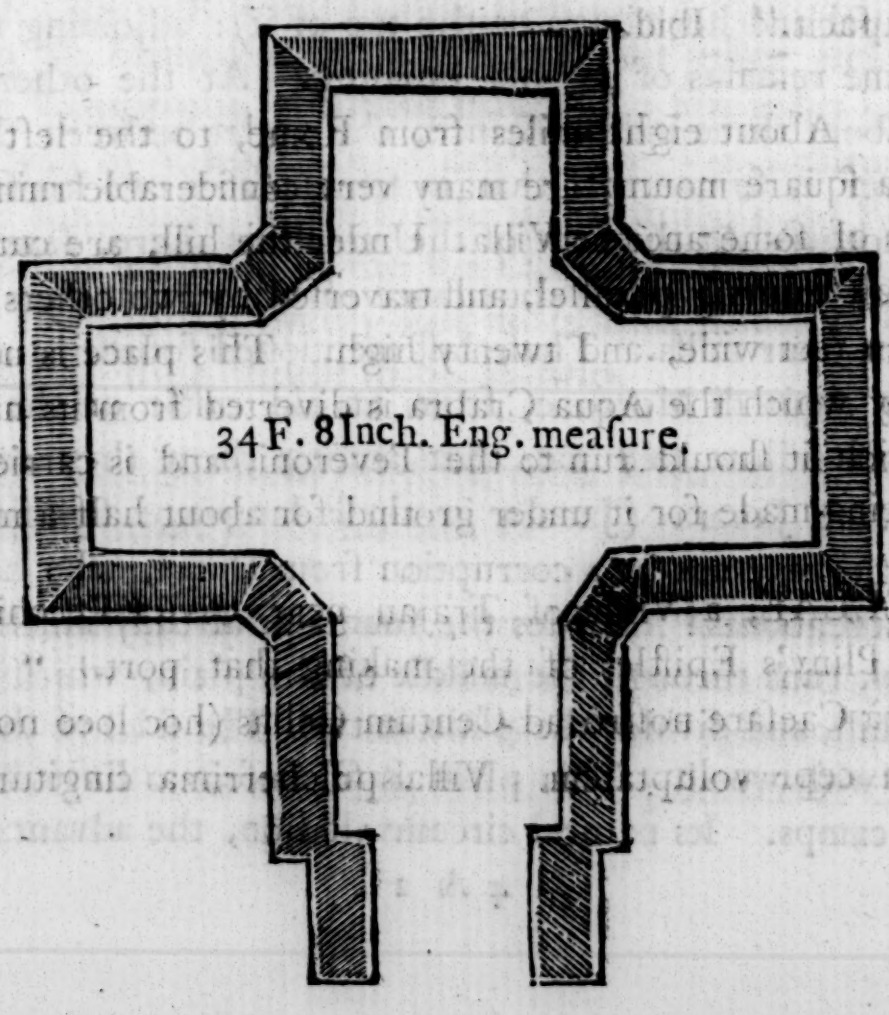
Caiazzo ſtands on a hill overlooking the plain of Sarzano, and the plain on the oppoſite ſide of the river. The direct road from Caiazzo to Benevento lies through a place called Frafca.

CARSEOLI. "Eodem anno (i. e. L. Corn. Scipione, Cn. Fulvio Coſſ.) "Carſeolos colonia in Aequicolorum deducta." Liv. lib. X.

CASAMARA. See AMASENO.

CASPERIA. Vibius Sequeſter ſays: "Himella Sabinorum prope Caſperiam urbem." Q. If not now Aſpra?

CASSINUM. At the foot of Monte Caſſino ſtood the old Caſſinum, of which there are ſeveral remains; among the reſt, a Coloſſeo, as they call it, having ſeats made on the ſlope of the hill, as Vitruvius directs. This probably was a Theatre or Amphitheatre for ſpectacles, not for fighting of beaſts, being too ſmall for the purpoſe. Juſt above the Coloſſeo is a Rotunda, with wings like a Greek croſs, built of ſtones of a prodigious ſize as here repreſented.



34 F. 8 Inch. Eng. meaſure.

N. B.

N.B. The Sepulchre of Galla Placidia, etc. at Ravenna, is not unlike this; perhaps this might be deſigned for the ſame uſe by ſome great man in the time of primitive Chriſtianity. It is almoſt buried under ground.

Where the famous monaſtery of Monte Caſſino now ſtands was formerly a temple of Apollo, as is evident from Strabo. The piece of a porphyry pillar of above four feet diameter, which ſtill lies there, belonged to that temple.

CASTRO. See IL PORTO.

CASTRUM JUNI. See ARDEA.

CENINENSES. Livy reckons theſe people and the Cruſtumni and Antemnates among the neareſt neighbours to Rome. "Romulus ſpectaculum jubet. Multi mortales convenere ſtudio etiam videndae novae urbis; maximè proximi quique, Ceninenſes, Cruſtumini, Antemnates. Jam Sabinorum omnis multitudo cum liberis ac conjugibus venit:" Liv. lib. I. And again, after the rape of the Sabines, he adds: "Ceninenſes, Cruſtuminique et Antemnates erant ad quos ejus injuriae pars pertinebat; lentè iis agere Tatius Sabinique viſi ſunt. Ipſi inter ſe tres populi communiter bellum parant. Nec Cruſtumini quidem atque Antemnates pro ardore irâque Ceninenſium ſatis ſe impigrè movent. Ita per ſe ipſum nomen Ceninum in agrum Romanum impetum facit." Ibid.

CENTRONI. About eight miles from Rome, to the left of the Via Latina, on a ſquare mount, are many very conſiderable ruins, probably the remains of ſome ancient Villa. Under the hill, are cut nine ſtreets of Grottas all running parallel, and traverſed by two others, each ſtreet about fifteen feet wide, and twenty high. This place is near the lock or ſluice, by which the Aqua Crabra is diverted from its natural channel, by which it ſhould run to the Teveroni, and is carried to Rome; a paſſage being made for it under ground for about half a mile.

CENTUMCELLAE, a Villa of Trajan near Civita Vecchia. See an account in Pliny's Epiſtles of the making that port. "Evocatus in conſilium à Caeſare noſtro ad Centum Cellas (hoc loco nomen) longè maximum cepi voluptatem. Villa pulcherrima cingitur viridiſſimis agris:

" agris: immînet littori, cujus in ſinu quam maximus portus, velut Am-
" phitheatrum. Hujus ſiniſtrum brachium firmiſſimo opere munitum
" eſt, dextrum elaboratur: in ore portûs inſula aſſurgit," etc. Lib. VI. Epiſt. xxxi.

CICERO'S VILLA, at Puzzuolo. " Digna memoratu villa eſt ab Averno
" lacu Puteolos tendentibus, impoſita littori, celebratâ porticu ac nemore,
" quam et vocabat M. Cicero Academiam, ab exemplo Athenarum, ibi
" compoſitis voluminibus ejuſdem nominis, in quâ et monumentum ſibi
" inſtauraverat, ceu vero non et toto terrarum orbe feciſſet. Hujus in
" parte primâ exiguo poſt obitum ipſius Antiſtio Vetere poſſidente, eru-
" perunt fontes calidi, perquam ſalubres oculis, celebrati carmine Lau-
" reae Tullii, qui fuit è libertis ejus, ut protinus noſcatur etiam mini-
" ſterium ejus ex illâ majeſtate (ponam enim ipſum carmen) dignum
" ubique, et non ibi tantum legi,

" Quo tua, Romanae vindex clariſſima linguae,
" Sylva loco melius ſurgere juſſa viret,
" Atque Academiae celebratam nomine villam
" Nunc reparat cultu ſub potiore Vetus:
" Hîc etiam apparent lymphae non ante repertae,
" Languida quae infuſo lumina rore levant.
" Nimirum locus ipſe ſui Ciceronis honori
" Hoc dedit, hac fontes cum patefecit ope.
" Ut, quoniam totum legitur ſine fine per orbem,
" Sint plures, oculis quae medeantur, aquae."

Plin. lib. XXXI. cap. ii.

CLAELIA FOSSA, the place where the battle was fought between the Horatii and Curiatii; five miles from Rome on the Via Appia. Livy, ſpeaking of this war, ſays: " Caſtra ab urbe haud plus v millia paſſuum
" locant; foſsâ circumdant," etc. Lib. I. And Dionyſius: " Caſtra
" collata ſunt ad quadrageſimum ab urbe ſtadium. Ea metati ſunt Al-
" bani ad foſſam Cluiliam; Romani paulo citeriùs," etc. Lib. III. At the ſame place Coriolanus encamped, when he came to attack Rome. " Poſtremum ab urbem à Pedo ducit; et ad foſſas Cluilias, v ab urbe
" millia paſſuum, caſtris poſitis, populatur indè Agrum Romanum:" Liv. lib. II. And Plutarch, in his Life of Coriolanus: " Ad foſſas Claelias
" caſtra

"caſtra ad v ab urbe lapidem poſuit." That this Foſſa, or field of battle, was on the Via Appia, is plain from Martial:

"[1] Capena grandi porta quà pluit guttâ;
"Phrygiaeque matris [2] Almo quà lavat ferrum;
"[3] Horatiorum quà viret ſacer campus;
"[4] Et quâ puſilli fervet Herculis fanum;
"Fauſtine, plenâ Baſſus ibat in rhedâ." Lib. III. Ep. xlvii.

[1] The Gate where the Via Appia began.

[2] A Brook on the Via Appia, about two miles from the old gate.

[3] At five miles diſtance.

[4] This Temple was on the Via Appia, eight miles from Rome, and ſix from Albano, as Martial expreſsly tells us, lib. IV. Ep. lxv and ciii.

The place which ſeems to anſwer beſt to the Foſſa Cluilia, or camp of the Albani, is now called Santa Maria Nuova. It is about five miles diſtant from the old Porta Capena, ſtands high, and has a deep deſcent on the left hand towards the preſent road to Albano; and in the middle of the field is a fine ſpring, the fountain-head of the Almo. Near this, and ſomewhat nearer to Rome on the right adjoining to the road, I obſerved a very green plain, the moſt verdant ſpot I ſaw on all that road, which I thought might be the field of battle of the Horatii and Curiatii; at leaſt it put me in mind of Martial's "Horatiorum quà "*viret* campus." There are great ruins ſtill remaining at Santa Maria Nuova, which the ſhepherds there call the Villa of Lucretia. Moſt of the other ruins on the road are ſepulchres, which almoſt line both ſides of the road.

CLITUMNUS. Pliny, writing Ad Romanum, gives the following account of it. "Vidiſtine aliquando Clitumnum fontem? Si nondum (et puto "nondum, alioqui narraſſes mihi), vide; quem ego (poenitet tarditatis) "proximè vidi. Modicus collis adſurgit; antiquâ cupreſſu nemoroſus "et opacus. Hunc ſubter fons exit; et exprimitur pluribus venis," [This place is ſtill called Le Vene, and is the poſt between Foligni and Spoleto], "ſed imparibus; eluctatusque facit gurgitem, qui lato gre-"mio patefcit purus et vitreus, ut numerare jactas ſtipes et relucentes "calculos poſſis. Inde non loci devexitate, ſed ipſâ ſui copiâ et quaſi "pondere impellitur. Fons adhuc, et jam ampliſſimum flumen, atque "etiam navium patiens, quas obvias quoque et contrario niſu in diverſa

"tendentes

" tendentes tranſmittit et perfert: adeo validus, ut illà quà properat
" ipſe, tanquam per ſolum planum, remis non adjuvetur; idem aegerrimè
" remis contisque ſuperetur adverſus. Jucundum utrumque per jocum
" luſumque fluitantibus, ut flexerint curſum, laborem otio, otium la-
" bore variare. Ripae fraxino multâ, multâ populo veſtiuntur, quas
" perſpicuus amnis velut merſas viridi imagine adnumerat. Rigor aeque
" certaverit nivibus, nec color cedit. Adjacet templum priſcum et re-
" ligioſum. Stat Clitumnus ipſe amictus ornatusque praetextâ; praeſens
" numen, atque etiam fatidicum, indicant ſortes. Sparſa ſunt circa
" ſacella complura, totidemque Dei ſimulacra; ſua cuique veneratio,
" ſuum nomen. Quibuſdam vero etiam fontes: nam praeter illum
" quaſi parentem caeterorum, ſunt minores, capite diſcreti; ſed flumini
" miſcentur, quod ponte tranſmittuntur: is terminus ſacri profanique.
" In ſuperiore parte navigare tantum, infra etiam natare conceſſum.
" Balineum Hiſpellates, quibus illum locum Divus Auguſtus dono dedit,
" publicè praebent, et hoſpitium. Nec deſunt villae, quae ſecutae flu-
" minis amoenitatem, margini inſiſtunt. In ſummâ, nihil erit ex quo
" non capias voluptatem. Nam ſtudebis quoque, et leges multa multo-
" rum omnibus columnis, omnibus parietibus inſcripta, quibus fons ille
" Deusque celebratur." Lib. VIII. Ep. viii. Suetonius ſays, in Caligulâ: " Ad viſendum nemus flumenque Clitumni Mevaniam proceſſit:" (Which by the by is an argument that the Via Flaminia at that time paſſed through Mevania, not Spoleto.) The Itinerarium Hieroſolymitanum mentions Sacraria eight miles from Spoleto, and four from Trevi; which muſt certainly be the ſame place where there were ſo many Sacella above-mentioned. And Ado, in Martyrologio, ſpeaking of St. Concordius, ſays, that he was buried, " Non longè a Spoleto in
" loco ubi multae aquae emanant." The ſame is aſſerted in the life of St. Concordius.

CLUILIA FOSSA. See CLAELIA.

COLLATIA. See ANTEMNAE.

COMUM. " Fuit initio oppidum mediocre Comum. Sed Pompeius
" Strabo, Magni pater, afflictum à ſupra accolentibus Rhaetis inſtauravit.
" Deinde C. Scipio ad tria colonorum millia adjecit. Quibus iterum
" Divus Caeſar 5000 addidit. De quibus fuerunt Graecorum nobiliſſi-
" mi," etc. Strab. lib. V.

CRUSTU-

CRUSTUMINI. See what is ſaid under the article CENINENSES. Livy, having related that the Romans ſent colonies to Antemnae and Cruſtuminium, obſerves: "Plures inventi, qui, propter ubertatem terrae, in "Cruſtuminium nomina darent:" Liv. lib. I. p. 3. Virgil reckons the Cruſtumeri among the five people who prepared arms againſt Aeneas, Aen. lib. VII. ver. 630. And he celebrates the Cruſtumian pears: "Cruſtumii Syriique pyri," Georg. II. ver. 88. And Pliny: "Cunctis "autem Cruſtumina gratiſſima:" Plin. lib. XV. c. xv. Pliny reckons Cruſtumerium in Latium, and among the deſtroyed cities. "Praeterea "fuere in Latio clara oppida Caenina, Cruſtumerium, Antemnae," etc. Lib. III. cap. v. In the ſame chapter he ſays: "In eadem parte," i. e. in Tuſcany, "oppidorum veterum nomina retinent agri Cruſtuminus, Ca-"letranus." And afterwards, ſpeaking of the river Tiber, he ſays: "Citra xiii M. paſſ. urbis Veientem agrum a Cruſtumino, dein Fidenate, "Latinumque à Vaticano dirimens.——Ad viam Salariam in agro Cru-"ſtumino videre licet locis aliquot conjunctos aggeres cum foſſis, ne "flumen agris noceat." Var. lib. I. cap. xiv.

CUMAE. "Cumani à Chalcide Euboicâ originem tradunt:" Liv. lib. VIII. "Cumam, Graecam in Opicis urbem, Eretrienſes Chalcidenſesque con-"diderunt:" Dionyſ. Hal. lib. VII. Chalcis and Eretria are both towns in the iſland Euboea.

The ſituation of Cumae is thus deſcribed by Agathias: "Eſt Cumae "oppidum Italicum munitiſſimum, neque expugnatu facile. Situm enim "eſt in arduo difficilemque aditum habente colle; eſtque veluti ſpecula "maris Etruſci. Imminet quippe littori collis ita uti ad ejus radices "fluctus maris illiſi frangantur. Editiore igitur loco ſitum cinctum eſt "vallo, turribusque et propugnaculis validiſſimae ſtructurae:" Hiſt. lib. I. That there was a port at Cumae appears from Livy: "Auctores "erant quidem, ut protinus inde Cumas duceret, urbemque oppugnaret; "id haud modice Hannibal cupiebat, ut, quia Neapolim non potuerat, "Cumas ſaltem maritimam urbem haberet:" Lib. XXIII. And afterwards in the ſame book: "Naves Cumas adpulſae." And Silius Italicus:

"Tandem ad vicinos Cumarum vertere portus
"Defeſſus ſubigit." Lib. XII.

It is likewiſe manifeſt from Dionyſ. Hal. that formerly the ports about Miſenum belonged to the Cumani: for he ſays, "Erant quippe Cumae "eo tempore" (that is, in the 64th Olympiad) "per omnem Italiam, "divitiarum potentiae, caeterorumque bonorum nomine celebres; quod

" agrum haberent Campaniae fertiliſſimum, et portus circa Miſenum " opportuniſſimos :" Lib. VIII. Even the Baths at Baiae were ſometimes formerly called Cuman ; as appears from Livy : " Acceſſerat ad " religionem, quod Cn. Cornelius conſul ex monte Albano rediens con- " cidit, et parte membrorum captus ad aquas Cumanas profectus, ingra- " veſcente morbo, Cumis deceſſit :" Lib. XLI. And Lucretius :

" Qualis apud Cumas locus eſt montemque Veſevum
" Oppleti calidis ubi fumant fontibus auctus." Lib. VI.

CURES. " Nunc viculus eſt ; quondam urbs illuſtris :" Strabo, lib. V.

EGERIA. Martial places this fountain at Aricia, or thereabouts, near the Nemus Dianae. See his Epigram Ad Ianthida Nympham.

" Nympha, mei Stellae quae fonte domeſtica puro
" Laberis, et domini gemmea tecta ſubis :
" Sive Numae conjux Triviae te miſit ab antro,
" Sive Camenarum de grege nona venis," etc.
Lib. VI. Ep. xlvii.

This Fountain was nearer to Rome.

ETRURIA. Rutilius, in his Itinerary, ſhews, that the roads through Etruria were rendered almoſt unpaſſable in his time, which he imputes to the Goths.

" Electum pelagus ; quoniam terrena viarum
" Plana madent fluviis, cautibus alta rigent.
" Poſtquam Tuſcus ager, poſtquamque Aurelius agger
" Perpeſſus Geticas enſe vel igne manus,
" Non ſilvas domibus, non flumina ponte coercet." Ver. 37.

ETRUSCI. See TYRRHENI.

FALERII. See FALISCI.

FALERNUM. At a place called Falciano belonging to the Duke of Monte Dragone, and lying between Monte Dragone and the river Savone, is made a ſmall quantity of wine now called Falerno. It is a dry white wine, of a ſtrong body, and as clear as, and of the colour of, Champagne.

Champagne. Martial often gives the epithet Nigrum to this wine. The place agrees with the deſcription given of it by Pliny. From Capua to the river Savone, in the way to Monte Dragone, is reckoned twelve miles, from thence to Monte Dragone ſix, or, as ſome ſay, eight: the road lies at the foot of the mountain formerly called Maſſicus, now Monte Marzo; but the old paved road, as I was informed, lies nearer to the mountain than the preſent, and is, they ſay, ſtill viſible. The country thereabouts has but few vineyards, being turned chiefly to tillage, but ſeems very proper for vines, being a fat ſoil upon a coarſe gravel, and having a good aſpect ſouth and ſouth eaſt. It bears abundance of fern, and other ſtrong weeds, and wild vines grow common in the hedges. The loſs of theſe famous vineyards, the Maſſic and Falernian, is probably owing in great meaſure to want of hands, this country being at preſent very thin of inhabitants, ſince the deſtruction of Sinueſſa. Beſides, the Neapolitans love only the ſweet wines.

Martial ſeems to reckon the Maſſic and Falern the ſame wine. For he ſays thus:

"De Sinueſſanis venerunt Maſſica prelis." Lib. XIII. Ep. iii.

And yet the title of the epigram is Falernum; which title was manifeſtly given by Martial himſelf, as appears by the third epigram of the ſame book.

Silius Italicus likewiſe tells us, that the Falern was on the Maſſica Juga. See his Table of the origin of that wine:

"Maſſica ſulcabat meliore Falernus in aevo," etc. Lib. VII.

FALISCI, the People. Falerii, the Town. See Livy, lib. V. cap. xxvii. This is now, according to the beſt accounts, Civita Caſtellana. Though the people of that place pretend that it was the Veii of the antients. But Veii was certainly much nearer Rome; and the Faliſci looked upon as a diſtant country from Rome in compariſon of the other. Thus in the war of Lartes Tolumnius, wherein the Fidenates, Veientes, and Faliſci join forces againſt the Romans, and encamped near the mouth of the Teveroni or Anio, Livy obſerves thus: "Faliſcus procul ab "domo militiam aegrè patiens, ſatisque fidens ſibi, poſcere pugnam: "Veienti, Fidenatique plus ſpei in trahendo bello eſſe." Liv. lib. IV. cap. xviii.

FERENTINO. See ALATRI.

FIBRENO. See INSULA, Cicero's Native place.

FIDENAE. Cluverius and other antiquaries place Fidenae at Caſtel Giubileo; but by comparing the account given by Livy of the wars, particularly the laſt between the Romans and Fidenates, in which Quinctius Pennus was ordered to take poſſeſſion of the hills behind the town (lib. IV. cap. xxxi. etc.) it appears not to agree to the ſituation of Caſtel Giubileo, but rather to La Serpentara (a villa belonging to the family of Spada), where there are ſtill ſome ruins on the top of the hill, where probably they had their Arx. This was ſeparated from the other hills by a deep foſſe. See likewiſe Livy's account of the taking of Fidenae by the Dictator Servilius, lib. IV. cap. xxii. Beſides Fidenae was never reckoned more than five miles from Rome, as Serpentara is now, whereas Caſtel Giubileo is more. N. B. I was aſſured, at the Oſteria di Serpentara, that, from the Porta Salara to the great gate, going up to the Villa Spada, meaſures five miles and twenty-ſeven chains. Several old grottas and ruins are at that Oſteria. See ANTEMNAE.

Martial obſerves that Fidenae was to be ſeen at Martial's villa, which certainly ſtood on the hill now called Monte Mario, probably above Villa Madama.

" Hinc videre licet
" Fidenas veteres, brevesque Rubras." Lib. IV. Epig. lxiv.

Vitruvius mentions the quarries of ſtone in the territory of Fidenae. " Lapicidinae inveniuntur eſſe difparibus et diſſimilibus virtutibus. Sunt " enim aliae molles, ut ſunt circa urbem Rubrae, Pallienſes, Fidenates, " Albanae," lib. II. cap. vii. Theſe Rubrae Lapicidinae were probably near the head of the Aqua Virgo, on the banks of the Anio: for Strabo ſpeaking of Tivoli ſays, " Inde Anio per loca fructuoſiſſima " perlabitur juxta ſecturas lapidis Tiburtini, et Gabini, et ejus, qui di- " citur Rubens; ut eductio ex fodinis et navibus devectio plane ſit ex- " pedita, et pleraque opera Romae ex ea materia fiant," lib. V. Theſe quarries are called by Fabretti the Collatin Stone. " Regio iſta quo " propiùs ad Anienem accedit, eo magis ſolidâ humo conſiſtit, et Ru- " bentis Collatini lapidis per Strab. lib. V. celebrati latomiis ſcatet." De Aquaeduct. § xi.

FLAMINIA

FLAMINIA VIA. On the road between Foligno and Fano, which is the old Via Flaminia, there ſtill remain ſeveral old bridges, built with prodigious large ſtones. Moſt of the bridges are only of one or two arches; being built over ſmall brooks; but at Cagli, where two rivers join, is a very noble old bridge of many arches. The ſubſtructions in ſeveral places on this road to ſlopes of the hills, and, particularly, on the banks of the river, are wonderful works. The paſſage through the rock at Forlo is about forty paces in length, and was made by Veſpaſian, as appears by an inſcription ſtill remaining. It is commonly believed in that country, that, before Veſpaſian's time, the road went over the mountain. But it ſeems more probable, that, before this paſſage was cut, the road turned round the point of a rock above the river. The ſubſtructions, which are ſtill partly remaining on the ſide of the river, at the place where the rock projects, are an argument that it did ſo. Upon the falling down of ſome part of theſe ſubſtructions it was, perhaps, thought adviſeable to pierce the rock for ſo ſhort a way, and make a road through it, rather than repair the buttreſſes to ſupport the old one. See CLITUMNUS.

FORLO. See FLAMINIA VIA.

FORMIAE. Now Mola. See Martial. lib. X. Ep. xxx. "De Apollinaris littore Formiano."

FORULI. "Sunt et Foruli Sabinorum. Saxa ad rebellionem quam habitationem aptiora," Strab. lib. V. About four miles from Amiternum, juſt above the road leading to Rome, is a ſmall town now called Civita Tomoſa, which is ſuppoſed to have been the old Foruli. And I was aſſured at Aquila that in Salvatore Maſſonio dell' antichità d'Aquila, there are certain proofs that it was ſo; but I could never meet with the book to examine his proofs. That it was an old town is certain; the ruins of the walls ſtill appearing, and ſeveral broken pieces of large pillars lying ſcattered about the hill. But the ſituation by no means anſwers Strabo's account, for though it ſtands high, yet it is not the leaſt unfit for habitation, for it overlooks a fruitful plain, and is not of very difficult acceſs.

FUCINUS. "Ferunt hunc lacum interdum uſque ad montana impleri, "rurſumque ſubſidere, ita ut loca quae paluſtribus aquis obducta erant, rurſus

" rurſus detegantur, et cultui fiant apta, ſive ſcaturigines aquarum, quae
" ſunt in imo vado, ſparſis locis aliis ſcaturiant, rurſum in unum con-
" fluant, ſeu prorſus deficiant fontes, atque iterum exprimantur."
Strab. lib. V.

" Claudii inter maximè memoranda equidem duxerim, quamvis deſti-
" tutum ſucceſſoris odio, montem perfoſſum ad Fucinum lacum emit-
" tendum: inenarrabili profectò impendio, et operarum multitudine per
" tot annos; cum corrivatio aquarum, quà terrenus mons erat, ege-
" retur in verticem machinis, aut ſilex cederetur, omniaque intus in
" tenebris fierent, quae neque concipi animo, niſi ab iis qui videre, ne-
" que humano ſermone enarrari poſſunt." Plin. lib. XXXVI. c. xv.

Suetonius gives the following account of it. " Opera magna
" potius quam neceſſaria permulta perfecit (Claudius); ſed vel prae-
" cipua, aquaeductum à Caio inchoatum; item emiſſarium Fucini lacus,
" portumque Oſtienſem; quanquam ſciret, ex his alterum ab Auguſto
" precantibus aſſiduè Marſis negatum, alterum à D. Julio ſaepius deſti-
" natum, ac propter difficultatem omiſſum." And a little after: " Per
" tria autem paſſuum millia, partim effoſſo monte, partim exciſo, canalem
" abſolvit, aegrè, et poſt XI annos, quamvis continuis XXX hominum
" millibus ſine intermiſſione operantibus." And again, " Fucinum ag-
" greſſus eſt non minus compendii ſpe quam gloriae, cum quidam privato
" ſumptu emiſſuros ſe repromitterent, ſi ſibi ſiccati agri concederentur."
Tacitus's account: " Sub idem tempus (i. e. 12mo Imp. Claudii anno)
" inter lacum Fucinum Lirimque amnem perrupto monte, quo magnifi-
" centia operis à pluribus viſeretur, lacu in ipſo navale praelium adornatur,
" ut quondam Auguſtus ſtructo cis Tiberim ſtagno, ſed levibus navigiis et
" minore copiâ ediderat," An. lib. XII. And again, afterwards, " Sed
" perfecto ſpectaculo apertum aquarum iter; et incuria operis manifeſta
" fuit, haud ſatis depreſſi ad lacus ima vel media." And immediately
follows: " Eòque, tempore interjecto, altiùs effoſſi ſpecus." Tacitus
ſubjoins: " Et contrahendae rurſus multitudini gladiatorum ſpectacu-
" lum editur, inditis pontibus pedeſtrem ad pugnam. Quin et convi-
" vium effluvio lacus appoſitum, magnâ formidine cunctos effecit, quia
" vis aquarum prorumpens proxima trahebat, convulſis ulterioribus,
" aut fragore et ſonitu exterritis."

Spartianus in his life of Adrian aſſerts that it was let out by him: to which Fabretti anſwers that it is probable that it was only cleaned by Adrian; for Claudius died ſoon after the work was finiſhed of cutting

ting the mountain through. And then it was neglected and not continued to be drained lower as was intended: for Pliny positively asserts, that it was "destitutum successoris odio;" that is, it was sunk no lower, as was designed: for it is plain, by the level at the mouth near the Garigliano, that it might have been sunk much lower, and certainly it was Claudius's intent to have the lake to the bottom or near it. And it would have been no difficult work after the mountain was pierced.

Dion's account. "Consulatum gerebat Claudius, collegam habens "C. Largum. Fucinum lacum, qui in Marsis est, in Tiberim emittere "voluit, quo regio circa lacum agriculturae apta, simulque amnis magis "adhuc navigabilis efficeretur, verum inanes fuerunt sumptus." To this Fabretti answers, that, perhaps, Claudius in the beginning of his reign (for Dion is speaking of his first or second year) might have designed to make an outlet from the lake into the Velino, and so into the Tiber, but failing in that attempt, or probably dissuaded from it for fear of its swelling the Tiber too much, he then undertook to make a passage into the Liris. The objection drawn from Dion's silence as to this latter project is answered by observing that this part of his history is very imperfect, especially as to the latter part of Claudius's reign.

Near the lake is the Os Pitonii, vulgo la Pedogna, the natural outlet of the lake. Fabretti says of Claudius's outlet; "Indubia splendida-"que vestigia ejus tum ad lacum, tum ad Lirim extant:" and I can testify. N. B. The channel of this emissary, where it emptied itself into the Garigliano is seven feet five inches wide: but in order to make the mouth of this outlet more beautiful, the rock there is cut into a lofty arch, and widened in order to strengthen it, or for beauty. The arch is faced with square stones set edgeways. The Opus Reticulatum, this mouth is eleven feet eight inches wide. The road to Capistrello is just over the top of this arch.

There being several little brooks always running into the Lacus Fucinus, particularly at Piscina, Celano, and Avezzano, and there being a subterraneous outlet at Pedogna, the people about that country imagine, some that the lake vents itself at the Lago Tofana near Anagni, others at La Posta, where the Fibreno rises, and they confidently assert that pieces of nets and other things thrown into the Lacus Fucinus have been found at those outlets. Others say that the lake vents itself into the Teverone or Anio at Trevi. This latter opinion probably prevailed in Strabo's and in Pliny's time.

GABII.

GABII. "A ſiniſtro Latinae viae latere, inter eam et Valeriam, jacent "Gabii in viâ Praeneſtinâ, quae urbs latomias habet, Romanis tanto "quanto non aliae uſui; diſtat aequali à Româ et Praeneſte intervallo;" i. e. as is added in the Greek, περι εκατον ςαδιες. Theſe quarries are ſtill plainly to be ſeen on the ſide of the lake now called Lago di Pantano, the ſtone ſeems to be excellently good for building, and great quantities to have been dug from thence. Theſe quarries, the ſituation on the Via Praeneſtina, the pavement of which may ſtill be traced almoſt all the way from Rome to Paleſtrina, the equal diſtance from thoſe two towns, the fruitfulneſs of the adjoining country for the ſupport of a city (the Tenuta of Pantano being eſteemed one of the beſt in the Campagna di Roma both for corn and paſture); all theſe things are evident marks to determine the ſituation of the antient Gabii.

N. B. There are ſtill ſeveral ruins to be ſeen on the ſide of this lake (the further ſide of the lake from Rome), which is at preſent marked eleven miles and half from Porta Maggiore. It is probable, that, in Strabo's time, the road ran through the middle of Gabii, for he ſays it ſtood in Via Praeneſtina, and in the preceding page, ſpeaking of the towns of Latium on the great roads, he diſtinguiſhes very particularly between thoſe that ſtood in a great road, near one, or between two. "Aut enim in his (viis), aut prope, aut in medio earum," or rather (as μεταξυ ſeems to import) "inter duas ſitae ſunt."

On the road to Gabii between three and four miles diſtant from it, and about an hundred paces beyond the eighth mile ſtone from Rome, one paſſes a remarkable bridge, ſuppoſed to have been formerly called "Pons ad nonum" (now Ponto Nuovo), the difference of the computation occaſioned by the diſtance of the place from whence the miles are computed, the meaſure beginning now from Porta Maggiore, whereas it was formerly computed from Porta Eſquilina, which is ſuppoſed to have been near Gallienus's Arch. The ſame rule will account for the diſtance between Rome and Gabii, which Strabo reckons an hundred ſtadia. This bridge conſiſts of ſeven large arches built of huge ſtones like tophus without cement, the key ſtones of each arch different from the reſt, and ſeem to be a harder ſtone; both ends of the bridge from the laſt arch to the land are of a reddiſh ſtone, which probably came from the Collatin quarries, and were ſo ordered to diverſify the work, and give a greater beauty, the ſame being done, as Fabretti obſerves, in the building of the arches of ſome of the aqueducts.

HORA-

HORATIORUM CAMPUS. This field was on the Via Appia, within leſs than eight miles of Rome, between the brook Almo and the eighth mile ſtone, as is very manifeſt from Martial, who ſpeaks of Baſſus going to his country houſe, as follows:

" Capenâ grandi porta quà pluit guttâ,
" Phrygiaeque matris Almo quà lavat ferrum,
" Horatiorum quà viret ſacer campus,
" Et quà puſilli fervet *Herculis fanum,
" Fauſtine, plenâ Baſſus ibat in rhedâ," etc.

Lib. III. Ep. 47.

* N. B. This temple was on the Via Appia, between Rome and Albano, eight miles from the former and ſix from the latter, as is plainly marked by Martial, lib. IX. Ep. lx. et ciii.

INSCRIPTIONS, found at Tivoli, Albano, and that neighbourhood.

Extra parochiam S. Vincentii in Cardine Eccleſiae.

HERCVLI.
TIBVRT. VICT.
ET. CAETERIS. DIS.
PRAET. TIBVRT.
L. MINICIVS.
NATALIS. COSS. AVGVR.
LEG. AVG. PR. PR.
PROVINCIAE.
MOESIAE. INFER.
VOT. FECIT.

Lapis rubeus de Herculea Platea Romae tranſlatus: Gruter XLIX.

HERCVLI. SAXANO.
SACRVM.
SER. SVLPICIVS. THROPHIMVS.
AEDEM. ZOTHECAM. ET. CVLINAM.
PECVNIA. SVA. A. SOLO. RESTITVIT
EIDEMQVE. DICAVIT. K. DECEMB.
L. TVRPILIO. DEXTRO. M. MECIO. FVSCO. COSS.
EVTHICHIVS. SER. PERAGENDVM.
CVRAVIT.

In Epiſcopio prope Baſilicam Dexteri Coloſſi Stylobatum.

Q. POMPEIO. Q. F. QVIR. SENECION.
ROSCIO. MVRENAE. COELIO. SEX~.
IVLIO. FRONTINO. SILIO. DECIANO.
C. IVLIO. EVRVGII. HIRCVLANEO. L.
VIBVLLIO. PIO. AVGVSTANO. ALPINO.
BELLICIO. SOLLERTI. IVLIO. APRO.
DVCENIO. PROCVLO. RVTILIANO.
RVFINO. SILIO. VALENTI. VALERIO.
NIGRO. G. L. RVSIO. SAXA. AMINTIANO.
SOCIO. PRISCO. PONTIFICI. SODALI.
HADRIANALI. SODALI. ANTONINIANI.
VERIANI. SALIO. COLLINO. QVAESTORI.
CANDITATO. AVGG. LEGATO. PR. PR. ASIAE.
PRAETORI. CONSVLI. PROCONSVLI. ASI-
AE. SORTITO. PRAEFECTO. ALIMEFTOR.
XX. VIRO. MONETALI. SEVIRO. PRAEF.
FERIARVM. LATINARVM. Q- Q- PATRONO.
MVNCIPII. SALIO. CVRATORI. FANI. H- V-
S- P- Q- T-

In feneſtra ſupra Porticum Maecenatis Palatii.

L. OCTAVIVS. L. F.
VITVLVS.
C. RVSTIVS. C. F.
FLAVOS.
ITER. IIII. VIR.
D. S. S.
VIAM. INTEGENDAM.
CVRAVERE.

Ibidem, effoſſus erat in Parochia S. Sylveſtri.

C. LVTIVS. L. F. AVLIAN.
Q. PLAVSVRNIVS. C. F.
VARVS.
L. VENTIDIVS. L. F.
BASSVS.

C. OCTAV. C. F. GRACCHIN.
III. VIR.
PORTICVS. P. CCLV.
ET. EXEDRAM. ET. PRONAON.
ET. PORTICVM. ET. SCAENAM.
LONG. P. CXL.
S. C. F. C.

Apud Franciſcum Antonium Lolli in Adriani Palatio in loco dicto Pantanello inventus.

SOLI. INVICTO. MITHRAE.
SICVTI. IPSE. SE. IN. VISV.
IVSSIT. REFICI
VICTORINVS. CAES. N.
VERNA. DISPENSATOR.
NVMINI. PRAESENTI. SVIS. IMPENDIS. REFICIENDVM.
CVRAVIT. DEDICAVITQVE.
. . . . . NTIS. TITAE.
. . . . . IO. MAGNO.
NAMA. CVNCTIS.

Apud Eminentiſſ. Albani e Parochia S. Sylveſtri ab eo Romae tranſlatus, ſed antea in templo Druſillae prope Sibyllam exiſtebat.

DIVAE. DRVSILLAE.
SACRVM.
RVBELLIVS. C. F. BLANDVS.
DIVI. AVG. TR. PL. PR. COS.
. . . . . O. COS. PONTIF.

Anno MDCCXXIX in Eccleſiae Carmelitarum inventus, hodie apud eundem Cardinalem, lapis longitudine palmarum x.

GN. PINARIO. GN. F.
SEVERO. CONSVLI. AVGRI. REGI. SAC.
IMP. CAESARIS. NERVAE. TRAIANI. AVG. SALIO. COL.
CORNAELIA. MANLI.

In valle Artenſi, ſive monte Affliano inventus, et in Palatio Principis Sancti Gregorii tranſlatus.

BONAE. DEAE. SANCTISSIME. COELESTI.
L. PASQVIDIVS. FESTVS. REDEMPTOR.
OPERVM. CAES. PVBLICORVM. AEDEM.
DIRVTAM. REFECIT. QVOD. ADIVTORIO.
RIVOM. AQVAE. CLAVDIAE. AVGVSTIAE.
SVB. MONTE. AFFLIANO. CONSVMAVIT.
IMP. DOMIT. CAES. AVG. GERM. COS.
V. NONAS. IVL.

Lapis in fundamentis Cathedralis in Herculis templo effoſſus.

FORTVNAE. PRAETORAE.
SACRVM.
L. MVCIVS. NICEPHOR.
MAG. HERCVLI. AVG.
GN. COPONIVS. EPAGATVS.
CVRATORES. PRIMI. D. S. P.
CVLTORIBVS D. D.

In aſcenſu Sancti Valerii ſic de dicto Coponio habetur in Lapide.

CAVPONIVS. L. F. GEMINVS.
CAVPONIA. L. F. GEMINA.

Lapides in loco dicto Ceſarano effoſſi. Primus.

L. CAESONIVS. C. FL. QVIRINA. LVCIL-
LVS.
MACER. RVFINIANVS. COS. FRATER. AR-
VALIS.
PRAEF. VRBIS. ELECTVS. AD. COGNOSCENDAS.
VICE. CAESARIS.
COGNICTIONES. PROCOS. PROV. AFRICAE. XX.
VIROS. EX SENATVS.
CONSVLTO. R. P. CVRANDAE. CVRATOR.
AQVARVM. ET. MINICIAE.

CVR.

CVR. ALBEI. TIBERIS. ET. CLOACARVM.
VRBIS. LEGATVS. PROV.
AFRICAE. EODEM. TEMPORE. VICE. PROCON-
SOLIS. CVRATOR. R. P.
TVSCOLANORVM. CVRATOR. R. P. SVESSA-
NORVM.
PRAETOR. KANDIDATVS. QVAESTOR. KAN-
DIDAT.
ELECTVS. IN. FAMILIAM. PATRICIAM. X.
VIR.
STLIBVS. IVDICANDIS.

Secundus.

C. CAESONIO. C. F. QVIR. MACRO. RV-
FINIANO.
CONSVLARI. SODALI. AVGVSTALI COMITI.
IMP.
SEVERI. ALEXANDRI. AVG. CVR. R. P. LA-
NIVINOR. II.
PROCOS. PROV. AFRICAE. CVR. AQVAR. ET.
MINIC.
LEG. AVG. PR. PR. GERMAN. SVPERIORIS.
CVR. ALVEI.
TIBERIS. CVR. R. P. TEANENS. LEG. AVG.
PR. PR. PROV.
LVSITAN. CVR. R. P. TARRICINENS. PRO.
COS. PROV.
ACHAIAE. LEG. LEG. VII. CLAVD. CVR. R. P.
ASCVLAN.
LEG. PROV. ASIAE. PR. LEG. PROV. BOETIC.
TRIB. PL.
QVAESTORI. PROV. NARBON. TRIB. LEG. I.
ADIVTRIC.
DONATO. DONIS. MILITARIB. A. DIVO. MARCO.
II. VIR. CAPITALI,
PATRI. DVLCISSIMO. ET INCOMPARABILI.
CAESONIVS. LVCILLVS. FILIVS.
CONSVLARIS.

Fuit

Fuit prope Balnea Sulfurea inventus.

PROCVLVS. SACERDOS.
M. D. M. IGIAE. SAC.
AD. AQVAS. ALBVLAS.
D. D.

In loco dicto il Truglio.

COSSINIAE. D. L. GAESIAE.
POSSIDONIO.
L. COSSINIO. D. L. DISCO.
SEXTIAE. P. L. DISCO.
IN. FR. P. XI. IN. AG. P. XV.

INSULA near Arpino, Cicero's country. "Sed ventum in Inſulam eſt; "hâc vero nihil eſt amoenius, ut enim hoc quaſi roſtro finditur Fi- "brenus, et, diviſus aequaliter in duas partes, latera haec adluit, rapi- "déque dilapſus, cito in unum confluit, et tantum complectitur quod "ſatis modice palaeſtrae loci; quo effecto, tanquam id habuerit operis "ac muneris, ut hanc noſtram efficeret ſedem ad diſputandum, ſtatim "ſe praecipitat in Lirim," etc. Cic. De Leg. lib. II. N. B. The Fibreno riſes juſt under a place called La Poſta at the foot of the Apennines, about four miles from Sora, and forms a lake abounding with excellent trout and Carpioni. Its courſe is ſhort, not above five miles in length, through a very beautiful plain, and then falls by two ſtreams into the Garigliano about a mile above the caſcade. The Fibreno, dividing itſelf into two ſtreams, forms the iſland mentioned as above by Tully, and his native place. The iſland is not above two muſket ſhot wide, and as much in length. Juſt without the iſland, on one ſide of the ſtreams, was formerly a large convent of Bernardins, now deſtroyed. In the church, which is ſtill ſtanding, and called St. Dominico, is a buſt, or rather part of the head and ſhoulders of a broken ſtatue, which is ſuppoſed to be Tully's, and Mr. D. told me, it reſembled other buſts he had ſeen of Tully. I obſerved ſeveral pieces of broken pillars and Corinthian cornices lying about the church and convent, which perhaps might belong to Tully's houſe, mentioned by him, ibid. The Fibreno is a ſwift clear ſtream, and ſeemed, when I croſſed it, to have more water than the Garigliano. The caſ-

cade

cade of the Garigliano, which is a mile below the conflux of the Fibreno is very beautiful. The palace of the Duke of Sora ſtands juſt at the point where the river falls, and divides itſelf into two caſcades; that on the left falls perpendicularly about ſixty feet, as near as I could gueſs, and in a ſheet twenty paces wide. On the right it falls by one continued ſlope above CL paces in length, and much wider than the other, and forms a nobler caſcade than the great Riviere at Marli formerly did. At a little diſtance it appears like a ſheet of ſnow, and, I think, is called, La Caſcata, or Fiume di Neve. The little town of Iſola ſtands juſt below the Duke's palace within the iſland, which is formed by theſe two caſcades: the water is very clear.

LABICANA VIA. See BIVIUM.

LABICUM. Now Colonna. This place and the Via Labicana are plainly deſcribed by Strabo. "Incidit viae Latinae Labicana, incipiens à "portâ Eſquilinâ, unde et Praeneſtina: relinquens autem ad laevam et "illam et campum Eſquilinum procedit ad CXX et amplius ſtadia, et ap- "propinquans veteri Lavico, quod oppidum, in ſublimi ſitum, nunc "dirutum eſt: Hoc et Tuſculum ad dexteram relinquit, et ad Pictas in "Latinam viam deſinit. Abeſt is locus Româ CCX ſtadiis." Strabo, lib. V. "Ad Pictas," now called "S. Hillario ad Bivium."

By this paſſage in Strabo, it appears, that, in his time, old Labicum was deſtroyed. But the Itineraries and Peutinger's tables mark a ſtage on the ſame road and at the ſame diſtance from Rome (i. e. fifteen miles) which they call "Ad Quintanas." And Fabretti, De Aquaeduct. p. 183. mentions an old inſcription wherein the Quintanenſes are called Lavicani.

D. M.
PARTHRTENIO. ARCARIO.
REI. PVBLICAE.
LAVICANORVM.
QVINTANENSIVM.

LABINON. See ANTEMNAE.

LACUS. See VADIMONIS, AVERNUS, FUCINUS, THRASYMENUS.

LACUS LUCRINUS. See BAIAE.

LATINA

LATINA VIA. About ſix or ſeven miles from St. Germano on the road to Naples, the Via Latina makes a great bend at a place called "Hoſteria di San Pietro in fano," near a ſmall brook, which I at firſt thought might be the place called in the Itineraries, "Ad flexum:" but continuing on the road I came to a place called the "Hoſteria di "San Felice," near which there are ſeveral ruins. Here the preſent road quits the Via Latina, and continues in a ſtrait line at the foot of the hills, till it comes under the Preſenzano, and then turns to the right, whereas the old road turns to the right near San Felice, towards Teano, which it paſſed through. This made me conjecture that San Felice might be the old Ad Flexum, the *flexus* being changed into *felice*, and made a ſaint. The turn to the right hand here, and the ruins near it, favour this opinion: but then there muſt be ſome miſtake in the figures of the Itineraries, which reckon only eight miles from Caſſino to Ad Flexum, whereas it is much more to the Hoſteria of San Felice. The Itineraries reckon only ſeventeen miles from Caſſinum to Teanum, and three from thence to Cales. At preſent it is reckoned, by the common road, from San Germano to Calvi twenty-eight miles. Strabo deſcribes the beginning of this road very exactly. "Incipit Latina à Viâ Appiâ "ad ſiniſtram ab eâ prope Romam deflectens, ac ſupra montem Tuſcu- "lanum tranſit inter Tuſculum urbem ac montem Albanum, deſcendit- "que ad Algidum oppidum (ſee ALGIDUM) et Pictas, diverſorium. "Incidit deinde Lavicana." See TEANUM.

LAVINIUM. Varro, ſpeaking of ſows having commonly as many pigs as teats, ſays; "ſi plures pariat, eſſe portentum. In quo illud antiquiſſimum "fuiſſe ſcribitur, quod ſus Aeneae Lavinii xxx porcos pepererit albos: "itaque quod portenderit factum xxx annis, ut Lavinienſes condiderint "oppidum Albam. Hujus ſuis ac porcorum etiam nunc veſtigia appa- "rent Lavinii: quod et ſimulacra eorum ahenea etiam nunc in publico "poſita, et corpus matris ab ſacerdotibus, quod in ſalſurâ fuerit, de- "monſtratur." De Re Ruſt. lib. II. cap. iv.

In Ovid's Faſti, near the beginning of the ſixth book, Juno ſays;

"Laurens populus Laviniumque meum."

Quaer. If Lavinium and Lanuvium are not the ſame place, though differently writ? Livy, writing of the wars between the Romans and Latins, calls theſe people in the ſame page ſometimes by one name, ſometimes by another. "Venerant et ab Lavinio Antioque auxilia: et Ari-

"cinos,

" cinos, Laviniosque et Veliternos Antiatibus Volſcis ſe conjungentes " ad Sturam flumen Maenius improviſo adortus fudit." And preſently after, at the concluſion of this war, he ſays; " Lanuvinis civitas data: " ſacraque ſua reddita, cum eo, ut aedes lucusque Soſpitae Junonis " communis Lanuvinis municipibus eum pop. R. eſſet." And again, " Aricini Nomentanique et Pedani eodem jure quo Lanuvini in civita- " tem accepti." Lib. VIII.

N. B. The temple of Juno Soſpita at Lanuvium is mentioned frequently by Livy.

Quaer. If the coaſt from Oſtia towards Nettuno is not ſtill called " Spiaggia della città della Vigna?" Quaer. If the Faſti Conſulares in the Capitol at Rome do not write Lavineis in the Conſulſhip of Maenius, viz. C. MENIVS P. F. P. N. COS. DE. ANTIATIBVS. LAVINEIS. VELITERNEIS. AN. CDXV. PRIDIE. K. OCT. Aelian, in his hiſtory, Animal. lib. XI. cap. xvi. plainly aſſerts the temple of Juno Soſpita to be at Lavinium, which, he ſays, was ſo called from Lavinia Latinus's daughter. See Claver. Ital. pag. 937. who there remarks that Aelian was himſelf of the neighbourhood of this country, being born at Praeneſte, and therefore may be ſuppoſed to be well informed. It is probable, that Virgil hints at this temple of Juno at Lavinium and at her temple on mount Aventin, when he makes Jupiter tell her:

" Nec gens ulla tuos aequè celebrabit honores."

Lib. XII. ver. 840.

Ovid mentions " caſtrumque ſacrasque Lavini ſedes" near the ſhore, which the ſhip paſſed, which brought the Epidaurian Serpent, Met. lib. XV. But, N. B. the geographical account in this fable of Ovid is very confuſed.

Appian, ſpeaking of Milo killing Clodius, ſays; " profectus eſt in " patriam ſuam Lavinium, quam Aeneas fertur (ſo the Latin, but the " Greek has it Διομηδη φασιν) poſt expugnatum Ilium primam condidiſſe " in Italiâ, diſſitam ab urbe ad decimum nonum lapidem," Appian. De Bell. Civ. lib. II. 439.

" Oſtia Ancus Martius condidit; quae urbs etiam eſt. Eam ſequitur " Antium, urbs importuoſa, ſaxis infita, diſtans ab Oſtiis CCLX ſtadiis. " Hodie urbs ea, etc. In medio harum urbium eſt Lavinium: quod " habet omnibus Latinis commune fanum Veneris. Ejus adminiſtratio

" à majoribus eſt ad Ardeates propagata. Sequitur Laurentum, et ſupra
" (ὑπερκειται δε τουτων) id, Ardea, Rutulorum colonia, LXX à mari ſtadiis.
" Prope eſt fanum Veneris (Αφροδισιον), ad quod Latini ſolennem agitant
" conventum. Ea loca ſunt à Samnitibus vaſtata, et nunc rudera urbium
" reſtant. Loca ipſa nobilitata ſunt Aeneae peregrinatione, et ſacrifi-
" ciorum ritus ab illo uſque tempore traditos ſervari aiunt." Strabo, lib. V. In another place, a little before this paſſage, he ſeems to place Lavinium between Ardea and Antium. " Totum Latium fe-
" lix eſt et omnium rerum ferax, demptis paucis quibuſdam locis mari-
" timis quae paluſtria ſunt et morboſa, ut Ardeatium ager, et quod
" eſt inter Antium ac Lavinium uſque ad Pometiam."

Mela does not name Lavinium, but mentions Aphrodiſium, and places it between Ardea and Antium, thus; " Circes domus aliquando
" Circeii, Antium, Aphrodiſium, Ardea, Laurentum, Oſtia." Pliny likewiſe makes no mention of Lavinium in his catalogue, but ſpeaks of Aphrodiſium, and places it as Mela does. " In principio eſt Oſtia,
" colonia à Romano rege deducta; oppidum Laurentum, lucus Jovis
" indigetis, amnis Numicius, Ardea à Danaë Perſei matre condita.
" Dein quondam Aphrodiſium, Antium colonia," etc. Plin. lib. III. cap. v.

Silius Italicus deſcribes Lavinium on the ſide of a high hill.

" Quos celſo devexa jugo, Junonia ſedes,
" Lavinium." Lib. VIII. 360.

He ſpeaks of it in the thirteenth Book as the country of Milo's family.

" Lavino generate, inquit, quem Soſpita Juno
" Dat nobis, Milo." Lib. XIII. 364.

LAVINO, a river between Bologna and Modena, ſix miles from Bologna, and four from the Reno.

LAURENTINUM. It is plain, from Pliny, that his villa of this name ſtood on the ſea-ſhore between the Viae Oſtienſis and Laurentia: for he deſcribes it thus: " Decem et ſeptem millibus paſſuum ab urbe ſe-
" ceſſit. Aditur non unâ viâ, nam et Laurentina et Oſtienſis eodem
" ferunt. Sed Laurentina à quartodecimo lapide, Oſtienſis ab unde-
" cimo

" cimo relinquenda." Oſtia was the only town in his neighbourhood, though there was a village nearer to him (perhaps Laurentum). " Suggerunt affatim ligna proximae ſylvae: caeteras copias Oſtienſis " colonia miniſtrat. Frugi quidem homini ſufficit etiam vicus, quem una " villa diſcernit: in hoc balinea meritoria tria." It is plain that there was no running water at his Villa; but well-water, and that near the ſurface, and in great plenty. " Deficitur aquâ ſalienti, ſed puteos ac " potius fontes habet, ſunt enim in ſummo: illuc è paſcuis pecora con- " veniunt, ſi quando aquam umbramve ſectantur." Epiſt. lib. II. xvii.

The place now ſhewn for the ruins of Pliny's villa is about half a mile from the ſea ſhore, two miles and half or three from Villa Sacchetti, and four from old Oſtia. The old paved road from Oſtia to Laurentum or Torre Paterno, and ſo on to Antium, paſſes very near theſe ruins, and further diſtant from the ſea, and is ſtill viſible in ſeveral places through the woods. The road to this place is by Oſtia; but I was informed on the ſpot that there is a much nearer way through the woods, on horſeback or foot, which leaves the lake of Oſtia on the left, and falls into the great road at Malafede de Lanti, about eight miles from Rome. It is plain by Pliny's account, that when he went by the Via Oſtienſis to his villa, he did not turn off till the eleventh mile, i. e. ſix miles from his own houſe, and five from Oſtia. This muſt have been about the top of the hill called now Monte di S. Paolo, where I obſerved a road to turn off to the left, and it ſeemed to have been paved, though by Pliny's account it was not paved in his time, but ſandy.

LAURENTUM. Virgil ſeems to make Aeneas march his infantry to attack Laurentum along the hills now called Monte di S. Paolo: for thus Turnus ſpeaks to Camilla:

" Aeneas, ut fama fidem miſſique reportant
" Exploratores, † equitum levia improbus arma
" Praemiſit, quaterent campos: ipſe ardua montis
" Per deſerta jugo * properans adventat ad urbem.
" Furta paro belli convexo in tramite ſylvae,
" Ut bivias armato obſidam milite fauces." Lib. XI. ver. 511.

And ſix verſes afterwards he adds:

" † Eſt curvo anfractu vallis accommoda fraudi
" Armorumque dolis: quam denſis frondibus atrum
" Urget utrinque latus: tenuis quo ſemita ducit,
" Anguſtaeque ferunt fauces aditusque maligni.
" Hanc ſuper, in ſpeculis ſummoque in vertice montis,
" Planities ignota jacet," etc.

† He means probably that the light-horſe were ſent over the plain from Oſtia towards Villa Sacchetti, etc.

* Though Aeneas marched expeditiouſly, he did not arrive till the cloſe of the evening, as appears by the four laſt verſes of the eleventh book.

‡ Quaer. If there is any place in the woods of Laurentum anſwering this deſcription?

When Aruns had killed Camilla, Opis, by the direction of Diana, revenges her death by killing Aruns, for which purpoſe Virgil places her on the top of a mount near Laurentum, which he thus deſcribes:

" Fuit ingens monte ſub alto
" Regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere buſtum
" Antiqui Laurentis, opacâque ilice tectum.
" Hic Dea ſe primum rapido pulcherrima niſu
" Siſtit, et Aruntem tumulo ſpeculatur ab alto." Ver. 850.

That there was a great marſh or lake near Laurentum is manifeſt from Virgil; for, when he makes Turnus fly from Aeneas in the ſingle combat under the walls of Laurentum, he ſays:

" Et nunc huc, inde huc incertos implicat orbes.
" Undique enim denſâ Teucri incluſere coronâ:
" Atque hinc vaſta palus, hinc ardua moenia cingunt.
Aen. XII. 743.

I do not remember that Virgil ever mentions or deſcribes Laurentum as ſituated on the ſea ſhore, but he ſeems to hint that it was not far diſtant from the ſhore; for, ſpeaking of the field in which the aforementioned ſingle combat was fought, he ſays:

" Forte ſacer Fauno foliis oleaſter amaris
" Hic ſteterat, nautis olim venerabile lignum:

" Servati

" Servati ex undis ubi figere dona ſolebant
" Laurenti Divo, et votas ſuſpendere veſtes." Aen. XII. 766.

LITERNUM. " Ad Clanii oſtium fuit Liternum, nempe in anguſto illo " tramite inter dextram fluminis ripam et mare, quà ſpeculatrix con- " ſpicitur turris vulgari appellatione La Torre di Patria: juxta quam " etiam nunc antiquï oppidi quaedam viſuntur rudera." Cluver. Ital. lib. IV. cap. ii. This place was famous for the retirement of Scipio Africanus. Livy, after having given a long account of him, concludes thus: " Multa alia in Scipionis exitu maximae vitae, dieque dictâ, morte, " funere, ſepulcro, in diverſum trahunt; ut cui famae, quibus ſcriptis " adſentiar, non habeam. Non de accuſatore convenit. Alii M. Naevium, " alii Petilios diem dixiſſe ſcribunt. Non de tempore, quo dicta dies ſit; " non de anno quo mortuus ſit; non, ubi mortuus aut elatus ſit. Alii " Romae, alii Literni, et mortuum et ſepultum. Utrobique monumenta " oſtenduntur et ſtatuae. Nam et Literni monumentum, monumentoque " ſtatua ſuperimpoſita fuit; quam tempeſtate disjectam nuper vidimus " ipſi: et Romae extra portam Capenam in Scipionum monumento tres " ſtatuae ſunt: quarum duae P. et L. Scipionum dicuntur eſſe: tertia " poëtae Q. Ennii:" Lib. XXXVIII. Valerius Maximus, ſpeaking of the monument of Scipio at Liternum, ſays: " Voluntarii exilii acerbitatem " non tacitus ad inferos tulit; ſepulcro ſuo inſcribi jubendo; Ingrata " Patria ne Oſſa quidem mea habes. Lib. V. cap. iii.

Silius Italicus ſeems to place Liternum between the Vulturnus and the Maſſic hills. For when he gives the account of Hannibal's being hemmed in by Fabius, he expreſsly places him in the Falernian.

" Hic vero intravit poſtquam uberis arva Falerni."

And on the other ſide he makes him encloſed by the Linterna Palus.

" Hinc Leſtrygoniae ſaxoſo monte premebant
" A tergo rupes; undoſis ſquallida terris
" Hinc Linterna palus." Lib. VII.

LUCULLI AGER. N. B. Part of the Campagna about the Mezza via di marino, and round about the country, is now called Lugulo; perhaps by corruption from Lucullus.

MANDURIUM, now called Caſal-nuovo, about eighteen miles from Tarento, where ſtill remains an old double wall about ſeven miles in circum-

circumference, " opus reticulatum incertum." There is likewiſe there a fountain in a grotta now called Fonte di Manduria.

MARRUVIUM. " Marruvium in plano ſitum erat, in loco quem vulgus " modo appellat, Il Piano di Marcio, ultra Ortuculam, ut ſatis accuratè " Leander Albatus obſervavit; licet minimè Cluverio placeat, qui falſo " Morream fuiſſe praeſumit." Phaebonius Hiſt. Marſ. lib. III. cap. i.

In the ſame chapter of Phaebonius are two old inſcriptions mentioning Civitat. Marſorum. Marr. Morrea is ſituated on a very ſteep rock on the left ſide of the Garigliano about twelve miles above Sora. I was informed, when I paſſed that road, that it is now a very ſmall place conſiſting of about fifty houſes only, but ſtill it is the head of a diſtrict belonging to the family of Piccolomini, Barons of Balzerano; and all the towns under that ſtate, as St. Vincenzo, St. Giovanni, etc. are obliged to go to Morrea to hold their courts, and do all buſineſs relating to that ſtate, the ſeal being kept at Morrea, which is an argument of its being an ancient place. The vale under it, now called the Vale of Roveto, is very uneven, but ſpacious and fruitful, and well wooded.

MEDIOLANUM was grown to be an eminent city in Strabo's time. " Inſubres Galli etiamnum extant, quorum fuit metropolis Mediolanum, " pagus olim (nam per pagos habitabant eâ tempeſtate univerſi), nunc " urbs eſt praeclara, trans Padum, et Alpibus fere contigua." Strab. lib. V.

MELA may well be ſaid to run through Breſcia, though the natural bed or channel lies a mile weſtward of the town: for all the water is by a canal brought through the town to turn mills, etc. When I paſſed that way, January the 20th, I obſerved that the natural bed was then quite dry, and I was informed that it was always ſo, unleſs upon great rains. See Cluverius.

MOLA. See FORMIAE.

MONTE DRAGONE. See SINUESSA.

MONZA, ten miles from Milan. This is the Modicia mentioned by Paulus Diaconus. " Per idem tempus Theudelinda regina Baſilicam " Beati

" Beati Johannis Baptiſtae, quam in Modiciâ conſtruxerat, qui locus " ſupra Mediolanum XII millibus abeſt, dedicavit. Multisque ornamentis " auri argentique decoravit, praediisque ſufficienter ditavit; quo in loco " etiam Theudericus quondam Gothorum rex palatium conſtruxit, pro " eo quod aeſtivo tempore locus ipſe, utpote vicinus Alpibus, tempera- " tus ac ſalubris exiſtit." Langobard. rer. lib. IV. cap. xxii. Here is ſtill kept the famous iron crown (as it is called) with which the kings of the Romans are crowned when in Italy. It is a gold diadem without rays, beſet with precious ſtones, and about the middle of the inſide is a ſmall circle of iron pretended to have been made of one of the nails of the Croſs; which occaſions the name of the Iron Crown. It is now kept at the altar at the end of the right iſle ſecured with iron bars and doors, and is brought out once a year only to be carried in the proceſſion. We ſaw the model of it in the treaſury: it is ſaid that the Emperor Charles the Vth was crowned with this at Bologna. They have in the ſame treaſury ſeveral veſſels and rich ornaments of gold and ſilver of a very antient mode, part of which was probably given them by Queen Theudelinda. Among other things, the famous Sapphire cup on a gold foot; the cup, in the ſhape of a tumbler or goblet, is two inches three-tenths deep, by three inches four-tenths wide. At the entrance of the church are two pillars of Verde Antique of about a foot diameter, which ſupport a little porch at the great door.

NARNIA. " Alter Conſul Apuleius in Umbria Nequinum oppidum " circumſedit. Locus erat arduus, atque in parte unâ praeceps, ubi " nunc Narnia ſita eſt," etc. Liv. lib. X. And afterwards he goes on: " Ita Nequinum in ditionem pop. Rom. venit. Colonia eò adverſus " Umbros miſſa, à Nare flumine Narnia appellata." Ibid.

ΝΕΑ ΠΟΛΙΣ. See BAIAE.

NEPETE, now Nepi. The Ager Nepeſinus lay between Veii and the Faliſci and Capenates. When theſe two people had harraſſed the Romans during the ſiege of Veii, Camillus the Dictator led an army againſt them, and Livy ſays: " In agro primum Nepeſino cum Faliſcis " et Capenatibus ſigna confert. Non praelio tantum fudit hoſtes, ſed " caſtris quoque exuit, etc. Inde ad Veios exercitus ductus." Lib. V. cap. xix.

NEQUINUM. See NARNIA.

NOMENTUM. Pliny, lib. XIV. cap. iv. which chapter is entitled, "Inſignia culturae vinearum," has this paſſage: "Summam adeptus eſt "gloriam Acilius Sthenelus è plebe libertinâ, LX jugerum non amplius "vineis excultis in Nomentano agro, atque CCCC nummûm venundatis. "..... Sed maxima ejuſdem Stheneli opera Rhemio Palaemoni, alias "grammaticâ arte celebri, in hiſce viginti annis mercato rus DC num-"mûm in eodem Nomentano, decimi lapidis ab urbe diverticulo. Eſt "autem uſquequaque nota vilitas mercis per omnia ſuburbana, ibi tamen "maxima, quoniam et neglecta per indiligentiam praedia paraverat, ac "ne in peſſimis quidem elegantioris ſoli. Haec aggreſſus excolere, non "virtute animi, ſed vanitate primo, quae nota mirè in illo fuit, paſtina-"tis de integro vineis, curâ Stheneli dum agricolam imitatur, ad vix "credibile miraculum perduxit, intra octavum annum CCCC nummûm "emptori addictâ pendenti vindemiâ. Cucurritque non nemo ad ſpec-"tandas uvarum in iis vineis ſtrues, litteris ejus altioribus contra id "pigrâ vicinitate ſibi patrocinante."

NUMICIUS. Ovid ſpeaks of Numicius as one of the rivers of Latium. And as all the other rivers he mentions there run into the Tyber, we may conjecture that this does ſo too. We may further conclude that if it does not fall into the Tyber, it is near the ſea; for, when the Gods had conſented to the deification of Aeneas, Ovid ſays of Venus:

"Littus adit Laurens; ubi tectus arundine ſerpit
"In freta flumineis vicina Numicius undis.
"Hunc jubet Aeneae, quaecunque obnoxia morti,
"Abluere," etc. Lib. XIV. 598.

OSCI. Theſe people ſeem to have been the ancient inhabitants of one part of the mountains which encompaſs the Campagna Felice, and whoſe territories extended towards the Volſci: for thus Strabo: "Super "hoc littus (i. e. à Sinueſſâ ad Promontorium Minervae) univerſa eſt "ſita Campania, omnium planitierum feliciſſima. Circum eam jacent "cum tumuli terrae fertiles, tum Samnitum Oſcorumque montes." Lib. V. And a little before, ſpeaking of the Campus Pometius, he adds: "Huic contiguam regionem prius Auſones habitarunt, qui iidem "Campaniam quoque tenuerunt. Poſt hos Oſci ſunt, qui et ipſi partem "Campa-

OSCI. Title people took to pray post the ancient inhabitants of one part of the mountains which encompass the Cambyses Lepcis", and whole territories extended towards the Volci: for this Strabo: „ Super „ hoc litus (i. e. à Sirtaglis ad Promontorium Mercurii) navigatis est „ Lus-Cambenis, omnium primitivum Africanum. Citrum sam locum „ eam montem regere Gerules, non Garamitum Occidente montes." Lib. V. And a little before, speaking of the Cambus Pomerius, he adds: „ Hinc contiguum regionem primi Autoles habitarunt, qui nidum „ Cambyssem quondo reunerunt. Post hos Oci [aut dui et ibi pertem „ Cambyssem.

OSCI. Title people took to pray post the ancient inhabitants of one part of the mountains which encompass the Cambyses Lepcis", and wholo territories extended towards the Volci: for this Strabo: „ Super „ hoc litus (i. e. à Sirtaglis ad Promontorium Mercurii) navigatis est „ Lus-Cambenis, omnium primitivum Africanum. Citrum sam locum „ eam montem regere Gerules, non Garamitum Occidente montes." Lib. V. And a little before, speaking of the Cambus Pomerius, he adds: „ Hinc contiguum regionem primi Autoles habitarunt, qui nidum „ Cambyssem quondo reunerunt. Post hos Oci [aut dui et ibi pertem „ Cambyssem.

NUMIDIUS. Ovid speaks PLAUTIANUS as one of the Greek of Latium. And as all the other Greeks in mentions there am into the Upper, we may conjecture that this place [illegible] We must further conclude that it it does not fall into the Province is next the sea: for, upon the Coast and confined to the dedication of Agnes". Ovid [illegible] of Venus:

„ Littus adit Latius: adi regna Venulia tetbi
„ Hic tibi Numidæ, victus Numicius undis.
„ Hanc inpet Agnes, dirocundæ opinois mouth.
„ Aptatæ," etc. Lib. XIV. 208.

NEOLINUM. See NARNIA.

NOMENTUM. Pliny, lib. XIV. cap. iv. which chapter is entitled,

To face p. 587.

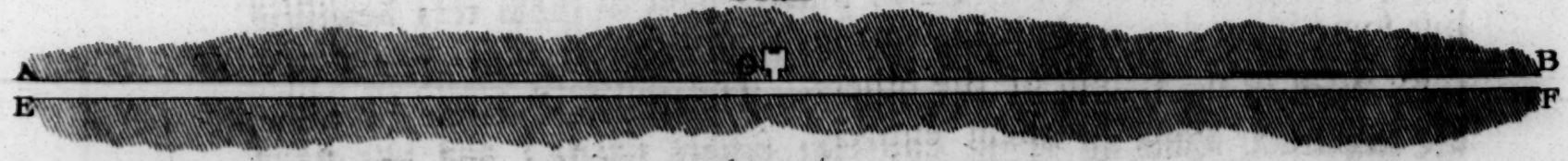
Section of the Grotta of Pausilypo.

AB Length of the Grotta 2290 ft. English.

AC Hight of ditto at the entrance next to Naples, from the Top of the artificial Arch C 83 feet; from the Arch of the Rock to the Ground about 70.

BD Hight of ditto at the end next to Pozzuolo, from the bottom of the artificial Arch D 69½. from the Arch of the Rock to the Ground about 40. L Virgil's Tomb on the edge of the Rock on the left hand, as one enters the Grotta from Naples, the depth of the Rock from thence to y. ground 65 feet. It was at first in view but cannot now be seen from below, the Rock having been cut, as I imagine, at least 30 feet lower, when the Grotta was enlarged by K. Alphonso in the year 1456. II Spiracula made at the same time to give light to the Grotta.

Plan



Scale of Feet

AE Wide from the entrance next to Naples, from 20 to 22 feet, near to the Chappel 'tis only 18.

BF Wide at the entrance next to Pozzuolo, 15 feet 10, farther in 15 feet 2 only, towards the middle it widens to 18 Feet.

G The Chappel, the hight of the Grotta thereabout is near 35 feet. H Hight of the Grotta at the lowest part 14 ft ½. NB The Rock at that part is not solid and therefore is fortified on each Side by artificial work of very large Stones, as markid in the Plan.

S. Wale del.t

E. Rooker Sculp.

"Campaniae tenuerunt." By which Strabo ſeems to mean that ſeveral places of the Campania were colonies of the Oſci; for he ſays that the Sidicini, or Inhabitants of Teanum, were Oſci. See TEANUM. In another place, Strabo, ſpeaking of the country about Naples or the Crater, as he calls it, ſays; "Alii ferunt, cum ea loca quondam Opici "et Auſones tenuiſſent, fuiſſe ea deinde ab Oſcâ gente occupata, quae "a Cumanis pulſa inde ſit, quos rurſum Etruſci ejecerint; etenim ob "praeſtantiam campos illos multis fuiſſe certaminibus expetitos." Again, afterwards, he ſays; "Pompeios tenuerunt olim Oſci, deinde Etruſci "ac Pelaſgi, poſt hos Samnitae, qui et ipſi inde ſunt expulſi:" Strab. lib. V. It appears from hence that the Oſci were an ancient people in Italy, but in Strabo's time there was no ſuch people, for he remarks it as a ſingular thing; "Cum Oſcorum gens interierit, ſermo eorum apud "Romanos reſtat, ita ut carmina quaedam ac mimi certo quodam cer- "tamine, quod inſtituto majorum celebratur, in ſcenam producantur." Horace, in his journey to Brunduſium, makes his Meſſius, "clarum ge- "nus Oſci," an inhabitant of Caudium.

OSTIA. It is plain from Rutilius that the left branch of the Tyber was ſtopped in his time, and had been ſo for many years. See Itiner.

PATERNO. Anaſtaſius, in the life of Sylveſter, ſpeaking of the donations of the Emperor Conſtantine, ſays; "Item ſub civitate Lauren- "tium, Poſſeſſio Patras." "Haud dubie hic locus eſt qui nunc vulgo "vocatur Paterno," ſays Cluver, lib. III. cap. iii. Quaere.

PAUSILYPO. See the Plate annexed.

PERUGIA. S. Angelo is ſuppoſed to have been the Temple of Veſta. It is built in the form of S. Stefano Rotundo at Rome. The inner circle conſiſts of ſixteen Corinthian pillars, moſt of them very beautiful, but ſome irregular, and, being ſmaller than the reſt, have pedeſtals to raiſe them to the height of the others. The outward circle of pillars are immured, ſome of them entirely, others partly; and one ſtands quite clear of the wall of the church, in the houſe of the ſacriſtan.

PERUSIA. One of the twelve cities of the ancient Etruſci. See Appian, p. 1113. edit. Toll.

AD PICTAS. See AD BIVIUM.

PISA. Juſt within the Lucca gate at Piſa are the remains, as it is ſaid, of old baths, commonly called Nero's. The Sudatorium ſtill remains intire, as is affirmed by the following inſcription on the wall.

" D. O. M.

" Parietinae, quas, viator, aſpicis, Reliquiae Thermarum ſunt, quibus an-
" tiquitus Piſana civitas utebatur. Harum quum reliquas partes tempus
" edax conſumpſerit; ſudatorio duntaxat pepercit. Quod nec innume-
" rabili annorum ſerie, nec Barbarorum injuriis everſum ſtudioſos ve-
" tuſtatis oculos ad ſe allicit. Id ingredere et attentius contemplare, ſi
" rerum antiquarum ſtudio delectaris. Videbis integram aedificii for-
" mam, obſervabis rationem luminum, et quomodo calor per tubos im-
" mitteretur. Nihil notitiae tuae ſubſtractum quereris, nec facilè quic-
" quam alibi in hoc genere inveniri poſſe perfectius affirmabis. Et ſi-
" mul gratias ages providentiae Sereniſ^mi Coſmi Tertii, magni Etruriae
" ducis, qui nè hoc antiquitatis inſigne monumentum funditus interiret,
" ejus curam diligentemque cuſtodiam imperavit. An. MDCXCIII."

Round the cloyſter of the Campo Santo are ſeveral old heathen Sarcophagi, as appears by the reliefs on their front. That of the Counteſs Matilda's mother, which ſtands near one of the ſide doors of the dome, repreſents Meleager hunting.

In the dome are ſeveral pillars of very beautiful marble, but for want of cleaning make no ſhew. Moſt of them are much abuſed, having iron cramps driven in to hold lamps, etc.

POLA. See TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS, and the Plates annexed.

IL PORTO. (See the plate annexed). About four miles S. E. from Otranta lies a creek called Il Porto, as repreſented in the plate, which is ſuppoſed by the people of the country to be the place where Aeneas firſt landed. It is reckoned the neareſt point of land to Greece, the hills of which are eaſily diſtinguiſhed from thence. The port is encompaſſed by pointed rocks on both ſides, as deſcribed by Virgil:

" Gemino dimittunt brachia muro
" Turriti ſcopuli." Aen. III. 535.

And the town of Minorvino, which probably was the Caſtrum Minervae, with her Temple, ſtands about four miles up in the country, S. W. from the port.

" Refugitque

Torre Badiera à mile S. E. of Ohranto.

Torre Minervino,
a Tower on the shore,
not the Town.

To face page 238.

BOOK II.

[illegible] are at this day the remains, as it is said, called Neto's. The Sudatorium still remains: the following inscription on the wall

"D. O. M.

Victis, Reliquiae Thermarum hae, duplus an-
nus: Balneatorium impensis evertum fundatos ve-
tio dunaxat peperit. Quod nec immuni-
tas, nec tecti [illegible] dum-
taxat [illegible] Aidepsi integrum aegritudi to-
[illegible] qelecastris. Aidepsi integrum aegritudi to-
n plurimum, et dromedo celot per tupos im-
[illegible] Hermum duum reliquiae partes tempus
integrum [illegible] Aidepsi integrum aegritudi to-
qelecastris. Aidepsi integrum aegritudi to-
[illegible] Aidepsi integrum aegritudi to-
[illegible] Aidepsi integrum aegritudi to-
[illegible]

" Refugitque à littore templum."

N. B. Caſtro, which lies to the eaſt of Porto, is ſuppoſed by Cluver and others to have been the old Caſtrum Minervae. But it appears, by all the Iuineraries, that the great road leads through Caſtrum Minervae: and I am informed that Caſtro lies in ſo rocky a country, that it is impoſſible the road could have gone near it.

PUPINIA. Varro, ſpeaking of poor land, obſerves: " In Pupiniâ ne-
" que arbores prolixas, neque vites feraces, neque ſtramenta videre
" craſſa poſſis, neque ficum manicam, et arbores plerasque ac prata re-
" torrida et muſcoſa," lib. I. cap. ix. " Pupiniae peſtilentis ſimul et
" exilis agri cultorem fuiſſe M. Attilium Regulum loquuntur hiſtoriae."
Columella, lib. I. cap. iv.

PUTEOLI. " Sequuntur hinc littora circa Dicacarchiam atque ipſa urbs.
" Fuit ea antiquitus navale Cumanorum + in ſupercilio littoris extruc-
" tum. At ſub tempus Hannibalis belli Romani novis colonis frequen-
" tarunt, mutatoque nomine Puteolos dixerunt à Puteos. Alii à putore
" aquarum omnem hunc tractum ad Baias uſque et Cumanum agrum, quod
" ſulphuris ſit plenus ignisque et calidarum aquarum." Strab. lib. V.
The port is deſcribed in the following manner: " Urbs ea emporium
" evaſit maximum, ſtationes habens navium manu ſtructas; naturâ are-
" nae eam commoditatem praeſtante, quae calci proportione reſpondens
" validam conglutinationem concretionemque recipit: itaque glaream
" cum caemento, ex calce et arenâ conflato, admiſcentes aggeres, in
" mare producunt, ſinuantque littoris partes maxime apertas, ita ut
" ſubduci tuto poſſint maximae onerariae naves." Ibid. An inſcription at Puzzuolo touching the repairing of the piles of Antoninus Pius: thirteen remaining, ſays Cluver. Caligula's bridge of boats reached to the mole of Pozzuolo from Baiae, ſays Suetonius; from Miſenum, according to Joſephus: but Dio, who gives the fulleſt account, ſays, from Bauli. The former reckons it three miles and ſix hundred paces long; the latter three miles and half; but Joſephus, four miles. Seneca mentions the ſame Pilae. Epiſt. lxxvii.

+ He means, probably, that in former times it took up only the top of the hill, where is now the cathedral. Livy tells us that it was fortified, and began to flouriſh at the time of the ſecond Punic

war. "Q. Fabius ex autoritate Senatus Puteolos, perbellum coeptum, "frequentari emporium communiit," lib. XXIV.

RAVENNA. "Urbium in paludibus ſitarum maxima eſt Ravenna, tota "ligneis conſtans aedificiis, aquis perflua, quare pontibus et lembis "viae expediuntur. Non exiguam maris portionem affluxu aeſtûs re- "cipit, à quo et à fluminibus coenoſa omnia cùm elevantur, aëris vitio "ſit medicina. Itaque locus adeo ſalubris eſt, ut ibi gladiatores ali "atque exerceri juſſerint Principes Romani." Strab. lib. V.

"Fertur Ravennam à Theſſalis fuiſſe conditam, qui cùm Tyrrheno- "rum injurias non ferrent, ultrò in urbem admiſſis Umbrorum quibuſ- "dam, qui urbem etiamnum tenent, domum reverterint." Ibid.

It is a common notion among the modern Geographers and Voyage-writers, that the ſea came formerly quite up to Ravenna, and is ſince retired from it. But this does not agree with Strabo's account, who deſcribes it like a town in Holland in a low marſhy country, having communication with the ſea by rivers and canals. Ravenna at preſent anſwers this deſcription, being ſituated between two rivers. The tide flows up to the town, and brings piottas and other veſſels of larger burthen. The only difference, probably, is, that ſeveral branches of the canals, which formerly, for the conveniency of trade, paſſed through the ſtreets, and opened a communication between the rivers and greater canals, being, by the decay of trade, rendered uſeleſs, are in proceſs of time entirely choaked up. At about two miles diſtance from Ravenna, on the road to Rimini, is a convent of the Camaldoleſe called Claſſe, which Cluver ſuppoſes took its name from the ſtation of the Roman navy. The ground all round it is very low and marſhy, which favours his opinion. And there are ſtill canals near it which carry boats. The ſea is about three miles diſtant. The church of Claſſe is ſupported by a great number of ancient columns; and in it are ſeveral very large and handſome Sarcophagi, with the bodies, as they pretend, of ſaints.

RHEGIENSES "cives, ultimi Brutiorum, quos à Siciliae corpore violenti "quondam maris impetus ſegregavit, unde civitas eorum nomen accepit; "diviſio enim ῥηγησις Graecâ linguâ vocitatur." Caſſiod. lib. XII. cap. xiv.

ROSEA.

ROSEA. "Caeſar Vopiſcus Aedilicius cauſam cùm ageret apud cen-
" ſores, campos Roſeae Italiae dixit eſſe ſumen, in quo relicta pertica
" poſtridie non apparet propter herbam:" Varro, De Re Ruſt. lib. I. cap. vii. "Muli è Roſeâ campeſtri aetate exiguntur in Gurgures altos
" montes:" Var. lib. II. cap. i. He always uſes it ſubſtantively. The adjective of Roſea is Roſeanus; as, "Equi Roſeani." Var.

RUBICON. Three miles from Ceſenatico, in the way to Rimini, the road croſſes two little rivulets, called Le Due Bocche, at their conflux, or the place where they fall into each other. This, probably, was the Confluentes in the old Itineraries, for it anſwers exactly to the number of miles, being now reckoned twelve from Rimini, and ſix from the Bologna road, or Via Aemilia, a branch of which, it is probable, fell into the Ravenna road at this place. One of the above-named brooks is ſtill known higher up, viz. on the Bologna road, by the name Rubicone; and it is generally pretended, that Caeſar paſſed the river at that place, and there the Roman edict is ſet up to certify the ſame; but it plainly appears from Cluverius that that inſcription is ſpurious, and that the place, where Caeſar paſſed, was on the Ravenna road at the conflux. N. B. Between the poſts of Ceſena and Savignano, on the road from Bologna to Rimini, one paſſes three rivers or torrents. The neareſt to Ceſena, at about two miles diſtance from the town, is ſtill called Rubicone, where the abovementioned edict is ſet up; the ſecond river is about ſix miles from Ceſena, and is commonly called Rugoſa, and in ſome maps, Butrio (perhaps from an Oſteria cloſe by it, which is ſo called); the third river runs cloſe under the walls of Savignano, and is called, as I was informed, Piſatello. The two former rivers join above the Due Bocche. (Quaer. How far?) And the Piſatello joins them at the Due Bocche.

RUBRAE, or Saxa Rubra, marked in the Itineraries IX miles from Rome, or VI from the bridge. This place anſwers to Prima Porta, the firſt poſt on the Via Flaminia, which is near eight miles diſtant from the preſent gate of Rome, the Porto de Popolo, and conſequently muſt be nine from old Rome, and ſix from the bridge. There ſtill remains here part of a brick arch, which ſtood over the road, and probably was the occaſion of the preſent name. And there are ſeveral other

ruins.

ruins. Caesar's Villa, called Ad Gallinas (for the reasons mentioned by Pliny, Suetonius, and others), was near this place, being described by Pliny: "Fluvio Tiberis impositа, juxta nonum lapidem Flaminiâ "viâ." See Pliny, lib. XV. cap. ult. See FIDENAE.

SACRIPORTUS. A place below Setia. See Appian, De Bell. Civil. lib. I.

SALARIA VIA. See VIA.

SAURACTI. "In originum libro Cato scribit haec. In Sauracti Fis-"cello caprae ferae sunt, quae saliunt è saxo pedes plus sexagenos." See Varro, De Re Rust. lib. II. cap. iii. This I suppose different from Soracte.

SAXA RUBRA. See RUBRAE.

SERMIONE. Though it appears to be only a promontory shooting out into the Lago di Garda, is really an island, the water of the lake encompassing all round, and there being no going to it but by a boat, or over a bridge.

SETIA, now Sezza, on a mountain overlooking the Palus Pomptina, was very famous for its wines.

"Non Hybla, non me spicifer capit Nilus,
"Nec quae paludes delicata Pomptinas
"Ex arce clivi spectat uva Setini."

Martial, lib. X. Ep. lxxiv.

The Vinum Setinum is frequently celebrated by the same author, as well as by others.

SINUESSA. "In sinu Setino sita est, et à sinu nomen gerit (σινος γαρ ὁ "κολπος, as the Greek adds), in proximo thermae ad quosdam morbos "pellendos efficacissimae," Strab. lib. V. This was the last town in Latium. "Nunc quidem ora maritima ab Ostia Sinuessam usque La-"tium appellatur." And, probably, this district was parted from the Campania by a bridge, which Horace calls "Pons Campanus."

"Proxima

"Proxima Campano ponti quae villula, rectum
"Praebuit." Sat. lib. I. Sat. v.

The bridge was over the Savone.

From Monte Dragone to the Bagni of Sinueſſa, on the road to the Garigliano is about two miles. The water of the Bagni ſmells and taſtes very ſtrong of ſulphur, and boils up plentifully at two different ſources. The water at one of them is white like the ſulphureous water near Tivoli, the other is blackiſh: at both very warm, but not boiling. The air here is eſteemed much better than at Monte Dragone. The Duke of Monte Dragone, to whom the baths belong, is fitting up a houſe there, in order to make the baths of uſe. Juſt by the Bagni is a ruined houſe, which was formerly the poſt-houſe, and ſtill bears the name of La Poſta, from whence to the Garigliano they reckon eight miles. The old road is viſible all the way by a high bank thrown up in a ſtrait line, pointing directly to the ferry; and in ſome places the old pavement ſtill appears. At Sinueſſa are ruins of ſeveral old buildings, but nothing remarkable. Above the Bagni is a round hill, where, probably, was the caſtle of the town; and higher up on the top of the mountain above Monte Dragone are ſtill ſome ruins, called La Rocca, which was, probably, another caſtle. The wines, on the ſide of the hill, between Sinueſſa and the Garigliano, are mentioned by Horace:

"Vina bibes iterum Tauro diffuſa, paluſtres
"Inter Minturnas Sinueſſanumque Petrinum."
Lib. I. Ep. v.

The Tabulae reckon from Sinueſſa to Savo VII, to Vulturno XII, from Sinueſſa to Liternum XII, to Cumae VI. See FALERNUM.

SORA ſtands on a flat, cloſe to the ſide of the Garagliano, and juſt under a craggy rock, on the top of which is a fort, to which there is no acceſs, but by a narrow ſteep path, or rather ſtairs, winding up the rock a mile and a half or more. About half way up the mountain is a ſmall flat, where, certainly, there was formerly another fortreſs, or part of the old town, there being ſtill remaining part of a wall, built with vaſt great ſtones, without cement, the "opus reticulatum incertum," and a great number of huge ſtones thrown down. There is now on the ſame ſmall flat an hermitage called La Madonna delle Gratie.

SPELLO.

SPELLO. Near it are the ruins of an Amphitheatre, the whole circuit of the oval plainly appearing ſtill, and one of the vaults which ſupported the ſeats. Near the former are the remains of another building, in form of a theatre.

Under the town is a thick wall, which buttreſſes the ſide of the hill, and ſerves as part of the wall of the town, in which wall is a nich or arch of ancient architecture of a very good taſte: near which is the following diſtich, cut on the wall, about ten feet high from the ground:

ORLANDI HIC CAROLI MAGNI MIRERE NEPOTIS
INGENTES ARTVS, CAETERA FACTA DOCENT.

Juſt under the verſes is ſtill a little hole, which the people of that country pretend was to mark the height of Orlando.

SULMO ſtands pretty high, has two ſmall rivers running juſt under the town on both ſides. The vale is finely watered, as Ovid deſcribes it. About two miles from Sulmone is a convent of the Celeſtins, the chief of their order: it ſtands juſt under a mountain called the Morrone. It is one of the moſt beautiful convents I ever ſaw. In the vale of Sulmone about a mile from Popoli is a Villa of the Duke di Popoli, where a river, a fine clear ſtream, riſes under the houſe, and running through the gardens, ſoon diſcharges itſelf into the Peſcara.

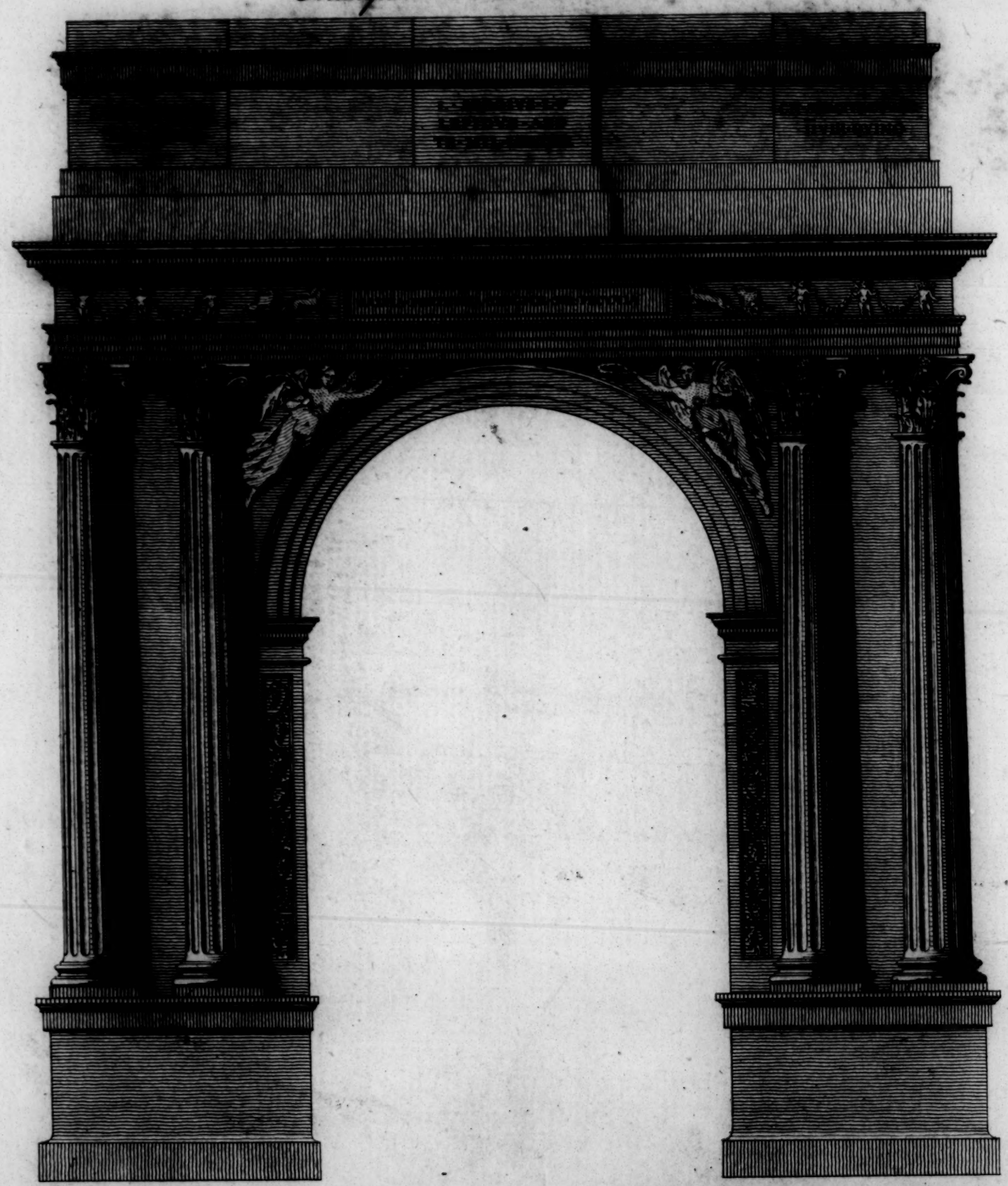
TEANUM SIDICINUM. This was formerly a very conſiderable city. Strabo, after he has enumerated the towns on the Via Latina, which were in Latium, adds: "Teanum Sidicinum, quod proximè ſequitur, "ipſo cognomento oſtendit ſe ad Sidicinos pertinere qui ſunt Oſci, "Gens Campanorum ſuperſtes, ita ut poſſit Campaniae dici, ipſa quo-"que urbium in Viâ Latinâ ſitarum maxima:" Strab. lib. V. And again two or three pages after: "In mediterraneis eſt Capua, revera id quod "nomine ejus ſignificatur. Reliquas enim ſi ei compares, oppida ſunt, "excepto Teano Sidicino, quae urbs eſt magni nominis." Soon after, Strabo obſerves, that the territories of Teanum and Cales, now Calvi, were bounded by two temples of Fortune. "Teanum Sidicinum et "Cales diſtinguunt duae Fortunae, quarum templa ſunt collocata ab "utrâque Latinae viae parte." Livy relates a war between the Sidicini and

BRITISH MUSEUM

Pl. I.

To face p. 398.

Triumphal Arch at Pola.



10 20 30 Ft.

At this Arch is seen the manner of fastening stones without Cement, with Cramps of Iron covered w.th Lead.

S. Wale del. E. Rooker Sculp.

GEORGIUS III
BRITISH MUSEUM

To face p. 595.

Temple of Augustus at Pola.

30 Feet 20 10

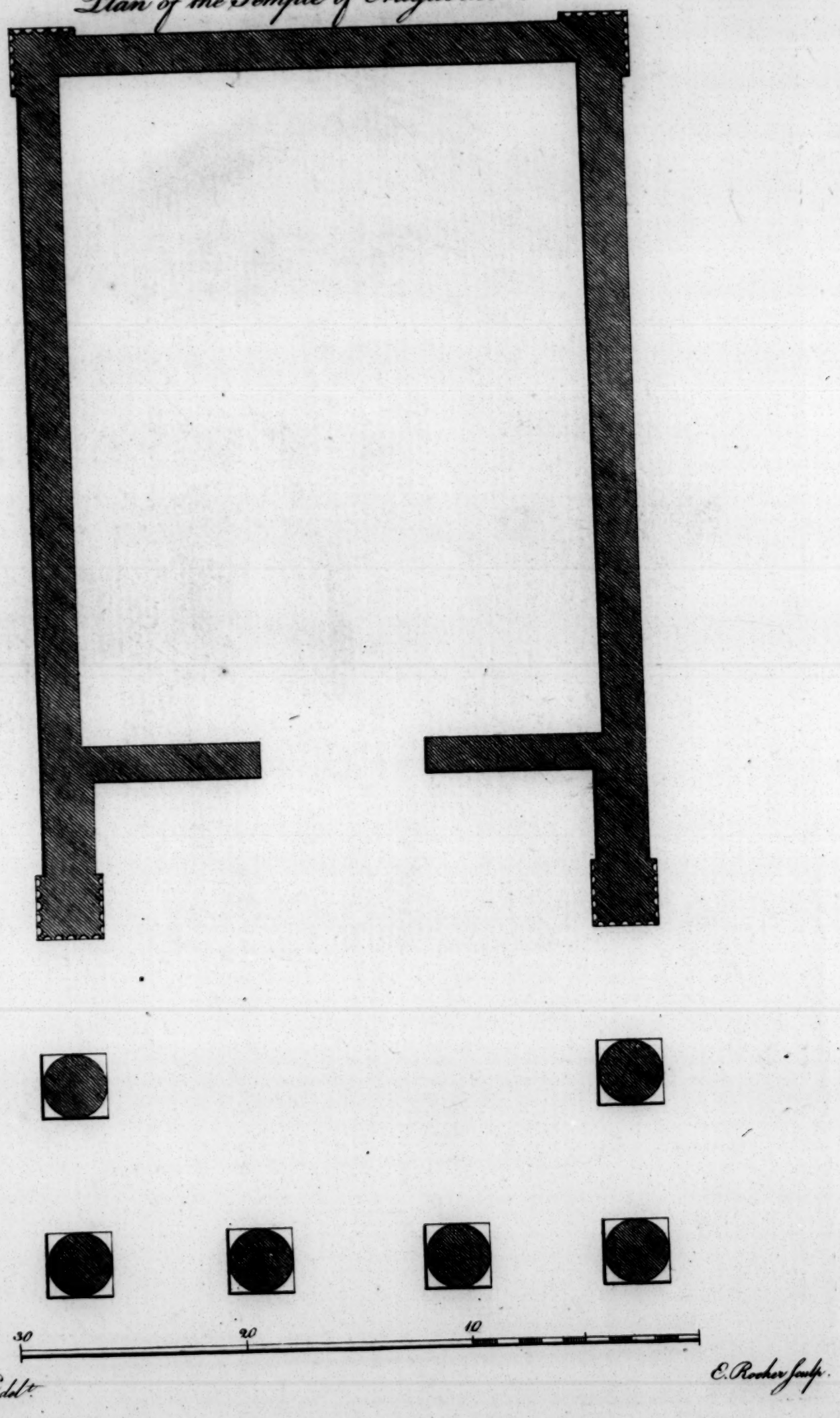
S. Wale del.

E. Rooker Sculp.

Pl. III.

Plan of the Temple of Augustus.

To face p. 593.

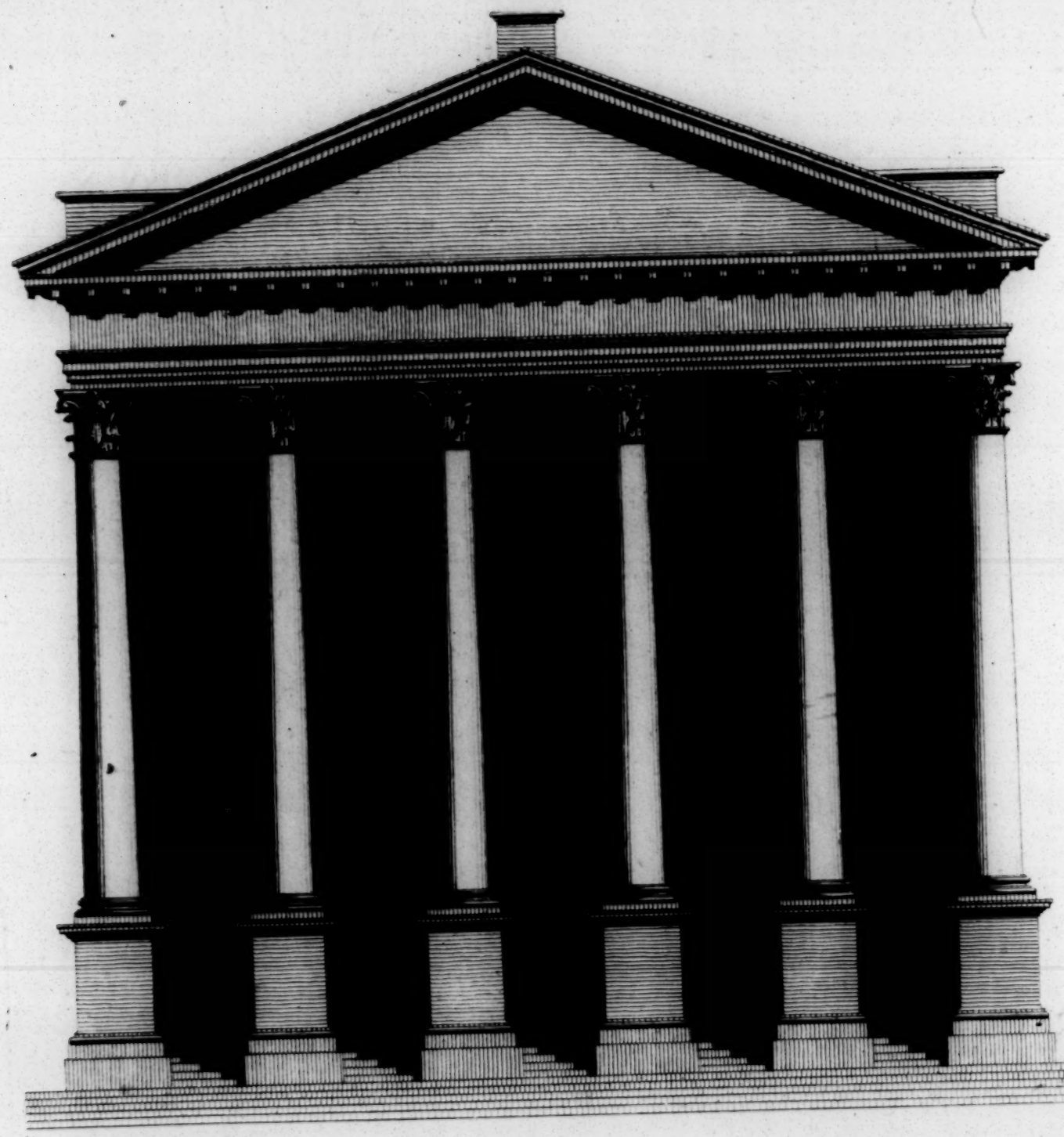


S. Wale del.t

E. Rocher sculp.

To face p. 595.

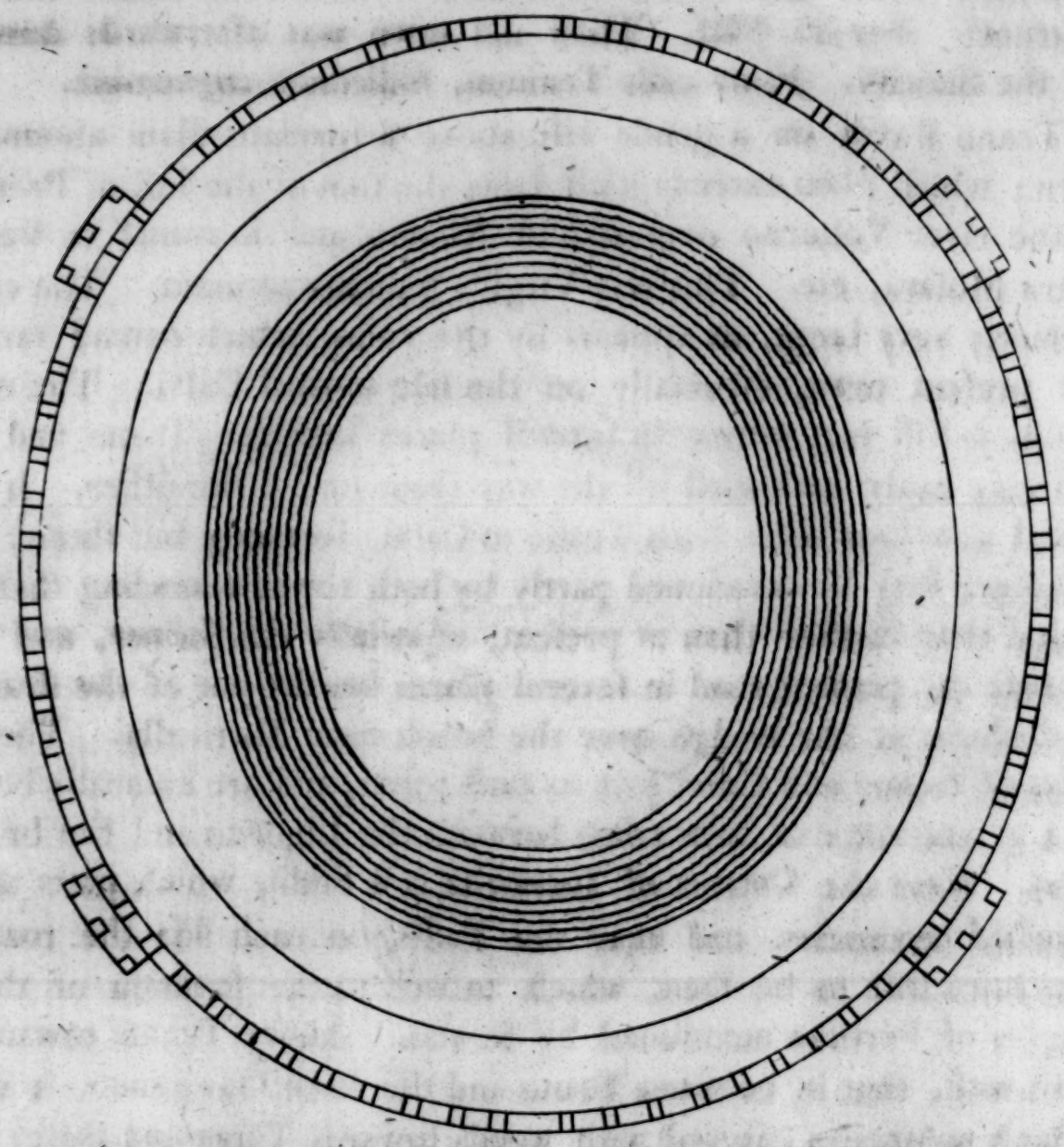
Temple at Assisi.



S. Wale del.t

E. Rooker sculp.t

To face p 595.



The Amphitheater at Pola.

Is not a perfect Circle being about 370 Venetian feet by 300.
There is no Appearance of Steps or Seats round the Wall, but as the building stands on the side of a hill, the Seats of the first Piano, were form'd on the Hill side, on the declivity of the Rock, and 'tis probable that the lower side was built up to the same level with the hill side, on Arches as in other Amphitheaters. Tho there are no Arches remaining yet the Pillasters still appear which probably served for the turning of Arches to support Seats.
As to the two upper Stories the Seats were undoubtedly of Timber, & the holes where the heads of beams were let in to support them appear very manifestly, especially in the second Story, almost quite round the Wall at equal distances.

E. Rooker sculp.

and their neighbours the Aurunci, in which the latter were forced to quit their town and retire to Sueſſa, which from them was called Aurunci. See lib. VIII. Their old town was afterwards demoliſhed by the Sidicini. Pliny calls Teanum, Sidicinum cognomine.

Teano ſtands on a gentle riſe above a ſpacious plain abounding in corn; which plain extends itſelf from the foot of the hill of Preſenzano to the river Volturno over-againſt Ailano, and ſo round to Vaierano, Petra Molara, etc. This was Virgil's Sidicina aequora. The city was formerly very large, as appears by the ruins, which extend far below the preſent town, eſpecially on the ſide toward Calvi. The old Via Latina is ſtill very entire in ſeveral places between Teano and Calvi, and may eaſily be traced all the way from one to the other. It is reckoned now four miles from Teano to Calvi, formerly but three; which difference may be occaſioned partly by both towns extending themſelves at that time further than at preſent, eſpecially the former, and partly becauſe the preſent road in ſeveral places breaks out of the ſtrait line, particularly at the bridge over the brook near Torricella. The territories of Teano and Calvi join to each other, and are naturally bounded by a gentle ridge of hills riſing between the Lignano and the brook of Calvi. Near the Oſteria of Torricella is a Foſſo, which parts the two aforeſaid territories, and near the Foſſo, on each ſide the road, are ſome ruins ſtill to be ſeen, which anſwer to the ſituation of the two temples of Fortune mentioned by Strabo. Above Teano, towards the north-weſt, that is, between Teano and the river Garigliano, is a ridge of high mountains covered with woods towards Torre and Rocca Monfena, which hilly country was probably inhabited formerly by the Aurunci, who being too near neighbours to Teano, were by the inhabitants of it, the Sidicini, driven from their habitation, and forced to retire further off to Sezza, as mentioned by Livy. Of theſe likewiſe Virgil ſpeaks:

" Quos de collibus altis
" Aurunci miſere patres." Aen. lib. VII. 727.

TEMPLE AT ASSISI. [See the annexed Plate.]

TEMPLE OF AUGUSTUS. [See the annexed Plate.]

TETRICA was certainly upon the Apennines, and on one of the wildeſt parts of them, probably near Mons Fiſcellus. For Varro, ſpeaking of wild cattle in ſeveral countries, ſays: "Etiam nunc in locis multis "genera pecudum ferarum ſunt aliquot; ut in Phrygiâ ex ovibus, ubi "greges videntur complures; ut in Samothracè caprarum, quas Latinè "Rotas appellant; ſunt enim in Italiâ circum Fiſcellum et Tetricam "montes multae." Var. De Re Ruſt. lib. II. cap. i.

"Tetricae horrentes rupes." Virg. Aen. VII. 713.

THRASYMENUS LACUS. The famous battle, which took its name from this lake, is by ſome ſuppoſed to have been on the plain under Cortona; by others it is placed nearer to the lake of Perugia, between Oſſaia and Paſſigniano, in the plain, through which runs a ſmall brook, called now Fiume di Sanguino. Cluverius is of the latter opinion, and urges in favour of it the two names Sanguino and Oſſaia or Oſſaria, which he imagines are derived, the former from blood ſpilt there, the latter from the bones buried after the battle. This argument from etymology might have ſome weight, if the place agreed with the deſcription left us by hiſtorians; and it has prevailed ſo much at Oſſaia, that there is an inſcription over the door of the principal houſe of the village, which poſitively aſſerts that this was the place of battle:

"Nomen habet locus hic Oſſaria ab oſſibus illis
"Quae dolus Hannibalis fudit et † Aſta ſimul."

† So it is writ.

But, having travelled over the ground, I did not obſerve any part of it on the road from Arezzo quite to Paſſigniano (that is twenty miles), which in the leaſt anſwers the deſcription of the moſt famous hiſtorians: for excepting a ſmall vale between the mountains very near Arezzo, and a paſs over the little hill at Caſtiglione d'Aretino (both which are at too great a diſtance from the lake for the field of battle), the reſt of the road lies all the way at the foot of the mountains of Cortona, which it leaves to the left, and is open to the ſpacious plain of the Chiaina on the right. This perſuaded me that Cluverius as well as the people of Oſſaia are miſtaken in the field they aſſign for the battle. And I think it very evident that the plain between Oſſaia and Paſſigniano was the place which the Roman Conſul came to the night before the battle,

battle, and that the battle was fought further on between Paſſigniano and the Poſt-houſe of Torricella. Polybius, deſcribing Hannibal's march before the battle, ſays: "Hannibal interea Romam verſus per "Etruriam ſuos ducebat, habens ad laevam Cortonium urbem et adja- "centes illi montes, ad dextram Thraſymenum lacum." By this it is plain that Hannibal was going by the way of Perugia, which is now the common road from Arezzo or Cortona to Rome, otherwiſe he could not have the lake to his right. On this road one muſt of neceſſity paſs this little plain of Torricella, which is encloſed at the end next to Cortona by the mountains at Paſſigniano, which at that place approach ſo near to the lake, that there is room only for a few ſmall houſes between the ſteep rocks and the lake, leaving a very narrow paſſage for the road, which is barely paſſable for a chaiſe. The other end of the plain is likewiſe ſhut in by the mountains (called, I think, at that place, Montagna di Colonia) which one muſt neceſſarily paſs over to go to Perugia. As to its length, it is about four miles long, but not above one broad, and in ſome places not ſo much, the mountain in one place towards the middle of the vale, ſhooting out in a narrow ſlip almoſt to the lake. Behind theſe little branches of the hills Hannibal, according to the hiſtorians account, hid great part of his army, or perhaps his light-armed forces, behind the hill of Colonia. "Baleares caeteramque levem "armaturam poſt montes circumducit:" Livy. And Polybius thus: "Baleares et caeteram levem armaturam è primo agmine circumducit, "et ad tumulos, qui dexterum vallis latus continent, longâ admodum ſerie "adplicat," etc. When Polybius deſcribes the vale where the battle was fought, he muſt be underſtood to mean thus: That, with regard to the length, it was encloſed at the two extremities by the ſame ridge of mountains; and, with regard to its breadth, it has an unpaſſable mountain on one ſide, and the lake on the other. "Erat in ipſo tranſitu "plana convallis," etc. In ranging Hannibal's army, when Polybius is ſpeaking of right and left, we muſt conſider Hannibal as ſtanding with his back to the lake, and his face to the mountain; or elſe right and left muſt be underſtood with reſpect to the vale, not to Hannibal. "A tergo lacum," etc. Both Polybius and Livy agree, that the field of battle ad Thraſymenum was in a plain into which there was a ſtrait paſs between the foot of the mountains and the lake, which muſt be at

Paſſigniano, for there is no other paſs, nor any other place on that road, in the leaſt anſwering the deſcription.

If it is objected that the vale was too ſmall for a field of battle, it muſt be conſidered that Hannibal deſigned it as a pound, not a place for a regular combat. It is true that Strabo, deſcribing the lakes of Tuſcany, ſpeaks of the Lacus Thraſymenus as near Arezzo; which is ſpeaking too largely: for, though the neareſt lake to Arezzo, it is twenty miles from it.

TICINUS. The Teſſin is a very rapid river; yet Silius Italicus deſcribes it as a deep ſlow ſtream at that part near which the battle was fought between Hannibal and the Roman Conſul Scipio.

"Caeruleas Ticinus aquas et ſtagna vadoſo
"Perſpicuus ſervat turbari neſcia fundo,
"Ac nitidum viridi lentè trahit amne liquorem.
"Vix credas labi, ripis tam mitis opacis
"Argutos inter volucrum certamina cantus
"Somniferam ducit lucenti gurgite lympham." Lib. IV.

Q. What part of the river anſwers this deſcription?

TIFATA. See CAPUA.

TIMAVUS. Cluverius tells us in his Italia, that he went to ſee the ſeveral mouths or rather ſources of this river, and there are only ſeven very

very near one another, and therefore moſt authors call them ſeven; but that there are two others, which riſe at ſome diſtance, and diſcharge themſelves into the ſame channel with the other ſeven before they fall into the ſea. Having diſcourſed largely on this ſubject, he proceeds to deſcribe the riſing of the tide in that place higher than and above theſe mouths, through holes and cavities in the rocks, and the great noiſe occaſioned by the meeting and oppoſition of theſe ſeveral ſtreams with the tide. His account agrees exactly well with, and explains, Virgil's deſcription. His words are as follow: "Cùm omnis hic tractus "inter mare et frigidum amnem unum perpetuumque ſit ſaxum, innu- "meris paſſim altiſſimisque antris perforatum, cuniculi quidam à colle "ſaxeo qui ſeptem Timavi fontibus ſupernè imminet, ad proximi maris "vada pertingunt, per quos incrementum patitur atque decrementum "Timavus ex adfluxu refluxuque ejuſdem maris, ita ut lenis, ſine ullo "majori ſtrepitu, atque manſuetus dulcibus ſuis aquis per complures "fauces defluit amnis, ubi mare ſubſedit, ac procul receſſit; quàm "primum vero idem mare aeſtu ſuo intumuit, tanto cum impetu prae- "dictis cuniculis infertur, fontibusque Timavi permiſcetur, ut ingenti "cum fragore, ac veluti mugitu ſaxei montis, per complura illa ſpatioſa "ora prorumpat; jamque alveo Timavi contineri nequeat, ſed adjacen- "tia prata, per quae ad oſtium tendit amnis, longè latèque ſaepius in- "undet, pelagique in ſpeciem planè contegat." See Cluver. Ital. Antiq. Lib. I. cap. xx. If this place merited ſo much the attention of Cluver, who could not but be well acquainted with tides, how much more extra-ordinary muſt it appear to Italians, who are almoſt ſtrangers to the nature of the tide? The inhabitants of the country near Timavus uſed to call it, as Strabo tells us from Polybius, μητηρ και μητερα θαλατης. Cluver tells us, in the ſame chapter, that the Timavus riſes from ſeveral ſprings at the foot of the mountains higher up in the country near S. Cantiano, and then burying itſelf, and running fourteen miles under ground, breaks out again at the aforeſaid mouths near S. Giovanni di Duino, not above one mile from the ſea. Whoever would be curious to know the number of the mouths may conſult Cluver; but I think it not material to Virgil whether there be nine or not, more or leſs, provided there are many.

The Timavus was very quiet when I ſaw it, except juſt at the ſpring head, where it runs with violence, as one may eaſily imagine of a river breaking out at once at the foot of a rock: but I was informed on the

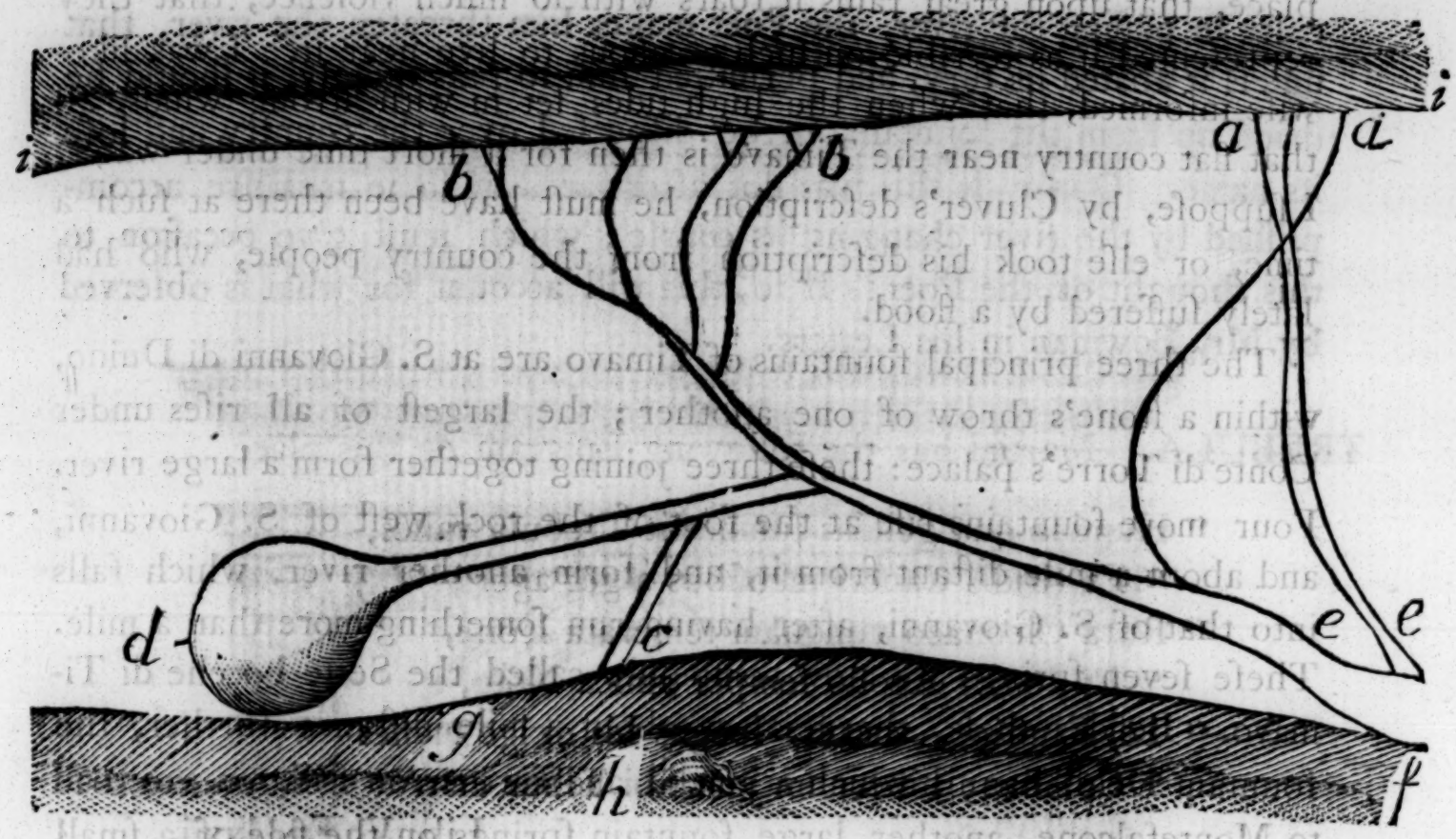
place,

place, that upon great rains it roars with ſo much violence, that they repreſented it as terrible on ſuch occaſions to live near it. I was likewiſe informed, that when the high tides ſet in with ſtrong winds, all that flat country near the Timavo is then for a ſhort time under water. I ſuppoſe, by Cluver's deſcription, he muſt have been there at ſuch a time, or elſe took his deſcription from the country people, who had lately ſuffered by a flood.

The three principal fountains of Timavo are at S. Giovanni di Duino, within a ſtone's throw of one another; the largeſt of all riſes under Conte di Torre's palace: theſe three joining together form a large river. Four more fountains riſe at the foot of the rock weſt of S. Giovanni, and about a mile diſtant from it, and form another river, which falls into that of S. Giovanni, after having run ſomething more than a mile. Theſe ſeven ſprings are now commonly called the Sette bocche di Timavo. Beſides theſe, there is, at about a mile diſtance further, the fountain Degli Bagni, which is ſmall; and further on ſtill, on the road to Montefalcone, another large fountain ſprings on the ſide of a ſmall lake, and forms another river, into which the fountain Degli Bagni falls, and then unites with the river of the four fountains, and ſo with that of S. Giovanni. Theſe two laſt-named ſprings do not riſe at the foot of the mountains as the other ſeven, but in the plain. N. B. The rivers formed by theſe ſeveral fountains abovementioned are all ſo large, as to be able to carry veſſels of good burthen.

N. B. The Timavo is ſtill reckoned the boundary of Italy on that ſide; one ſide of the mouths of the river belonging to Germany, the other to the Venetians; and the Imperial guard is on one ſide, the Venetian on the other. On the German ſide (viz.) at S. Giovanni del Duino, which is not above a mile from the mouth of the river, the common language of the country people is Sciavo; on the other ſide at Montefalcone, Venetian or Italian. This was a proper boundary: for here the flat Venetian country terminates, and from hence to Trieſte is a continued cliff or mountain cloſe to the ſea, without ſo much as room for a road. N. B. The water of the fountain Degli Bagni is very brackiſh, and warm as milk from the cow. The baths are now diſuſed, but not long ſince were much frequented. The water of neither of the fountains is eſteemed good to drink, or that of one of them only.

a. Three



a. Three fountains of Timavo at S. Giovanni di Duino.

b. Four fountains more, riſing at the foot of the ſame ridge of rocks; the place or rock where they riſe called, I think, Sablice.

c. The fountain Degli Bagni, riſing in the plain.

d. The fountain which riſes in a little lake likewiſe in the plain.

e. The German ſide of the mouth of Timavo.

f. The Venetian ſide.

g. Road leading from the mouth of the Timavo to Montefalcone, three miles diſtant.

h. A little rocky hill, between the plain of Timavo and the ſea, about two miles long, and half a mile wide.

i. A continued ridge of mountains at the foot of which the Timavo riſes.

TORTONA. "Eſt autem Derthon urbs inſignis, ſita medio inter Placentiam et Genoam itinere, cccc abutrâque diſtans ſtadiis: in eodem itinere ſunt Diacuiſta et Jelleia." Strab. lib. V.

TREBIA. When Silius Italicus is deſcribing Scipio's paſſage over the Trebia, and Hannibal's purſuing of him, and Scipio finds great difficulty

culty in paſſing the river, the Poet makes him threaten the river, that unleſs it abated its fury, and permitted him to paſs quietly, it ſhould be dried up from the fountain, or be diſperſed over the country and loſe its name. Quaer. If this was not afterwards in ſome meaſure accompliſhed by the river changing its courſe; which muſt give occaſion to this thought of the Poet? If ſo, this will account for what is obſerved by Mr. Bowman in his Letters.

TREBULA. Martial has the following Epigram on this place.

" Humida qua gelidas ſummittit Trebula valles,
" Et viridis Cancri menſibus alget ager;
" Rura Cleonaeo nunquam temerata leone,
" Et domus Aeolio ſemper amica Noto,
" Te, Fauſtine, vocant: longas his exige meſſes
" Collibus; hibernum jam tibi Tibur erit."

Lib. V. Ep. lxxii.

TRIESTE. [See the plate annexed.]

TRIUMPHAL ARCH. See TRIESTE, POLA.

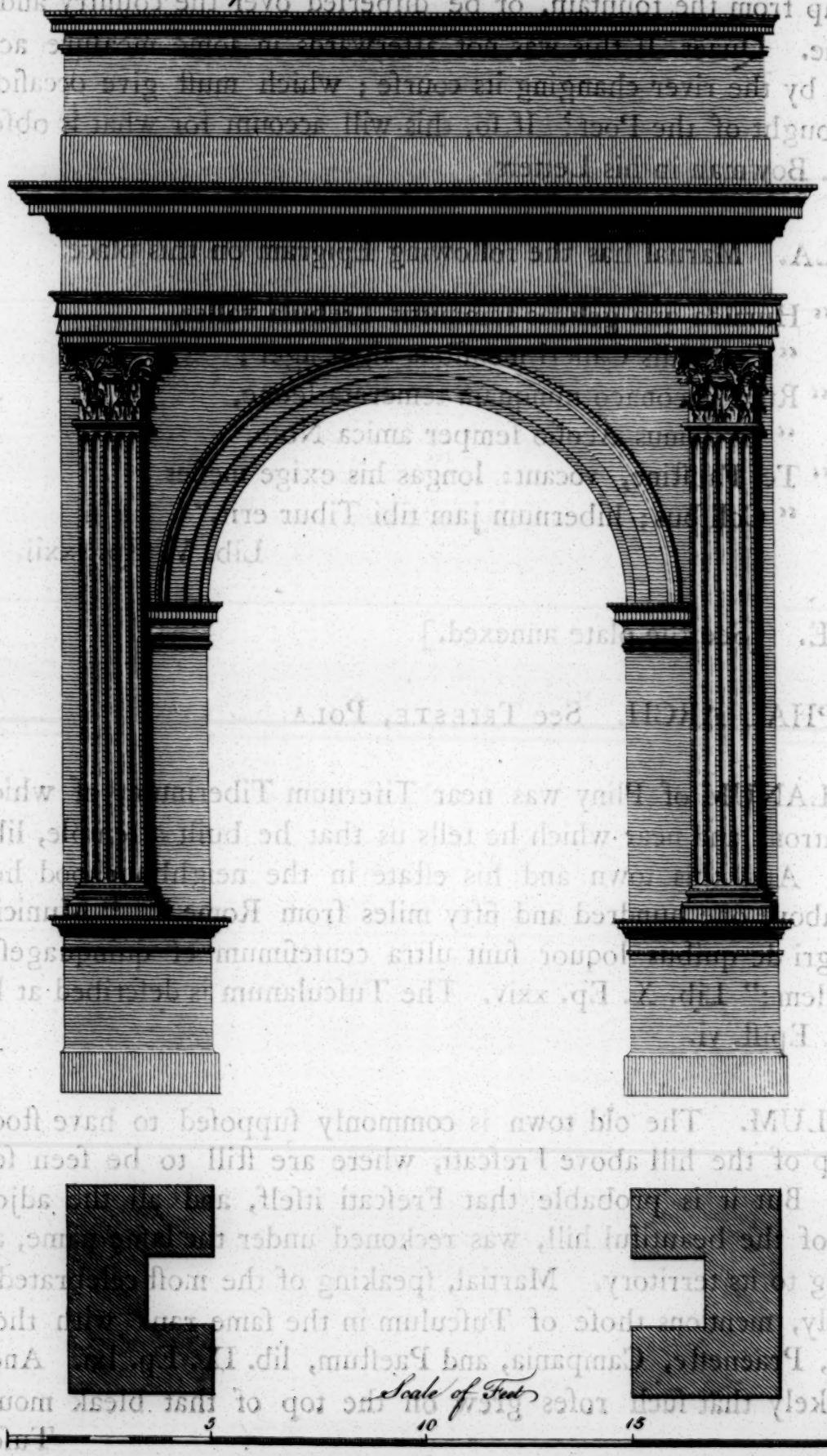
TUSCULANUM of Pliny was near Tifernum Tiberinum, of which he was patron, and near which he tells us that he built a temple, lib. IV. Ep. i. And this town and his eſtate in the neighbourhood he ſays were above one hundred and fifty miles from Rome." " Municipium " et agri de quibus loquor ſunt ultra centeſimum et quinquageſimum " lapidem:" Lib. X. Ep. xxiv. The Tuſculanum is deſcribed at large, lib. V. Epiſt. vi.

TUSCULUM. The old town is commonly ſuppoſed to have ſtood on the top of the hill above Freſcati, where are ſtill to be ſeen ſeveral ruins. But it is probable that Freſcati itſelf, and all the adjoining ſlope of the beautiful hill, was reckoned under the ſame name, as belonging to its territory. Martial, ſpeaking of the moſt celebrated roſes of Italy, mentions thoſe of Tuſculum in the ſame rank with thoſe of Tivoli, Praeneſte, Campania, and Paeſtum, lib. IX. Ep. lxi. And it is not likely that ſuch roſes grew on the top of that bleak mountain.

Tuſculum

Triumphal Arch at Trieste.

p. 602.



I. Wale del. *E. Rooker sculp.*

Tuſculum is deſcribed by Strabo, as adorned with ſtately villas on all ſides, particularly on the ſide towards Rome, where is now Freſcati. His deſcription is as follows: "Nearer to Rome than this mountainous "country of Tivoli and Praeneſte is another ridge, ſeparated from the "former by a vale towards Algidum, and riſing high to the mount of "Alba. On this ſide lies Tuſculum, a city not ill built; and which "is beautified all round with plantations and buildings, particularly "on the declivity below the town, on that ſide of the hill towards "Rome. For Tuſculum, on that ſide, is a fruitful well-watered hill, "branched out into many heads, fit for the ſtately palaces of great "men. Adjoining hereto is the ſlope of the hill, under Mons Al-"banus, which has the ſame ſort of ſoil, and equally beautified.

TYRRHENI "à Romanis Etruſci et Tuſci nominantur. Graeci ſic ap-"pellarunt à Tyrrheno Atys F. qui eo coloniam ex Lydiâ duxerit. "Fame enim et ſterilitate coactus Atys, unus ex Hercule et Omphale "prognatis, de duobus filiis alterum Lydum nomine ſortito detinuit, "alterum Tyrrhenum cum majore populi parte amandavit. Is cum "Italiam veniſſet, regionem à ſuo nomine Tyrrheniam nuncupavit, et "duodecim urbes condidit, praefecto rei Tarchonte, a quo Tarquiniis "urbi nomen eſt."

VADEMONIS LACUS; near Ameria. See an account of it, Plin. lib. VIII. Epiſt. xx.

VENAFRUM. At Venafro, cloſe by the walls of the preſent town, riſes a large ſpring at the foot of the rock. This rivulet formerly ran through the middle of the town, and, perhaps, occaſioned the miſtake of Strabo, who ſays that the Volturno ran through the middle of it, whereas it is two miles diſtant from the Volturno. The town ſtands juſt at the foot of the mountains, from whence a beautiful and rich plain reaches to the river. The foot of the mountains is covered with olive-trees. A ſmall part of the old walls of Venafro of vaſt ſtones, the "opus reticulatum incertum," is ſtill ſtanding about half a mile without the preſent town. The occaſion of changing the ſituation of the town, is ſaid to be an earthquake, which having deſtroyed the town, the people removed to a ſpot at a ſmall diſtance, where there was a chapel, which, having ſtood the ſhock, was ſuppoſed to be very holy, and more ſecure from earthquakes than the neigh-

bourhood. N. B. There are ſeveral old ruins of villas, etc. along the ſide of the hill near Venafro. From Venafro to S. Germano is reckoned twelve miles. The road paſſes over the mountain at a very narrow paſs, called Annunciata Lunga, and from thence deſcends the ſide of the mountain to S. Pietro Fano. All along the hill one ſtill ſees the vaſt great ſtones, which ſupported this ancient road, like a terrace, which, in ſome places, continues entire. The road was very narrow, and could never ſerve for carriages. About a mile below S. Pietro Fano this road falls into the Via Latina.

VESUVIUS. Vitruvius, who lived, as it is generally believed, in Auguſtus's time, ſpeaks of this mountain having marks as if it had burnt formerly. And ſo does Strabo, who lived under Tiberius. It is indeed aſſerted by ſome, that Vitruvius dedicated his book to Titus, not to Auguſtus. But even this paſſage concerning mount Veſuvius (lib. II. cap. vi.) is an argument to the contrary; for as the famous eruption, which deſtroyed Pliny, happened in the firſt year of Titus, Vitruvius muſt have ſpoken of the mountain in a different manner, and have taken particular notice of that eruption, had he lived in that time. Beſides, it is pretty evident, that Pliny often quotes paſſages from Vitruvius word for word, particularly, lib. XXXVI. cap. vi. compared with Vitruvius, lib. II. cap. viii. Lucretius likewiſe ſpeaks of Montem Veſevum, as a burning mountain, if we admit of that verſe, lib. VI. as we find it in ſeveral editions. And Silius Italicus, who lived at the time of the famous eruption mentioned by Pliny, deſcribes Veſuvius as a burning mountain in Hannibal's time; or which had marks of having burnt formerly.

" Monſtrantur Veſeva juga, atque in vertice ſummo
" Depaſti flammis ſcopuli, fractusque ruinâ
" Mons circum atque Aetnae fatis certantia ſaxa." Lib. XII.

VIAE. " Aemiliam viam, quae per Piſas et Lunam uſque ad Sabbatos,
" indeque Derthonem ducit, ſtravit Scaurus:" Strab. lib. V. " Alia
" eſt Aemilia Flaminiam excipiens. Nam collegae in conſulatu fuerunt,
" M. Lepidus et C. Flaminius. Qui devictis Liguribus, hic Flaminiam
" viam ſtravit à Româ per Etruriam et Umbriam uſque ad Ariminum;
" ille

" ille deinceps, ad Bononiam uſque ad Aquileiam juxta radices Alpium, " paludibus in gyrum circumventis." Ibid.

" Nobiliſſimae viarum ſunt Appia, Latina, et Valeria. De his Appia " Latii partes maritimas pertranſit uſque ad Sinueſſam. Valeria eſt " quae ad Sabinos pertinet uſque ad Marſos. Media eſt Latina, quae " in Appiam incidit ad Caſſinum urbem, diſtantem à Capua XIX ſtadiis. " Incipit Latina à Viâ Appiâ ad ſiniſtram ab eâ prope Romam deflectens." And, afterwards: " Valeria via à Tybure incipit ducitque in Marſos," etc. Strab. lib. V.

VIA SALARIA. "In agro Sabino Viâ Salariâ non longè à Reate mi- " liarius clivus appellatur Thebae :" Varro, De Re Ruſt. lib. III. cap. i. And, again, cap. ii. he mentions, " Fundum in Sabinis qui eſt ad quar- " tum et viceſimum lapidem Viâ Salariâ à Româ. Ubi aeſtate diem " meridie dividere ſolet, cum eo Reate ex urbe, aut cum inde venit " hieme noctu ponere caſtra."

See APPIA, LATINA, LABICANA, FLAMINIA.

VILLA HORATII. Horace himſelf aſſures us that he had but one houſe; and that he was fully contented with it.

" Satis beatus unicis Sabinis."

If he had had a houſe of his own at Tivoli, we might probably have found him inviting Maecenas to it.

Tivoli is not in the country of the Sabins, being ſituated on the left ſide, or the Latian ſide of the Anio, which was there the boundary of the two countries. And we find Catullus not willing to allow his villa to be called Sabine, but rather Tyburtine, becauſe it belonged to Tivoli; though it certainly ſtood on the Sabine ſide of the river. Therefore, if that ſpot on the ſame ſide of the Anio, which, without any authority, is ſhewn for Horace's villa, was really his, yet it may be doubted, whether he would have deſcribed it, as in the country of the Sabines; or if he had, it is very certain he could not have deſcribed it " inter altos Sabinos," which muſt mean high up in their country; whereas this, allowing it to be Sabine, is but juſt on the edge of their country, and Tivoli itſelf juſt at the beginning or entrance of the mountains.

Horace, in his ſeventh Epiſtle, writes to Maecenas, to excuſe his ſtaying in the country, and not returning to him at Rome, as he had promiſed. In this Epiſtle he mentions Tivoli.

" Mihi jam non regia Roma,
" Sed vacuum Tybur placet, aut imbelle Tarentum."

It is plain, by this Epiſtle, that Horace was then in the country; but it does not follow, that he retired to Tybur any more than to Tarentum. Yet, ſuppoſing him at Tybur, it does not appear that he was at a villa of his own; but he might retire thither to Maecenas's villa from his palace at Rome; or to ſome other friend's houſe; or if he had a villa of his own there, I think it is pretty manifeſt, that he had another among the Sabine mountains.

I cannot think that Horace gives the epithet, *vacuum*, or thin of inhabitants, to Tybur, as to a deſert place: for certainly a town ſo near Rome, and ſo celebrated for its good air and delightful ſituation, which tempted many of the greateſt Romans to have their villas there, as we are aſſured by many writers, and as we find by the ruins ſtill remaining, could not deſerve that character. But we muſt conſider that the Romans flocked to Tybur only at certain ſeaſons of the year, as they do now to Freſcati, etc. to their Villeggiatura, as they call it, in ſpring and fall, as we do to Bath. And as Horace at that time of life delighted in retirement, he ſays; " I do not any longer like the hurry " of Rome; I prefer Tybur; and I do not even chuſe Tybur, when it " is full of people, in the height of the ſeaſon, but when it is *va-* " *cuum*, in its vacation."

In the ſixteenth Epiſtle Horace gives the following deſcription of his villa:

" Continui montes, niſi diſſocientur opacâ
" Valle, ſed ut veniens dextrum latus aſpiciat ſol;
" Laevum diſcedens curru fugiente vaporet.
" Temperiem laudes. Quid ſi rubicunda benignè
" Corna vepres et pruna ferant? et quercus et ilex
" Multâ fruge pecus, multâ dominum juvet umbrâ?
" Dicas adductum propiùs frondere Tarentum.
" Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec
" Frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus."

In

In the ſixth Satire, lib. II. he ſays, in alluſion to this villa:

" Hoc erat in votis, modus agri non ita magnus,
" Hortus ubi, et tecto vicinus jugis aquae fons.
" Et paulum ſilvae ſuper his foret: auctius atque
" Dî melius fecere; bene eſt, nihil amplius oro."

In the eighteenth Epiſtle, Horace ſpeaks of his villa near the river Digentia, not far from which was a villa, or town, called Mandelia; which place he repreſents as lying in a very cold country; " rugoſus " frigore." And ſince he celebrates the temperateneſs of his own villa, Epiſt. xvi. " Temperiem laudes," etc. and, again, Epiſt. x.

" Eſt ubi plùs tepeant hiemes? ubi gratior aura
" Leniat et rabiem canis et momenta leonis?"

(if he may be ſuppoſed to be here ſpeaking of his own villa) we may reaſonably conclude, that his villa, though among the Sabine mountains, yet ſtood ſheltered in a cloſe vale on the ſide of a fountain near the river Digentia: and that the town Mandela lay expoſed on the top of a hill above the ſame river:

" Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
" Quem Mandela bibit, rugoſus frigore pagus."

The vale of Licenza anſwers exactly to Horace's deſcription; the right ſide being expoſed to the riſing, the left to the ſetting ſun. Between Vicovaro and Bocca Giovane, about four miles from the former, and one or two from the latter, I obſerved a fine clear water running along the road; and enquiring of my guide if it had any name, and where it roſe, he ſhewed me an old fig-tree on the ſide of a ſtony hill on our left, where he told me was the ſpring-head, and that from thence it was called Fontana del Fico. Going up to it, I found it a large ſpring, the water very cold and well taſted; and fancying it Horace's Fons Blanduſiae, it ſeemed to me more delicious than any I ever taſted in my life. My guide told me, that it was much eſteemed; and therefore, whenever he came that road, which he did often, he ſcarce ever paſſed without going up to drink of it. Its courſe is very ſhort; riſing not above an hundred yards up the hill to the left of the road, runs about as many along the road, and, within the diſtance of about and an hundred more to the right of the road, falls into the Licenza.

Near

Near the courſe of this brook I obſerved ſeveral pieces of broken bricks ſcattered about the field in great quantity; and there ſtill remains, on the ſide of the road, the ruin of a wall almoſt covered with buſhes. And in a houſe built thereabouts, called Caſale Queſtione, on the confines of the two territories of Vicovaro and Rocca Giovane, I ſaw ſome of the large Roman bricks had been uſed, which undoubtedly were found on the place.

We were there on the fifth of November, and yet found it very hot, and our guide told us that the ſnow never lay long in the vale, though the mountains round it were uſually covered for many months. Quaer. Which ſide the temple of Vacuna looked towards? Probably the front of it was towards the great road leading up to the town, as Vitruvius directs. If ſo, it muſt look towards Licenza. And then Horace's houſe, though nearer to Rome, might properly be ſaid to be "poſt fanum," as behind or to the back part of the temple. So "limina poſt Pacis," in Martial.

VILLAE. See CENTUMCELLAE and CICERO.

VINA. See FALERNUM, SINUESSA, SETIA.

VIRGIL'S TOMB. See the Diſſertation on it.

URBINO. Before the dome is a ſtone, with the following inſcription:

C. VESIDIENO. CNF.
BASSO. AED.
IIII. VIR. IVR. DIC.
IIII. VIR. QVINC.
PVBLICE.
D. D.
QVOD. AQVAM. NOVAM.
CONQVIRENDAM. ET.
IN. MVNICIP. PERDVCEND.
ET. NYMPHAEVM FACIEND.
PEC. PVB. C.

MUSCIPULA,

SIVE

ΚΑΜΒΡΟΜΥΟΜΑΧΙΑ.

Απηνεες ανδρες
Καινοτεραις τεχναις ΞΥΛΙΝΟΝ ΔΟΛΟΝ εξευροντο,
Ην ΠΑΓΙΔΑ καλεσι, ΜΥΩΝ ολετειραν εσαν.

ΟΜΗΡΟΥ ΒΑΤΡΑΧΟΜ.

ROBERTO LLOYD,

ARMIGERO,

COLL. MAGD. OXON.

SOCIO-COMMENSALI.

CUM Muscipula noſtra, in Murium ſolummodo perniciem excogitata, mihimet ipſi quoque in damnum ceſſerit; utpote quae in lucem prodierit alienis maculis abunde inquinata; nugas has, qualeſcunque ſint, novis typis mandare potius viſum eſt, quam mendacis preli errata agnoſcere, aeque ac mea.

At vereor, Juvenis dilectiſſime, ne me licentiam plusquam Poeticam ſumpſiſſe credas, dum tuo nomine Opuſculum hoc auſim exornare; quod iracundioribus quibuſdam vix in patriae tuae laudem confici videatur. Hoc ſi ita foret, neque ego dignus eſſem, qui in Gentem tam illuſtrem turpiſſimam facerem contumeliam; nec Tu, qui eam in Te acciperes. Leviores autem ſunt hae ludicrae Muſae exercitationes, quam ut famae Cambro-Britannicae quicquam poſſent detrahere, aut ut Auctorem

" Seria ducant
" In mala."

Fatendum quidem eſt, me humilius argumentum e Populo laudis foecundiſſimo cepiſſe; qui ſublimiores potius Epico Carmini imagines, quam ridiculo poëmati materiam ſuppeditâſſet. Praeterquam vero quod inclyta Cambrorum geſta jocoſae minus conveniebant Muſae; haud fas erat ea linguâ Latinâ deterere, quae non aliâ aptius poſſint exprimi, quam quâ ipſi utebantur Heroes. Summa tamen excuſationis meae (ſiquidem quibuſdam excuſatione caruiſſe videar) haec eſt; quod nihil aliud vellem, quam ut antiquiſſimae Gentis tuae dignitatem merito oſtentatam vindicarem.

Jampridem Graecia furtivos, undecunque potuit, honores ſibi arrogavit: et parum contenta a Chaldaeis Aſtronomiam, a Phoenicibus Literas, a Cretenſibus ſuum pene Jovem tranſtuliſſe, adinventâ inſuper MUSCIPULA imperfectam adhuc gloriam voluit conſummâſſe. Cuinam idcirco Britoni bilem non moveret, Homerum, qui haud ultra ter mille annos abhinc ſcripſiſſe cenſetur, ſtupendam hanc Machinam nupero attribuiſſe artifici, quae longe vetuſtiori Cambrorum aſtutiae acceptam refert originem? Hâc quidem de causâ, famae gentis tuae mature proſpiciendum eſſe duxi, ne aut Graeci Cambros tuos aemulâ vetuſtate exſuperâſſe viderentur; aut Homeri Faber ſuas a Taffeio veſtro laudes furriperet.

Quum vero Cambri tui ob tot eximia facinora juſte inclaruerint, nil mirere, ſi anxius haeream, quibus Te praeſertim encomiis, mi chariſſime Condiſcipule, celebrare geſtiam. In quo, et patriae, et gentilitiae virtutes tam ambiguâ commiſcentur elegantiâ, ut augurari vix liceat, utrum plus ſplendoris, familiae an nationi tuae, ſis allaturus. Obſirmatum in tuendis Cambriae tuae juribus amorem, honeſtam in vindicandis legum inſtitutis pertinaciam, piam in conſervandâ Eccleſiae caſtiſſimae dignitate fortitudinem, Majores tui tibi derivârunt. Et quid non optimo jure ſpondeat ſibi Wallia; dum accrefcentem indies praecocis ingenii gloriam non ſine ſummâ laetitiâ praevideat; dum haec eximia virtutum ſemina, accurata Magdalenae noſtrae cura feliciſſimis excolat auſpiciis?

Cum dehinc ad ſubactam maturitatem adoleverit judicii acumen, et inter majores amicorum plauſus, tenuiores hae meae laudes evanuerint; parvulum hoc mutuae amicitiae pignus, ſubinde aſpicere ne dedigneris. Neque ſis prorſus immemor, aut mei, aut

" Actae non alio rege puertiae."

Sum omni obſequio

Tibi devinctiſſimus,

Magd. Coll.
Oxon.
1709.

E. HOLDSWORTH.

MUSCIPULA.

MOnticolam Britonem, qui primus vincula Muri
Finxit, et exiguum concluſit carcere furem,
Lethalesque dolos, et inextricabile fatum,
Muſa, refer. Tu, Phoebe potens (nam te quoque quondam
Muribus infeſtum dixerunt Sminthea vates),
O! faveas; et tot Cambrorum e montibus, unum
Accipiens vice Pindi, adſis, dum pingere verſu
Res tenues, humilique juvat colludere Musâ.

Mus, inimicum animal, praedari, et vivere rapto
Suetum, impune diu, ſpolii qua innata libido
Juſſerat, erravit; ſceleratam exercuit artem
Impavidus, ſaliensque hinc illinc, cuncta maligno
Corrupit dente, et patinâ male luſit in omni.
Nil erat intactum, ſed ubique domeſticus hoſtis
Aſſiduus conviva aderat; non moenia furtis
Obſtare, aut vectes poterant ſervare placentas,
Robuſtaeve fores; qua non data porta, peredit
Ipſe ſibi introitum, dapibusque indulſit inemptis.

Peſtis at haec totum dum ſerpſit inulta per orbem,
Cambria praecipue flevit; quia caſeus illic
Multus olet: quem Mus non, aeque ac plurima, libat,
Aut leviter tantum arrodit; ſed dente frequenti
Excavat, interiusque domos exſculpit edules.

Gens tota incenſa eſt ſuper his, rabiesque dolorque
Diſcruciant animos; frendent, juga ſumma pererrant,
Stare loco ignorant: nam Cambris prona furori
Corda calent, ſubitâque igneſcunt pectora bile;
Cum digitis, credas animos quoque ſulphure tinctos.

Ergo, jubente irâ, dignas cum ſanguine poenas
Sumere decretum eſt; ſed quâ ratione latronem

Tam cautum illaqueent, quo vindice furta repellant,
Incertum: neque Felis enim tua, Cambre, tueri
Tecta, nec adverſis poterat ſuccurrere rebus.
Illa quidem varias poſuit circum ora cavernae
Inſidias, tacitoque pede ad cava limina repens
Excubias egit; fruſtra: Mus nempe puſillo
Corpore ſecurus, tanto et praeſtantior hoſte
Quo minor, intentum praedae ſi forte videret
Cuſtodem ante fores, retro irruit; inque receſſus
Aufugit curvos, atque invia Felibus antra:
Inde caput metuens iterum proferre, nec auſus
Excurſus tentare novos, niſi caſtra moveret
Praedo, atque omne aberat vigili cum Fele periclum.

Sic Cambri (Cambros liceat componere Muri)
Eluſere hoſtes, cum Julius, orbe ſubacto,
Imperio adjecit Britonas; ſic nempe receſſit
Ad latebras gens tota, et inexpugnabile vallum,
Montes; ſic ſua ſaxa inter, medioque ruinae
Delituit tuta, et deſperans vincere, vinci
Noluit: hinc priſcus memorant longo ordine Patres,
Indomitasque crepant terras, linguaeque ſenectam.

Felinos igitur poſtquam Mus ſaepius ungues
Fugerat, et Britoni ſpes non erat ulla ſalutis
A ſocio belli; ſupremo in limite terrae
Concilium accitur, quâ nunc Menevia plorat
Curtatos mitrae titulos, et nomen inane
Semiſepultae urbis: properant hinc inde frequentes
Patresque, proceresque, et odorum ſulphure vulgus.

Tum ſenior, cui ſaepe ſuis in montibus hircus
Prolixam invidit barbam, cuique ora manusque
Priſca incruſtavit ſcabies, ſpectabilis aulâ
Stat mediâ, fractus ſenio, poſtique reclinis
Cambrorum vexato humeris; et gutture ab imo
Denſas praecipitans voces, " Non, inquit, aperto
" De bello, ſed furto agitur; non exterus hoſtis,
" Sed majus graviusque malum, nimis intimus hoſpes,
" Compulit huc populum; dominabitur uſque tyrannus

" Mus

" Mus petulans? Vos, ergo, Patres, venerabilis ordo,
" Queis patriae pretioſa ſalus, finite dolores
" Conſilio tantos; et ſi ſpes ulla ſuperſit,
" Propitias adhibete manus: ſic CADWALADERI
" Dum clareſcat honos, veſtra hîc quoque gloria creſcet."

Dixit, et ante oculos fragmenta, et mucida tollens
Fruſtula, reliquias furti, monumenta rapinae,
Exacuit Cambrorum iras: Nunc aemulus ardor
Vindictae, nunc laudis amor, ſub pectore Patrum
Ardet; inauditam meditatur quiſque ruinam
Muri, Muſcipulamque ſtatim extudit omne cerebrum.

At quidam ante alios notus cognomine TAFFI,
Et magis ingenio celebris, cui WALLIA nunquam
Aequalem peperit, faber idem, idemque ſenator,
Eximius, ſic orſus erat: " Si gloria gentis
" Caſeus intereat, metuo ne tota colonum
" Deficiat coena; et menſae decus omne ſecundae
" Divitibus pereat: quoniam ergo Wallica virtus,
" Et Feles nequeant ſuperare haec monſtra, fabrilis
" Dextera quid poſſit, quid machina vafra dolique
" Experiar; *dolus, an virtus, quis in hoſte requirit?*"

Talia jactantem circumſtant undique fixis
Haerentes oculis, ſperataque gaudia laeto
Murmure certatim teſtantur; et unde ſalutem
Promiſſam expectent, rogitant, ardentque doceri.

Ille, caput ſcalpens (mam multum ſcalpere Cambris
Expedit), horrendum ſubriſit, et ora reſolvens
Talia verba refert: " Cùm feſſus membra quieti
" Heſternâ ſub nocte dedi, et ſopor obruit altus
" Lumina; Mus audax, ſectatus, opinor, odores,
" Quos non concoctus pingui exhalavit ab ore
" Caſeus, acceſſit furtim, et compage ſolutis
" Faucibus irrepſit, jamque ipſa in viſcera lapſus,
" Crudas ventris opes rapere, heſternamque paravit
" Heu! male munito furari e gutture coenam.
" Excuſſus ſubito ſomnis, ſub dente latronem,

" Dum

" Dum reſilire parat, prenſi, fruſtraque rebellem
" Mordaci vinclo aſtrinxi. Sic carcere Murem
" Poſſe capi inſtructus, nova mox ergaſtula, mecum
" Haec meditans, ſtatui fabricare, animoque catenas
" Effinxi tales, mihi quas ſuggeſſerat oris
" Captivus. Mirum O! quali regit omnia lege
" Dextra arcana Jovis! Quam caecis paſſibus errat
" Cauſarum ſeries! Nobis Mus ipſe ſalutem
" Invitus dedit, et quos attulit ante dolores,
" Tollere jam docuit: neve hunc habuiſſe magiſtrum
" Vos pudeat, Patres; *Fas eſt vel ab hoſte doceri.*"

Haec ubi dicta, domum repetit, comitantur euntem
Plaudentes populi, atque benigna laboribus optant
Omina. Tum celeri ſua quiſque ad limina curſu
Nuncius it, laribusque refert, quae munera TAFFI
Ingenio ſperanda forent; dumque ordine narrant
Omnia, dumque Deis, ut tanta incepta ſecundent,
Vota ferunt; monitae praeſago pectore Feles
Plus ſolito luſere, et (ſi fas credere famae)
Sub manibus matrum ſaliere coagula lactis.

Interea TAFFI manibusque animoque viciſſim
Inſtat magno operi, et *divinâ Palladis arte*
MUSCIPULAM *aedificat*; fit machina mira, novâque
Induitur vultûs ſpecie Tragi-comica moles.

Quin age, ſi tibi, Muſa, vacat, ſpectacula pandas
Infantis fabricae, et percurrens ſingula, totam
Compagem expedias. Quadrati lamina ligni
Summum imumque tegit; filorum ferreus ordo
Munit utrumque latus, parvisque uti fulta columnis
Stat domus: introitus patet inſidioſus, amicum
Muribus hoſpitium oſtentans; ſed deſuper horret
Janua, perniciem minitans, tenuique ruina
Suſpenſa eſt filo (uſque adeo ſua ſtamina Parcae
Muribus intexunt, et pendent omnia filo).
In ſummo tecti, mediâque in parte tabellae,
Stat lignum, erectum, ſciſſo cum vertice; cui trabs
Parvula tranſverſim inſeritur, juſteque libratas

Utrinque extendit palmas; quarum altera quantum
Deprimitur, tantum annexam levat altera portam.
Interiore domo, per tecti exile foramen
Demiſſum pendet ferrum, quod mobile ludit
Huc illuc facili tactu; curvatur in hamum
Infima pars, eſcamque tenet; pars altera prendit
Perfidioſa trabem extremam: at cum ſenſerit hoſtem
Lethales guſtâſſe cibos, mora nulla, ſolutam
Dimittit portam, primumque ulciſcitur ictum.

His ita diſpoſitis, pendentem protinus hamum
Induit inſidiis TAFFI, exitioſaque Muri
Ipſa alimenta facit; ſed quo fragrantior eſſet
Caſeus, et Murem invitaret longius, eſcam
Fatalem torret flammis, vimque addit odori.

Et jam nox memoranda aderat, cum feſſa cubili
Membra levans TAFFI, juxta pulvinar amicam
MUSCIPULAM ſtatuit, fidoque ſatellite tutus
Indulſit facili ſomno. Gens improba, Mures
Laſcivi interea exiliunt; noctisque ſilentis
Praeſidio confiſi errant: tum naribus acer
Mus quidam, dux eximius, Diis natus iniquis,
Caſtra inimica petit, quo grato flamine toſtus
Caſeus allexit. Venienti prima reſiſtunt
Clathra, aditumque negant; ſed turpem ferre repulſam
Ille indignatus, munimina ferrea circum
Curſitat, et criſpat naſum, introitumque ſagaci
Explorat barbâ; jamque irremeabile limen
Ingreſſus, votique potens, triſtem arripit eſcam,
Exitiumque vorat laetus, potiturque ruinâ.

TAFFI, exaudito ſtrepitu, quem pendula porta
Lapſa dedit, cubito erigitur, thalamoque triumphans
Exilit, impatiens diſcendi, quis novus hoſpes
Venerat. Interea furit intus *Ridiculus Mus*,
Et fronte, et pedibus pugnat; jamque intervallis
Clathrorum caput impingit, ferrumque fatigat
Dentibus inſanis. Sic olim in retia Marſus

Actus aper, fremit horrendus, sinuosaque quassat
Vincula, ludibrium catulis; diffusa per armos
It spuma, arrectaeque rigent in pectore setae.

Postera lux oritur, decurrunt montibus altis
Praecipites Cambri, nam cunctas venit ad aures
Res nova; quippe Asinus, solitâ gravitate remissâ,
Et jam pigritiae oblitus, lascivior haedo
Ascendit montem, quâ Cambrum, dissonus ore,
Praeconem simulans, ter rauco gutture rudens,
Te celebrat, TAFFI, ter publica narrat amicis
Gaudia. Bubo etiam (Cambrorum dictus ab illo
Tempore Legatus) per compita ubique, per urbes,
Totâ nocte errans, rostrum ferale fenestris
Stridulus impegit, cecinitque instantia Muri
Funera. *Parturiunt montes*; atque agmine denso
Penbrochiae multus ruit incola, Merviniaeque,
Quique tenent Bonium, et Mariduni moenia vate
Inclyta Merlino; veniunt foecunda Glamorgan
Quos alit, et Vagae potor, rigidusque colonus
Gomerici montis. Tum, circumstante coronâ,
Illudit capto TAFFI, iratumque lacessens,
" Nequicquam lucteris (ait), damnaberis arae
" Victima prima meae, memorique haec limina tinges
" Sanguine; spes nulla est, retro fugientibus obstant
" Non exorandi postes: dabis, improbe, poenas
" Pro meritis, vitamque simul cum carcere linques."

Vix ea fatus erat, cum ludicra Felis aprico
Culmine desiliit tecti, quo saepe solebat,
Cruribus extensis, molli languescere luxu.
Aspicit instantem captivus, et erigit aures,
Gibbosoque riget tergo; nec limen apertum
Jam tentare audet, sed in ipso carcere solam
Spem libertatis ponens, sua vincula prensat
Unguibus hamatis, pedibusque tenacibus haeret.
Excutitur tamen; et Felis rapidissima praedae
Involat, et frustra luctantem evadere saevo

Implicat

Implicat amplexu, crudeliaque oſcula figit.
Nulla datur requies ; agili ſinuamine caudae
Gaudia teſtatur victrix, et flexile corpus
Laſcivo verſans ſaltu, modo corpore prono
Attente invigilat Muri, modo colla benignis
Unguiculis leviter palpans, mentitur amorem
Dum lacerare parat: variâ ſic arte jocoſam
Barbariem exercet, lepidâque tyrannide ludit.

At nugis tandem defeſſa, nec amplius iram
Diſſimulans, acuit dentes, et, more leonis
Impaſti, incumbit praedae: jam pectore ab imo
Murmurat, et tremulos artus, et ſanguine ſparſa
Viſcera dilaniat. Plebs circumfuſa cruorem
Inviſum aſpiciens, laetis clamoribus implent
Aethera ; clamoresque Echo, Cambrae incola terrae,
Laeta refert: reſonat Plinlimmonis ardua moles,
Et Brechin, et Snowdon ; vicina ad ſidera fertur
Plauſus, et ingenti ſtrepit Offae Foſſa tumultu.

Tu, TAFFI, aeternum vives ; tua munera Cambri
Nunc etiam celebrant, quotiesque revolvitur annus
Te memorant ; patrium gens grata tuetur honorem,
Feſtivoque ornat redolentia tempora porro.

FINIS.

E R R A T A.

Page 26, *line* 25; *read* ornate. 45, 18. poſſit. 46, 20; caniculam. 48, 2; menſe. 51, 12; ſola. 59, 11; te, tam. 61, 15; Schiena: 17; Orecchie. 70, 3; forent. 74, 10; to expreſs. 75, 3; fragili. 76, 19; Ambarvalia. 85, 15; διχεμόνιν. 87, 27; Laurel. 91, 13; ulmis. 93, penult. διαχεῖσθαι. 95, 7; Liris. 104, 34; patebat. 110, 3; colere: 27; Caſia. 144, 10; velut ad. 161, 14; Vellera. 164, 7; habitaretur: 8, οἰόντ' ἦν: 30, faſce. 168, 4; Lubricaque immotas. 172, 18; animo. 179, 12; Alvos. 184, 14; animos. 188, 18; foetis. 191, 21; alvos. 193, 15; Sifter. 195, 14; purpureus. 199, 16; moles. 218, 19; Abury. 219, 1; Agrippa. 239, 14; Sacrae. 248, 4; fruſta. 250, 9; agmina. 256, 20; ſanguine. 263, 32; *add*, "Nec, quae de parva Dîs "pauper libat acerra." 270, 11; ſtimulos. 272, 8; Ulyſſes's: 18; Hortatur. 278, 29; ultrix. 284, 5; Quum — ejuſque. 285, 13; ſubjectis. 288, 2; given by. 290, 10; auguſtum. 291, 13; Saturnusque. 314, 2; ullae. 323, 10; ulva. 338, *ult.* B. XI. 341, 23; quot: 35; ipſa. 344, 22; Pallanta. 346, 7; Punica. 347, 22; Terres. 349, 13; vano. 357, 19; Gortynia. 407, 6; Albos. 413, 20; to the third. 456, 2; Primi. 475, n. [2] δαιμονια — παραπαιδαγωγειν. — συσχηματιζειν. 477, 5; incerto: n. col. 2. l. 2. και μια. 478, 11; fountain. 487, 14; to the place. 489, 25; the ſide. 497, 6; *dele*, this care — water. 502, 19; Marcelle. 513, 21; Albenga. 515, 8; ſacrae. 527, 2, 3, 4; *dele*, [Pes — eſt XVI.]: penult. ſex millia: ult. CCLXIIII. 535, 29; virgam et rutilam. 536, 22; Caeterum. 537, 24; facta eſt. 550, penult. Ambarvalia. 551, penult. et 552, 4; Capua: 19; totâ Italiâ. 554, 5; liquidumque. 559, 10; INUI. 560, 6; impoſita: 15; clariſſime: 33; ad urbem. 562, 23; tranſmittitur. 565, 23; Fable. 569, 6; have ſunk. 571, 21; COS. 572, 16; ALIMENTOR: 19; MVNICIPII. 573, 29; Eccleſia: 32; AVGVRI. 574, 3; SANCTISSIMAE: 7; AVGVSTAE: 9; GERM. 12; PRAETORIAE. 575, 11; STLITIBVS. 576, 16; modicae. 583, 9; maxime. 584, 5; Albertus. 589, 16; Puteis. 591, 4; aeſtate. 595, 3; Aurunca. 605, 14; eat. 607, 7; Mandela: 22, Rocca: penult. *dele* and. 611, 16; poſſint. 614. 50; priſcos.